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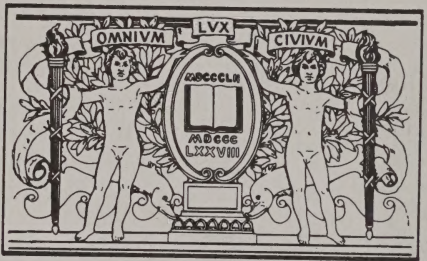

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

VOL. LXXXIX.

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Art. I. — 1. *The Life of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, with Translations of many of his Poems and Letters. Also Memoirs of Savonarola, Raphael, and Vittoria Colonna.* By John S. Harford. In 2 vols. London. 1857.

2. *Life of Michel Angelo.* By R. Duppa. Bohn's Illustrated Library.

3. *Rime e Prose di* Michelagnolo Buonarroti, *Pittore, Scultore, Architetto, e Poeta Fiorentino.* Milan. 1821.

The fame of Michel Angelo towers above that of all modern rivals as loftily as Mont Blanc, with its crown of eternal snow, overlooks the hills that encircle it and the plains that lie at its feet. So mighty is his intellectual power, so severe and majestic is his moral grandeur, so intense is the pure light which surrounds him, that we shrink with awe from the attempt to analyze his nature or measure his stature. But as the lofty mountain reveals its whole wealth and beauty only to him who climbs its side or mines its depths, so is the character of a true hero the more impressive, the more closely it is studied. We shall therefore accept the opportunity which a new biography offers, to pay our tribute of reverence to a soul so great and so rich that the oft-repeated theme can never be exhausted.

Notwithstanding the almost divine honor which was paid to Michel Angelo by his contemporaries, and which succeeding generations have fully sanctioned, his character is too often misunderstood, and his works are misjudged. No adequate biography of him has yet been written. While he yet lived, his friends Vasari and Condivi wrote their accounts of his life and works; but, although highly entertaining and valuable, these biographies abound in obvious errors, and fail to present his life in its just proportions. Succeeding writers have drawn their facts mainly from these authors, correcting gross anachronisms, and adding such slight incidents as could be gleaned from the records of that period.

Mr. Harford has endeavored to supply the existing want, by giving us a picture of the great artist in the midst of his associates, influenced by the spirit of his age and its leading men, and reacting upon them. He is the first biographer who has recognized the value of the poems as affording a key to Michel Angelo's character, and as indicating the growth of his intellectual and religious life. We are grateful to him for this attempt, and for the amount of valuable information which he has collected; yet we think he has rather smoothed the way towards the preparation of a good biography than written one. His story is encumbered with too many episodes, which break the thread of the narrative, and destroy the unity of impression. His readers might be supposed to be already sufficiently familiar with the leading facts in the lives of Raphael, Perugino, and Leonardo da Vinci. The connection of Michel Angelo with Savonarola seems too slight to justify the large space which he occupies in the book, although the notice of him is full of interest. With better judgment the author has assigned a distinct place to the life and writings of the distinguished Vittoria Colonna, whose relation to Michel Angelo required more than a brief notice. A graver defect in the book is the strong prominence given by the author to his own theological views, and his effort to force the expressions of his hero into more meaning than they naturally bear. Slight inaccuracies of translation and defects of style are less important. On the whole, we shall find it a good guide to the study of Michel Angelo's life and writings, although we shall not deem it prudent to ignore other authorities in connection with it.

In intellectual force Michel Angelo was probably unsurpassed by any man of modern times. In sculpture, which he claimed as his true sphere, no modern artist has approached him, and if he has not all the perfect grace and beauty which belong to the finest period of Grecian art, still he is no unsuccessful imitator of the Greeks, but an originator of his own path. In strong individual expression, in the language of the soul, he rises higher than any ancient sculptor. He was not Greek in constitution or in temperament. He strove to soar beyond limitations,—to realize conceptions too vast for a mortal to execute.

"Above the visible form he strives to seek
Ideal Form, the universal mould";

while Grecian art affected moderation and quiet, and accepted the conditions and limitations of matter. In the massive forms and masterly action of his Day and Night, in the immense reserved force expressed in his Prisoners, we see his wonderful creative power. Overcoming the reluctance of a sensitive nature to the process of dissection,—for at first he shrank from it like a girl,—he gave twelve years to the study of anatomy, dissecting with his own hand not only human bodies, but animals, especially the horse, until, according to Condivi, "his knowledge of human anatomy and of other animals was so correct, that those who had all their lives studied it as their profession hardly understood the subject so well." With this perfect knowledge of the structure of the human body, and his reverence for this temple of God, he seemed to have an entire command of the frame for the purpose of expression, either in action or repose. He designed it with the most astonishing freedom, exactness, and rapidity. In sculpture, he often worked at once upon the marble from a small model, with but few of those mechanical aids or measurements which are indispensable to less skilful artists, and expedient for all. An eyewitness, Blasio di Vignere, thus describes his method of working:—

> "I may say that I have seen Michel Angelo at work after he had passed his sixtieth year; and although he was not very robust, he cut away as many scales from a block of very hard marble in a quarter of an hour, as three young sculptors would have effected in three or four hours,—a thing almost incredible to one who has not actually witnessed it. Such was the impetuosity and fire with which he pursued his labor, that I almost thought the whole work must have gone to pieces. With a single stroke he brought down fragments three or four fingers thick, and so close upon his mark, that, had he passed it even in the slightest

degree, there would have been danger of ruining the whole, since any such injury, unlike the case of works in plaster or stucco, would have been irreparable."

In this manner the figures of slaves or prisoners for the sepulchre of Pope Julius were executed. But even this great man was not entirely safe in pursuing so hazardous a method. He sometimes cut too deeply, or did not allow room enough for his design, which was the cause of his leaving many unfinished works.

It is said that the jealousy of his enemies, who wished to show his inferiority to Raphael, excited Julius II. to command Michel Angelo to paint the Sistine Chapel in fresco. Certain it is that the artist accepted the task with reluctance, declaring that painting was not his province, and that Raphael was the man above all others the best qualified for the undertaking. He had already, however, given such proofs of his skill in design, in the famous Cartoon of Pisa, that the Pope, fortunately for the world, persisted in his demand. Although at first discouraged by a failure in his work caused by the state of the plaster, he finally succeeded, and the splendid result is well known. That whole grand hierarchy of prophets and sibyls was the work of his lofty imagination. For grandeur of conception and sublimity of expression they stand unrivalled in the world. As Allston has said of them, they seem like beings of another sphere, such as a poetic nature might imagine to be the inhabitants of the planet Saturn. The artist who created these exalted and glorious forms was he who knew thoroughly all the details of the anatomy of the human frame. How vain is the fear of little minds, that knowledge should clip the wings of genius, or science chill the imagination of the artist!

It is in this branch of art alone that we can compare Raphael with Michel Angelo. It is a parallel full of instruction and interest. So entirely genuine and elevated was the art of each, that both must gain by the comparison. Raphael seems to us wider in his range of expression, more fertile in invention, more varied and pleasing. If others have surpassed him in some single quality, no one has equalled him in the harmonious combination of all excellences. In none do we find strength and tenderness so happily blended. He sometimes approaches Michel Angelo in sublimity, as in his Sibyls and his Transfiguration; but this is not his native element. He does not seek to stand upon the mountain-top alone with God, but prefers to mingle among men, and to partake of their loves and joys and sorrows. Thus while the few regard Michel Angelo with a reverence approaching to worship, Raphael is the favorite with the many, who find in his amenities and graces their "human nature's daily food." The vast soul of his great competitor included tenderness and womanly pity, but these were not the prevailing habit of his mind nor the predominating expression of his works. If we seek for them, we shall find abundant traces of his noble heart both in his life and his works. The jealous rivalry between these two distinguished men has, it seems to us, been much overrated. A keen retort or witty jest too often embalms the memory of a transient spark of anger, and is taken as the index of the whole tone of a man's feeling.* Could Raphael have felt a low jealousy of Michel Angelo, when he "thanked God that he lived in the same time with him"? A man's followers generally share and exaggerate his enmities; but Vasari, the dear friend of Michel Angelo, pays a tribute to Raphael which almost exhausts the language of praise.

"When this great artist," he says, "closed his eyes in death, painting almost seemed to die with him. It remains for us to imitate the perfect models which he has bequeathed, and to cherish in our hearts his memory, which has left behind it a delightful fragrance. . . . . . He taught us by his example what is the fitting and proper course of conduct in our relations with men of the highest, the middle, and the humblest ranks of life."

Would Vasari have said this of one whose relation to his idolized Michel Angelo was of jealous hostility? And did not the elder artist himself offer to yield the palm of painting to his younger rival, — the only glory which the latter could dispute with him? Yet so different were the characters of the two men, — the one severely temperate, strict in self-discipline, ascetic in habits, and reserved in manners, and the other luxurious in his mode of life, free and gracious in his deportment, seeking and winning popular fame, — is it strange that they were not congenial companions, and could not be friends?

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* A picture in the Luxembourg, by a French artist, seems to us most unhappy in the choice of subject, since it serves only to perpetuate the memory of this feud. It is said that when Raphael was going to the school, attended by a crowd of gay followers, Michel Angelo said to him, "There you go, with a crowd flocking after you, like a criminal to the gallows." "And you," retorted Raphael, "go skulking alone like the hangman." This scene the painter has represented in vivid colors, — but should he have painted it at all?

The world has fully recognized Michel Angelo's merits as a sculptor and a painter; but he has other claims on our admiration. Had he lived in our day, he might have been chiefly known as an eminent mechanician; for no one can wholly escape the influence of his age, and ours asks for great inventors rather than great artists. But in the times of the Medici his superior mechanical skill was called out only by urgent necessity. When about to paint the Sistine Chapel, he found the scaffolding supported by cords from the ceiling in such a manner as to leave large holes which would be visible after the painting was completed. He objected to this arrangement, on which the architect replied, "that it was impossible to suspend the scaffolding in any other manner, and that they must think of a remedy for the defect after the work was done." The painter, by no means satisfied with this answer, obtained permission from the Pope to take down the old scaffolding, and to erect a new one on his own plan. He accomplished his end by machinery so simple and effectual, that it was afterwards adopted by Bramante in the building of St. Peter's, and is supposed to be still in use in Rome. Michel Angelo gave this invention to the poor man whom he employed as a carpenter, who gained from it a sufficient fortune to endow his daughters with marriage portions.

In 1528 the republic and city of Florence were thrown into great alarm by an apprehended attack from the Emperor Charles and his troops. Michel Angelo, whose patriotism was warm and earnest, was entreated to accept the responsible office of Commissary-General of the Fortifications. He entered upon this duty with zeal and success, at once making a thorough inspection of the fortifications, and directing all essential repairs. Sagaciously perceiving the most exposed point, he put the mountain called St. Miniato in a complete state of defence by strengthening the old walls and erecting new works and bastions. He went to Ferrara to study its fortifications, which were considered very perfect. He spent six months in the accomplishment of this object, giving his personal superintendence to the works. So great was his scientific skill, that the celebrated French engineer, Vauban, devoted much time to making measurements and drawings of these fortifications. A greater proof of his skill is the fact that the point which he had fortified "became the principal object of the enemy's attack; but his batteries answered their fire with such effect, that no impression was made upon them." Finding the beautiful church of St. Miniato in danger from the enemy's cannon, it having been selected as a point more vulnerable than the fortress, Michel Angelo defended it in a most ingenious and effectual manner. "From the top he hung mattresses of wool on the side exposed to attack, and by means of a bold, projecting cornice, from which they were suspended, a considerable space was left between them and the walls: this plan he effected in the night, and the future cannonading of the enemy only served to show to advantage this simple expedient." We are at once reminded of General Jackson's defence of New Orleans with cotton-bags. Probably the brave old hero never thought of Michel Angelo as a tutor in the arts of war; but native vigor of mind, and quick invention, lead to the same result on the Arno and the Mississippi.

Being warned of the treacherous designs of Malatesta Baglioni, a chieftain in the Florentine ranks, Michel Angelo communicated his information to the government, who refused to credit his suspicions. Indignant at this negligence, he withdrew to Ferrara, where he was warmly received by the Duke. Thence he proceeded to Venice, where he was greeted with similar honors. He was followed thither by the earnest entreaties of his countrymen to return to Florence and aid in their defence. Ample apologies were offered to him. His heart was with his country, and he returned to see her ruin consummated by treachery, famine, and assault. A capitulation being agreed upon, Michel Angelo secreted himself. It was fortunate that he did so; for he was expressly excepted from the promised amnesty, and a diligent search was made for him. The Pope, however, saw the folly of sacrificing the great artist to political feeling, and after a while he published a manifesto, offering him safety and freedom on the condition of finishing the two monuments already commenced at San Lorenzo. He accepted the condition, and labored assiduously at the task assigned him. These monuments were erected to Giuliano de' Medici, and his nephew Lorenzo. On the sarcophagi are the grand figures, personifying Morning and Evening, Day and Night.

It was reserved for his old age to add another glory to his fame. At the advanced age of seventy-two he entered upon his greatest architectural labor, the completion of the Church of St. Peter. He accepted this commission with extreme reluctance, objecting his age and infirmities, and pleading that architecture was not his profession. But, as in the case of the decoration of the Sistine Chapel, the Pope would admit of no excuse; and, having once accepted the task, Michel Angelo devoted himself ardently to the work, "for the love of God." In the deed which confirmed his appointment he required the insertion of his refusal of all salary for his labors, and for sixteen years he toiled amid opposition and embarrassment so great that he twice offered to resign his position. He was obliged to undo much which his predecessors had done, and to narrow his own plan to accommodate the scanty finances of the Papal treasury. He did not live to see the completion of his work, and his simple and grand design was much altered and injured by his successors. Mr. Harford has given us two very interesting sketches, one of his original design, the other of St. Peter's as it now stands. The superior harmony and beauty of the plan at once strike the eye. Notwithstanding this and many other valuable services which he rendered to architecture, critics have considered him a bold innovator, whose example has led others astray; but whatever technical faults may be found, it is impossible to deny him, in this as in the other arts, the praise of grand and lofty ideas, and a thorough perception of the means by which they can be expressed.

Thus Michel Angelo as sculptor, painter, military engineer, and architect, at once and decidedly takes the first rank. It might seem at the first glance as if his colossal mind knew no childhood and no degrees of progress; but in truth hours and years of earnest toil and silent thought helped to build up the man that he was. Only the crown of literature is wanting to place him on the highest pinnacle of intellectual greatness.

To analyze the claims of Michel Angelo the poet, is a task of no slight difficulty or importance. But the inadequate treatment which this subject has already received, is a warrant for any attempt to do him justice, however imperfect. A few English writers have done something towards making his works known in their language. A little volume by Taylor contains an analysis of his poetic merits, with translations of some of his poems. Southey has given a spirited version of the Sonnets to Dante. But Wordsworth has done more than any other English poet to familiarize him to us, by his exquisite version of three of his finest sonnets, to which we shall again refer. Other writers have passed them by almost without notice. Schlegel does not name him in any article on Italian poetry. The critical biography of him by M. Duppa, pronounced by the younger Hazlitt to be "wholly satisfactory," and republished in Bohn's justly celebrated Library, has but a few pages devoted to his poems.

That author indeed speaks of the poems in the most depreciatory style. He says: "Michel Angelo probably wrote them at different times, as subjects occurred to his mind, and as he felt disposed to imitate Petrarch. In some instances he has been successful. The love sonnet LXX. in the collection is written with great facility, and some of the religious sonnets show that he felt," not the love of God or trust in Divine protection, but "the rhythm and poetic harmony of the Italian language"! He continues: "Of the sonnets, religion and love are the prevailing subjects. In the former, Michel Angelo is sometimes very successful, in the latter he is either monotonous or quaint; a jargon of Platonism and crude metaphysical divinity, acquired from the prevailing taste of the times, with little mind and no sensibility, supply the place of real feeling." (!) The modest poet says of himself, that "writing was a great labor to him, because it was not his art." He wrote, however, from no outward demand, but from the need of expression in his own soul. Thus writing, we should expect to find his own individual life revealed even more fully in his words than in his favorite art of sculpture; and we believe that no one can do justice to the full glory of his character, either intellectual or religious, without a loving study of his poems. From his countrymen in his own day, and ever since, they have received their meed of study and admiration. Critics did not hesitate to say that Michel Angelo had added to himself the fourth crown of poetry. Manni, the editor of an edition of his poems published in 1726, thinks it superfluous to add his commendation to the works of a poet whom innumerable writers have "with their highest praises exalted to the stars," among whom he numbers the most celebrated Academicians of Florence. Another says: "His poems should be enclosed in a vase of emerald." Still better, another says of Michel Angelo: "He says *things;* the rest say *words.*" The learned Varchi wrote a commentary on the First Sonnet, to which Michel Angelo replied: "The sonnet indeed came from me, but your commentary is from heaven." This same critic delivered three lectures on the poems of our artist before the Florentine Academy, one of which on this same sonnet lies before us. After praising the divinity and beneficence of Love, he says: "Some may ask how this can be when lovers are so much afflicted. To which doubt," he continues, "no one has more truly replied, or more learnedly, than Michel Angelo Buonarroti, in his oldest sonnet, full of ancient purity and Dante-like gravity. I say Michel Angelo Buonarroti without any other title or surname, because I cannot find any other epithet which it does not appear to me is either contained in that name or is inferior to it."

We have also two lectures by Mario Giuducci, delivered before the Florentine Academy, in 1817, on the occasion of the discovery of additional poems of Michel Angelo. He says: "These poems, like his works, delight us by their beauty, while those who can penetrate their depths feed their minds with the more internal and exquisite meaning." His first lecture is written to prove the purity of that love which Michel Angelo celebrates, and its wide distinction from sensual lust; and the second is devoted to an explanation of the poet's comparison of his lady to a magnet. These commentators use a great deal of quaint and tedious analysis, which does not suit our modern taste; but they show at least the high estimation in which the poems are held.

When we compare the value given by his countrymen to these works with the low estimate of M. Duppa, we feel it to be a great merit in Mr. Harford that he has recognized their importance, and given them a prominent place in his book. We frequently differ with him in his explanation of their character and spirit, and his translations are often feeble and inadequate; but he has opened the way, and will lead many readers to the original source. Would that all who reverence the character of the greatest artist of modern times would seek to know him still more intimately through his poetic utterances! Here are colors that will never fade, and forms that will not crumble into dust. We may sit at our own fireside, and commune with his genius as fully as in the Sistine Chapel or at St. Peter's.

Why Wordsworth has done so little, and others almost nothing, towards domesticating these poems in our language, is explained in a passage from a letter of Wordsworth to a friend.

> "I mentioned Michel Angelo's poetry to you some time ago. It is the most difficult to construe I ever met with, *but just what you would expect from such a man, showing abundantly how conversant his soul was with great things.* There is a mistake in the world concerning the Italian language. The poetry of Dante and Michel Angelo proves that, if there be little majesty and strength in Italian verse, the fault is in the authors and not in the tongue. I can translate, and have translated, two books of Ariosto at the rate nearly of one hundred lines a day, but so much meaning has been put by Michel Angelo into so little room, and that meaning sometimes so excellent in itself, that I found the difficulty of translating him insurmountable. I attempted at least fifteen of the sonnets, but could not anywhere succeed. I have sent you the only one I was able to finish; it is far from being the best or most characteristic, but the others were too much for me."

This testimony from so high authority is extremely valuable, — we only regret that Wordsworth did not allow the public to judge of his success with the whole fifteen. The sonnets published in his collected works are among the finest translations in our language; and, if not closely literal, are yet full of the spirit of the masterly original.

Michel Angelo was an earnest student of Italian poetry, especially of Dante's. If the form of his poems resembles

Petrarch's, the spirit is in harmony with that of the author of the *Vita Nuova.* He illustrated his own copy of the *Divina Commedia* with many designs, whose power we cannot doubt; but the book is unfortunately lost. He does not appear to have exercised his own poetic powers at a very early age, although we have but few data as to the time of the production of his verses. The earliest poem extant seems to have been written about the year 1504, when he was thirty years of age. We are told vaguely, that they were written at various times, which is evident enough from their contents. The sonnet commencing

> "Non ha l' ottimo artista alcun concetto,"

and other pieces, were printed during his lifetime, in the year 1549, and Varchi immediately wrote that celebrated commentary which gave so much gratification to the poet. Many of the poems were written in his old age and in the near prospect of death. Some of them were inserted in various collections of miscellaneous poems, but they were first arranged and published collectively by his nephew, Michel Angelo Buonarroti the younger, in the year 1623. In 1726, a more perfect edition was issued. The original manuscripts, clearly transcribed by his own hand, are preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome. The collection consists of sixty-two small poems called madrigals, sixty-four sonnets, and a few pieces of greater length. Love, friendship, art, and religion are his themes, and all are treated on the highest plane of thought. They are, indeed, as Wordsworth has said, just what we should expect from the painter of the Sistine Chapel or the architect of St. Peter's. Let us look a little more nearly into their contents and meaning.

Mr. Harford has developed at great length his Platonic theory of the Sonnets on Love. Like M. Duppa, he seems to consider Michel Angelo insensible to this passion in its full power, and to regard his verses only as veiled expressions of his philosophy. We cannot accept this theory to the extent to which he pushes it, any more than we can believe that the poet's great object in writing was to imitate Petrarch. At times he may have pleased himself with imitating a poet whom he admired, and certainly the sublime philosophy of Plato, so prevalent in the learned society in which his youth was passed, had its influence upon him; but it seems to us the critics dig very deep for what is clear and open as day. Michel Angelo wrote to embody those lofty and tender feelings whose natural form is poetry. He expressed the love which stirred his heart; but his love took on the noble livery of his soul, and is as chaste and elevated as Plato imagined it. How can we believe that a nature so impassioned and earnest, so keenly alive to beauty, so tender and devoted, could pass through life without feeling the master-passion of humanity? And what is more in harmony with his character than an impenetrable veil of silence over a feeling which had failed of its object in life? It is not the cold and selfish egotist, whose soul remains chaste, and his ideal of woman exalted, through a life spent in the most dissolute cities of the world; but it is he who has once seen his ideal of woman embodied, while the waters of sorrow have baptized his love with a religious consecration. It is thus that Michel Angelo speaks in a sonnet which Wordsworth has finely translated: —

"No mortal object did these eyes behold,
When first they met the placid light of thine,
And my Soul felt her destiny divine,
And hope of endless peace in me grew bold:
Heaven-born, the Soul a heavenward course must hold;
Beyond the visible world she soars to seek
(For what delights the sense is false and weak)
Ideal Form, the universal mould.
The wise man, I affirm, can find no rest
In that which perishes; nor will he lend
His heart to aught which doth on time depend.
'T is sense, unbridled will, and not true love,
That kills the soul: love betters what is best,
Even here below, but more in heaven above."

Is this a mere effort of the fancy, trying to imitate feeling? Who can credit it? We would not seek to draw from the silence where he has left them the details of his heart-history; but that he worshipped, like Dante, the bright ideal of early love through his whole life of suffering, toil, and glory, is a belief which fire will not melt out of us.

"If this be error, and upon me proved,
I never writ, nor no man ever loved."

In the same strain is the following, as rendered in Wordsworth's translation: —

"Yes, hope may with my strong desire keep pace,
And I be undeluded, unbetrayed;
For if of our affections none finds grace
In sight of Heaven, then wherefore hath God made
The world which we inhabit? Better plea
Love cannot have, than that in loving thee
Glory to that eternal Peace is paid,
Who such divinity to thee imparts
As hallows and makes pure all gentle hearts.
His hope is treacherous only whose love dies
With beauty, which is varying every hour;
But in chaste hearts, uninfluenced by the power
Of outward change, there blooms a deathless flower,
That breathes on earth the air of Paradise."

This feeling is indeed far from any low, or merely sensual love; but if it be a mere philosophic worship of beauty, this grand defence seems wholly out of place. The following sonnet is even more conclusive: —

"Non è colpa mai sempre empia e mortale
Per immensa bellezza un grande amore,
Se poi si lascia rammollito il core
Sì, che 'l penetri un bel divino strale.
Amore sveglia, e muove, e impenna l' ale
Per alto volo, ed è spesso il suo ardore
Il primo grado ond' al suo Creatore,
Non ben contenta quì, l' anima sale.
L' amor, che di te parla, in alto aspira,
Ned è vano e caduco; e mal conviensi
Arder per altro a cuor saggio e gentile;
L' un tira al cielo, e l' altro a terra tira:
Nell' alma l' un, l' altro abita nei sensi,
E l' arco volge a segno e basso e vile." *

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* After Wordsworth's disclaimer, we can venture a translation, since we do not find one elsewhere, only in a note: —

"It is not always vain and empty sin
To love a glorious beauty with great love,
If thus diviner arrows from above
May penetrate the softened heart within.
Love wakes and moves and plumes the wing
For highest flight, and oft its burning ray,
Nature's first step, shall on its upward way
The aspiring soul to its Creator bring.

Love is the first foretaste of that union with God for which every religious soul longs; for with Michel Angelo religion is the all-pervading life, and love is not discordant, but harmonious with it. This seems to us the grand pervading truth of these sonnets, which exalts them above all other poems on Love, even above the more exquisite and graceful verses of Dante.

But in order to give our readers the data for forming their own judgment, we will add two sonnets, one of which Mr. Harford claims as the strongest support of his theory, and another which even he allows must have been addressed to an earthly object. He says: —

> "The little poem upon Beauty, and the passages from Plato which follow it, compared with the subsequent sonnets, must, we are persuaded, have convinced our readers that an allegorical meaning, not at first sight obvious, pervades these poetic effusions; and that it is not an earthly lover who speaks in them, but the Platonist, who in solitude contemplates the abstract idea of Perfect Beauty and Perfect Love. But, as if to make this inference certain, Michel Angelo, in the following remarkable sonnet, has distinctly declared such to be his real meaning: —
>
> 'SONNET VI.
>
> 'The life-spring of my love is not my heart;
> I love thee with a love devoid of heart;
> There tending where nor human passion fraught
> With error nor a guilty thought is found.
> Love, when our souls proceeded forth from God,
> My vision clear and thee all splendor made;
> And still I seem its traces to behold
> E'en in thy frame which sin has mortal made.
> As heat from fire is not divisible,
> Thus with the Eternal blends the Beautiful,
> And I their emanations ever hail.
> Beholding in thine eyes bright Paradise,
> Ever beneath their radiance I would dwell,
> And thus return where first I loved thee so.'"

Love speaks of thee, and looks on high:
It is not vain nor slight, and suits but ill
An earth-born flame, to wise and gentle heart.
One draws to heaven, but one on earth would lie;
One doth the soul, one but the senses fill,
Bending its bow to base and villain art."

The thought of this seems to us perfectly in harmony with that of the preceding one. Love is not born of time and the body, but is an eternal attribute of the soul. Yet its expression in mortal beauty, and the passion of love, if kept pure, will raise the human being again to that heaven which is his true sphere.

In regard to the next sonnet, Mr. Harford says: —

> "The following sonnet, which ranks among his finest, must have reference to some beloved individual.
>
> 'SONNET XXI.
>
> 'Lady, how can it be? and yet each day
> Experience teaches that a form or face
> Chiselled in stone or marble's purer grace
> Lives when the framer's hand is lifeless clay.
> The cause infirm to the effect gives way,
> And Art on Nature smiles with conquering pride,
> I know it well, to Sculpture fair allied,
> And Time thus plays a faithless part with me.
> Haply my practised art to us may prove
> The enduring record of each face and mind
> In stone or colors wrought with power refined,
> So that to distant times it may appear
> How bright thy beauty was, how deep my love,
> And that true love ne'er moved in nobler sphere.'"

The translations of these sonnets are far inferior to the original in vigor and terseness of expression; but this defect is almost unavoidable. Yet a mere prose translation is often better than one in blank verse, which gives neither the form of the original nor the exact shades of thought. In the last three lines of the above sonnet we lose entirely the simplicity of expression in the Italian, —

> "Sicchè mill' anni dopo la partita,
> Quanto tu bella fosti, ed io t' amassi
> Si veggia, e come a amarti io non fui stolto," —

which may be literally translated: "So that a thousand years after our parting, it may be seen how beautiful thou wast, and how much I loved thee, and that I was not foolish in loving thee." Mr. Harford is more successful in some of the lighter madrigals. Although not very literal, the version has much grace and sweetness. Witness the following: —

"My eyes, which love to gaze on beauteous things,
Act on my soul, which pants for heavenly light,
Until I almost seem endued with wings,
'Neath Beauty's smile, for a supernal flight.
From loftiest stars shoot down a radiance all their own,
Drawing the soul above.
And such we say is Love;
For naught can so control,
Charm, penetrate the soul,
Or counsel it in monitory guise,
As a sweet face set off by star-like eyes."

Another of the most playful of these effusions is thus prettily rendered: —

"What is the power which, though I'm free,
Draws me in fetters bound to thee,
Sweet source of all my joy and pain?
If to enchain without a chain,
If round my yielding heart to twine
Soft bands invisible, be thine,
What shall defend me from the grace,
The winning beauties of thy face?
What from the living splendor of thine eyes,
Where Love, embattled, points his arrowy sorceries?"

There is something very touching in this graceful play of feeling, rich in thought even in its lighter strains, from one whose grander achievements and sterner virtues have almost hidden from the world his great human heart, with those sweet clustering tendrils called human affections. Mr. Harford says: "They seem at least to argue, that, although there is no evidence of his ever having been seriously in love, he was no stranger to the influence of female charms." No evidence of his having seriously loved? In what act of his whole life was he not thoroughly earnest and serious? and what better proof do we ask that he loved, than these fervent words, which express love in its highest exaltation? If the glow and the warmth do not indicate fire, what proof shall we seek? Shall we believe in passion only when, unbridled by conscience and religion, it works destruction and woe? Is Byron a lover, and Michel Angelo only a verse-maker?

Before leaving the poems referring to Love, we must add one on Marriage, which we do not find translated, but which seems to us wonderful for its justness and fulness of thought. We have made more attempts to translate it into verse than Bruce did to gain his kingdom, or the spider to fix his thread, but without the like success; so that our prosaic version will only serve as a help to those who are not fully conversant with the Italian.

“S’ un casto amor, s’ una pietà superna,
S’ una fortuna infra duo amanti eguale
Cui sia comune ognor la gioia e ’l male,
Quando uno spirto sol due cor governa;
S’ una anima in duo corpi fatta eterna,
Ambo levando al cielo, e con pari ale,
S’ un simil fuoco, ed un conforme strale
Ch’ altamente in due sen vive e s’ interna;
S’ amar l’ un l’ altro, e nessun mai se stesso,
Sol desiando amor d’ amor mercede,
E se quel che vuol l’ un l’ altro precorre,
A scambievole imperio sottomesso,
Son segni pur di indissolubil fede,
Or potrà sdegno tanto nodo sciorre?”

“If a chaste love, if a supreme piety,
If a fortune equal between two lovers,
To whom every joy and evil is in common
When one spirit alone governs two hearts;
If one soul made eternal in two bodies,
Both rising to Heaven and with equal wings;
If an equal flame, and a conformed aim,
Which nobly lives and incarnates itself in two;
If for each to love the other, and himself no longer,
Love desiring love alone for its reward,
And if that which one wishes, the other prefers,
Submitted to a mutual empire; —
If these are signs of indissoluble faith,
What fatal power can loosen such a tie?”

If a man can so think and so write without having felt, we must grant that the intellect has found out a path to truth better than that appointed by Heaven through the heart and the life. Why this heart which knew love so well never found its answering joy on earth, we know not. When asked why he never married, he said that he was wedded to his art. The lonely heart knew its own needs; but why should it utter them to a curious ear?

Among the poems which refer to his art, and show how closely it was interwoven with his whole life, love, and religion, is the celebrated one already mentioned as having given rise to so many comments, commencing,

"Non ha l' ottimo artista alcun concetto."

This sonnet was composed in his eighty-first year, and sent by him to Vasari. The commentary of Varchi, which so delighted Michel Angelo, seems to be an imitation of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, in which he divides his sonnets into parts according to their subjects, and then analyzes them very minutely. Varchi's critique is very elaborate, dwelling upon each separate word. A short extract from the introduction or explanation of the subject of the sonnet may prove interesting to our readers. After speaking of love as the theme of the poet, he divides it into three kinds, and describes, first, the natural love which belongs to all things, and is the cause of gravitation, and is the growth of plants; then the sensitive, which belongs to animals, and enables them to choose and obtain what is good for them; and, lastly, intellectual or spiritual love, of which he says: —

"The third and last appetite and love is called rational, or rather intellectual, and this is found only in rational animals, or truly intellectual animals. It is in man, and it is the most perfect of all the others, whence he who has this may have, and indeed has necessarily, the other two, but not indeed together; and all these three loves are natural in man, and consequently good. Whence this doubt immediately arises which we touched upon in the beginning, — How is it possible that a thing which comes from nature, and is consequently good, brings with it so many griefs, pains, and labors as are seen, felt, and suffered every day in loving? Which doubt this truly divine Angelo wishing to solve, and to recall mortals from the crooked and left-hand path to the right and straight, he does not do as many both anciently and lately have done and still do, who in order to exculpate themselves, or perhaps because they do not understand the truth, lay the blame, (as 't is said,) some on love, some on the beloved object, some on fortune; but he blames himself and no other, writing under his own name and person as the most pleasant and modest, to teach all complaining lovers of whom they ought to complain, and to whom to attribute the cause and the fault of all the passions and misfortunes which they feel and suffer in loving. And in order to demonstrate it more pleasantly and clearly, he uses (as Aristotle is accustomed to do) an example from artificial things, which are the most known to us, of which none could be imagined more appropriate to the matter of which he treats, nor more fit for him who treats it. And it is this (if I understand how to display and amplify with many and long words, as he knew how to enclose and condense it into few and brief ones). If a sculptor had a marble, it is certain that in that marble exists in possibility, that is, may be drawn from it, every figure that can be imagined, as a man, a horse, a lion, and thus equally of all others; or we should rather say, that in that marble exists in possibility, and may be drawn from it, all the beauty which the greatest master could give to any figure, — say, for example, a Mercury. Now if a sculptor, working on this marble and making this Mercury, does not know how to bring it to that perfection which he has imagined, or which a better artist might have imagined, to whom shall we impute the fault, to the marble or to the sculptor?"

Thus he goes on at some length to say, that, if a lover finds only injury and suffering in love, it is not the fault of love or of the beloved object, but of his own want of truth or skill. We give, in preference to more of the commentary, Mr. Harford's translation of the sonnet itself: —

"Whate'er conception a great artist fires,
Its answering semblance latent lies within
A block of marble, but the hand alone,
Swayed by the intellect, can give it form.
Lady illustrious, graceful, and divine,
The good I'd seek for, and the ill I'd shun,
Thus latent are in thee; but I, death-struck,
Fail in my efforts to attain that good.
Nor love then, nor thy beauty, are the cause,
Nor adverse fortune, nor thy cold disdain
Of the sad destiny 'neath which I pine.
If death and pity each within my heart
Together dwell, how weak my power, which fails,
Though ardent, to extract thence aught but death!"

In this connection we cannot forbear quoting Michel Angelo's own letter in regard to the sonnet and commentary, which is remarkable for its simple feeling and its tone of quiet humor. Our translation is as literal as possible.

"To M. LUCA MARTINI.

"Illustrious M. Luca, — I have received by Bartolomeo Bettini your letter, with a little book, a commentary on a sonnet from my hand. The sonnet, indeed, comes from me, but the comment comes from heaven;

it is truly a wonderful thing. I do not say it from my judgment, but from that of superior men, and especially of M. Donato Giannotti, who cannot be satisfied with reading it, and who sends you his remembrance. In regard to the sonnet, I know what it is; but however that may be, I cannot help feeling a little vainglory, having been the cause of so fine and learned a comment, and because through its author I feel myself by his words and praises to be what I am not. I pray that you will say for me to him such words as become such love, affection, and courtesy. I ask this of you because I feel myself of little worth, and he who is in good repute ought not to tempt fortune, and it is better to be silent than to fall from a height. I am old, and death has taken from me the thoughts of youth; and let him who does not know what old age is have patience till it arrives, for he cannot know it before. Commend me, as I have said, to Varchi, as his most affectionately, and sensible of his virtues and of his service while I live.

M. A. B."

"In Rome.

This sonnet is true not only of love, but has also its broad application to human life. Is it not true that it rests with ourselves whether out of the hard marble of life we carve the divine statue of tranquillity, or the Gorgon's head of remorse and despair? And only the hand which obeys the intellect* can find the fair image under its outward folds.

One of the most pleasing of the madrigals states the author's artistic creed in poetic speech. It is unfair not to give it in his own words, so that we shall insert the original with only a literal prose version: —

"Per fido esempio alla mia vocazione,
Nascendo, mi fu data la bellezza
Che di due arti m' è lucerna e specchio,
E, s' altro uom crede, è falsa opinione.
Questa sol l' occhio porta a quella altezza
Per cui scolpire e pinger m' apparecchio.
Sono i giudizi temerari e sciocchi
Ch' al senso tiran la beltà che muove,
E porta al cielo ogni intelletto sano.
Dal mortale al divin non vanno gli occhi
Che sono infermi, e non ascendon dove
Ascender senza grazia è pensier vano."

---

* This term is used by Michel Angelo to express all the higher or spiritual faculties of the soul, — not merely the understanding or the analytic reason.

"At my birth Beauty was given to me for a faithful guide to my vocation, the light and mirror of two arts; and if man believes aught else, it is but a false opinion. This alone carries the eye to that height at which I prepare to sculpture and to paint. Those thoughts are rash and foolish which draw from sense the beauty that moves every sane soul and bears it to heaven. Infirm eyes cannot pass from the mortal to the Divine, nor rise there where to hope to rise without grace is vain."

His inspiration came from above, not from below, — not from imitating nature, but from the grace of God. How faithfully he labored in his study of nature, we have seen by his devotion to anatomy. He sought there the means of expression; but the thought was heaven-born. This made him the grand idealist that he was, whose every work bears the stamp of sublimity and grandeur.

His Sonnets to Dante are very beautiful; but as they have been admirably translated by Southey, and are the most widely known of any of the poems, we must pass them by. Others are addressed to various learned men of his time. We need not dwell on them, but would rather turn to one of the most pleasing passages of his life, — his relation to the celebrated Vittoria Colonna. His friendship for this distinguished woman was one of the greatest joys of his later years. He was sixty-four years of age at the commencement of their acquaintance; she was but forty-eight; yet he survived to mourn her death many years. Their affection was founded on great similarity of intellectual taste and religious feeling. They were both devoted admirers of Savonarola, and the lady was even suspected of a secret adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation. While their mutual regard partook of that poetic fervor and beauty which always belong to a tender relation between persons of opposite sex, we agree with Mr. Harford, that it was not a passionate attachment on either side, but a noble and earnest friendship, as between two lofty beings whose characters admirably harmonized. Her pious warmth and zeal kindled into lively expression the strong religious feelings of his soul. We think Mr. Harford lays too much doctrinal stress on the language of feeling which pervades the poems addressed to her. We often err in constructing a system of theology out of the outpourings of a pious heart. It is well known that Charles Lamb's vivid picture of the sufferings of a drunkard led to an exaggerated report of his own inebriety; and the self-accusations of a sensitive conscience should not be taken as a calm estimate of one's own nature. That one so aspiring as Michel Angelo, and so exacting in his standard of right, should use the language of penitence and pious shame, is extremely natural; that, as he approached the grave, in moments of despondency all things of earth should seem vain and profitless to him, is true to common experience; but shall we thence argue that he had lived a sinful life, and that he repented of the glorious thoughts on philosophy and art, which, united to religion, had been his constant guides? Mr. Harford says: "We find the lofty Platonist transmuted into the humble Christian, who, on a review of the past, is deeply smitten with a sense of his own unworthiness, and can find no ground for present peace or immortal hope but that of penitential faith in the merits of his Redeemer." We find no discrepancy in his views. His philosophy is religious, and his religion pervades his whole mind. We find the same lofty faith in God in his earliest as in his latest works, only at the last it is mingled with more of that tenderness which belongs to old age, and his theme is less of the labors which lie before him on earth, and more of the consolations which await him in eternity. As he labored in art to the close of his long life, we cannot believe that he considered his devotion to it idle and unprofitable; but that he did all things, as he built St. Peter's, "per amor di Dio."

We find five poems addressed to the Marchioness Vittoria Colonna, including one on her death. With much religious feeling, there is the graceful devotion of a poet to an accomplished lady, hardly in keeping with the devotional asceticism which Mr. Harford ascribes to him. The first expresses most strongly his gratitude for her religious influence over him.

"'Midst endless doubts shifting from right to left,
How my salvation to secure I seek:
And still 'twixt Vice and Virtue balancing,
My heart, confused, weighs down and wearies me.
As one who, having lost the light of Heaven,
Bewildered strays, whatever path he takes,

I, lady, to your sacred penmanship
Present the blank page of my troubled mind,
That you, in dissipation of my doubts,
May on it write how my benighted soul
Of its desired end may not so fail
As to incur at length a fatal fall.
Be you the writer who have taught me how
To tread by fairest paths the way to Heaven."

We add another in a different vein, although Mr. Harford's graceful version is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation.

"Lady, I trust it is not pride,
But Obligation 's so allied
To Favor that I seem to see
In your exalted courtesy
Infringement on my liberty.
O, rather injure me, than bind
Such fetters on my free-born mind,
Since the sun's radiance, on the eye
Shining in unblenched majesty,
Should heighten, not o'erwhelm, the sight.
But dazzled by excess of light,
On me thus acts your presence bright.
It charms, and yet its potent ray
Unnerves my reason's wonted sway.
Small virtue, when its path is crossed
By higher far, absorbed, is lost.
They who too much bestow, confound;
With such there is no common ground.
Therefore, though rarely to be found,
Love wills that friends should equal be
In virtue and in quality."

Finally, we have those plaintive strains of loneliness, of penitence, of regret in the retrospect of life, which, admirable as they seem to us, did not reach his own standard of perfection, — laments which befit an old age uncheered by the tender ties of family affection, and shaded by the near prospect of death. They are most precious, as showing how sensitive was the conscience, and how tender the heart, of the brave old giant. But let us not consider the outbursts of a suffering soul as the calm estimates of his understanding. He was not occupied in comparing himself with other men; but in his solitary hours of communion with God and his own soul, how trifling seemed all that he had done, how little all that he had attained, compared with the glorious model of perfection which rose before him! The old man who had seen generation after generation pass away while he yet lingered, seemed to have his heart in heaven while he walked among men; and although his last days were spent in active service, his spirit dwelt on the heights of contemplation. He has woven for himself a sweet garland of faith and trust, better than the laurel-wreaths which we hang upon his tomb. Fortunately, Wordsworth, whose own lofty spirit so fully communed with his soul, has given us the following beautiful version of one of these sonnets:—

"The prayers I make will then be sweet indeed,
If Thou the spirit give by which I pray:
My unassisted heart is barren clay,
That of its native self can nothing feed.
Of good and pious works Thou art the seed,
That quickens only where Thou say'st it may:
Unless Thou show to us thine own true way,
No man can find it: Father! Thou must lead.
Do Thou then breathe those thoughts into my mind
By which such virtue may in me be bred
That in thy holy footsteps I may tread;
The fetters of my tongue do Thou unbind,
That I may have the power to sing of thee,
And sound thy praises everlastingly."

Again we give Mr. Harford's translation of one of these sonnets:—

"False Love! with thee, for many a livelong year,
I 've fed my soul, in part my body too:
For thy seductive arts the unwary woo
To flowery paths with pitfalls lurking near.
Now wearied, on winged thoughts I upward steer,
Where purer, nobler objects charm the view;
Pardon I ask of God, with sorrow true,
For faults which traced on endless sheets appear.
Far other Love points to Eternal Day:
Imperishable Beauty leads me there;
To its bright shafts my bosom I unbare;
One urges on, the other smooths my way.
Hope smiles celestial: in those smiles I 'll trust,
Till 'neath some marble sleeps, at length, my dust."

The following, of which we find no translation, is peculiarly expressive of that communion with God which was the consolation of Michel Angelo's declining years: —

> "Deh! fammiti vedere in ogni loco,
> Che, se infiammar dal tuo lume mi sento,
> Ogni altro ardor nell' alma mia fia spento,
> Per sempre accesa viver nel tuo foco.
> Io te chiamo, Signor, te solo invoco
> Contro l' inutil mio cieco tormento;
> Tu mi rinnuova in sen col pentimento
> Le voglie, e 'l senno, e 'l valor ch' è sì poco.
> Tu desti al tempo l' anima, ch' è diva,
> E in questa spoglia sì fragile e stanca
> La incarcerasti, e desti al suo destino;
> Tu la nutri, e sostieni, e tu l' avviva;
> Ogni ben senza te, Signor, le manca;
> La sua salute è sol poter divino."

We subjoin a literal translation: —

> "Ah, make me to see thee in every place,
> For, if I feel myself illumined by thy light,
> Every other passion will be extinguished in my soul,
> That I may live always kindled by thy flame.
> I call on thee, O Lord, thee alone I invoke
> Against my vain, blind suffering.
> Do thou by repentance renew in my breast
> The will and the mind and the courage now so feeble.
> Thou hast awakened into time the soul, which is divine;
> Thou hast imprisoned it in these vestments so frail and weary,
> And thou hast assigned it to its destiny;
> Do thou feed it and sustain it, and do thou enliven it;
> All good, without thee, O Lord, is wanting to it;
> The Divine power alone is its salvation."

Is not this the true expression of a soul in which faith and philosophy are not antagonistic, — which sees

> "A God employed in all the good and ill
> That checker life,"

and believes his immanent presence to be the vivifying power of man, both soul and body?

The following sonnet, possibly his last, was sent, in his eighty-third year, to Vasari: —

"Giunto è già 'l corso della vita mia
Con tempestoso mar per fragil barca
Al comun porto, ov' a render si varca
Giusta ragion d' ogni opra trista, e pia:
Onde l' affettuosa fantasia,
Che l' arte si fece idolo e monarca,
Conosco ben quant' era d' error carca;
Ch' errore è ciò che l' uom quaggiù desia.
I pensier miei, già de' mie' danni lieti,
Che fian or s' a due morti m' avvicino?
L' una m' è certa, e l' altra mi minaccia.
Nè pinger, nè scolpir fia più che queti
L' anima volta a quell' amor divino,
Ch' aperse a prender noi in croce le braccia."

"Already the course of my life,
By a frail bark over a tempestuous sea,
Has reached that common port where it goes to render
A true account of every evil or pious deed.
As to the fond fancy
Which made to itself an idol and monarch of art,
I well know how it was filled with error,
For all that man desires below is error.
My thoughts, which formerly delighted in what was harmful,
What are they now that I approach a double death?
The one is certain, and the other threatens me;
Nor can painting or sculpture any longer satisfy the soul
Which is turned to that Divine Love
Which from the cross opened its arms to receive us."

We think the examples we have cited are sufficient to substantiate our claim for Michel Angelo to a rank among the great poets of the world. To dramatic or epic power he makes no pretension; but in the lofty and poetic expression of the highest thoughts, we must place these sonnets beside those of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Milton, and the *Vita Nuova* of Dante.

Besides his poems, Michel Angelo wrote a lecture on one of Petrarch's sonnets. He also commenced a treatise on Architecture, and planned one on Human Motives, which he did not write. Condivi promised to compile a collection of Precepts of Art, by Michel Angelo; but he did not keep his word. In addition, we have several of his letters published by Vasari, and others, which are full of interest; and other letters still remain in manuscript in the possession of the family of Buonarroti. It is hoped they will soon be made public.

The character of Michel Angelo, as portrayed by his biographers and revealed in his own productions, is composed of the grandest elements of human nature. If we rank him second to any, it is only to those few heroes who, like Moses, Confucius, and Socrates, have influenced the moral destinies of whole nations. His intellect was at once broad, clear, penetrating, and practical. His imagination was lofty and productive. His will was bold, determined, and persevering. His moral character was equally great. In the midst of avarice and venality, he kept his integrity perfect. When, at the Pope's request, the Duke of Urbino consented to a reduction of the number of statues for the monument of Julius, "his reply was, that in this case he must be allowed to pay back a sum of money sufficient to cover the cost of the statues thus proposed to be subtracted. He immediately did so by depositing 1580 ducats to the credit of his Highness in the bank of the Strozzi." In a court where luxury and debauchery abounded, he observed the strictest temperance in all his habits. His diet was very simple, consisting mostly of bread and a little wine. When laboring on the Last Judgment, he contented himself, for the most part, with a single frugal repast at the close of the day. He slept little, and often rose in the dead of the night, to pursue his artistic labors. When employed in sculpture he would put on a paper cap, in front of which he placed a candle, that his hands might be free and yet the light be thrown upon the part where he wished to work. In an age when the sacred vows of the Church were but a screen for licentiousness, Michel Angelo lived chaste, and preserved the purity of his soul unspotted. His reverence for woman, and his respect for her purity, breathe through all his writings, and Condivi bears direct testimony in this regard. He says: —

> "I have often heard Michel Angelo reason and discourse upon love, but never heard him speak otherwise than upon Platonic love. As for me, I am ignorant what Plato has said upon that subject, but this I know very well, that in a long intimacy I have never heard from his mouth a single word that was not most perfectly decorous, and had not for its object to extinguish in youth every improper and lawless desire, and that his own nature is a stranger to depravity."

His stern self-respect laid him open to the charge of excessive pride and irritability. When Pope Julius II. suddenly and capriciously withdrew the favor which he had bestowed upon him, Michel Angelo at once retired to Florence, and heeded neither command nor entreaty to return to Rome, until ample atonement was offered for the insult. But this pride was not for himself alone; he asserted the right of the artist against the insolence of office. The artist was not then honored as in the best days of Greece; and his own parents had considered art a calling unworthy of his rank and education. But he maintained that art was the noblest function of man, and he demanded that respect which he also knew how to render where it was due. That he was violent in his temper, and used strong language in moments of excitement, we cannot doubt, but we find no instance of meanness or low revenge. It is indeed related that he placed Biagio da Cesena, who had found fault with the nudity of the figures in the Last Judgment, among the demons; but it seems to have been regarded as a just punishment, for when Biagio appealed to the Pope to order the painter to erase his portrait, his Holiness replied, "If he had painted you in Purgatory there might have been some help for it, but there is no redemption out of Hell."

When Torrigiano threw his mallet so violently that he broke the bridge of Michel Angelo's nose, the latter proudly retorted, "You will only be known hereafter as the man who broke my nose." The prophecy has proved almost literally true.

He is accused of envy and jealousy towards his rivals in art; but although he was excited by the emulation of such men as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Bramante, and Titian, we find words of generous praise from his mouth for every one of his great competitors. He greatly admired Titian's color. Of the gates of the Baptistery designed by Ghiberti, he said, "They are worthy to be the gates of Paradise"; and he declared that his celebrated dome of St. Peter's was not finer, but only larger, than Brunelleschi's.

He gladly availed himself of judicious and kindly criticism, but was quick to see through the pretensions of shallow ignorance. A friend having remarked that his statue of a Faun, although representing an old man, had the teeth all sound and regular, Michel Angelo could hardly await the departure of his guest, so anxious was he to change his model in accordance with this just criticism. On the other hand, the Gonfaloniere Soderini one day, while standing directly below the statue of David, expressed himself delighted with it. "There is, however, one slight defect," he added; "the nose is rather too thick." Michel Angelo saw that it was impossible for the worthy magistrate to judge correctly of this feature from his position; but knowing discussion to be useless, he slyly took up a little marble-dust in his hand, and, mounting the scaffold to the side of the statue, he affected to work on the nose with a file, letting the dust fall on the head of Soderini. "How does it look now?" he asked. "I am perfectly satisfied," said Soderini: "you have actually imparted life to it."

Instances of this kind of humor are related, which show that he always understood the man he had to deal with. When the Pope requested him to adorn the garments of the Apostles with gold, "They were poor men, your Reverence," was his reply, "and did not wear gold," — a significant remark from a pupil of Savonarola to the luxurious successor of St. Peter.

But while most writers do justice to these heroic qualities of the great artist, few dwell upon the tender feelings of his nature and the warm affections of his heart. The times of peril and conflict through which he passed, brought out into bold relief the stern qualities of his soul. Suffering and trial rendered him a reserved and lonely man. Ill health was his portion in youth, and in manhood political troubles made him an exile from his country, and left that country desolate. Lanzi says that the crown of Raphael's good fortune was his early death, which spared him the knowledge of those troubles which came so soon after; but Michel Angelo drank the cup of life to the dregs, and many a bitter drop was mingled in it. The lonely grandeur of a character whose very virtues separated him from those around him, a home without wife or child to cheer his heart, and a diseased frame, made him a sad and solitary man even in the midst of his artistic triumphs. To him may be applied the words of Scripture: —

"It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. He sitteth alone and keepeth silence because he hath borne it upon him."

But touching proofs of his affectionate heart are to be found in his relations to his brother artists, to his literary contemporaries, to his noble friend Vittoria Colonna, to his nephew and his family, and especially to his servant Urbino. We cannot forbear inserting the whole of his letter on the death of this servant, which is very touching, from its simplicity, its sadness, and its tenderness.

To Vasari.

"My dear George: —

"I can hardly write, but I will say something in reply to your letter. You know that Urbino is dead; which has been to me the greatest mercy from God, but it is to my heavy loss and infinite grief. The mercy is, that, while in life he kept me alive, in dying he has taught me how to die, not with dislike, but with desire of death. I have had him twenty-six years, and I have found him most rare and faithful; and now that I had made him rich, and that I expected him to be the staff and rest of my old age, he has gone; nor does any hope remain to me but to see him again in paradise. And of this God has given me a sign in the happy death which he has died, for much more than dying did it grieve him to leave me in this deceitful world with so many troubles, although the greater part of me is gone with him, nor does there remain to me anything but an infinite sorrow.

"I am yours, M. B."

After the death of Urbino, Michel Angelo continued his affectionate care of his widow and orphans, as we find by a letter to the widow still extant.

To all other virtues Michel Angelo added the crowning grace of a sincere, unaffected, manly piety, or, rather, all his goodness sprang from this central root. We find little record of his theological opinions, save his admiration of the bold preaching of Savonarola. Many things in his life and writings partake of the tone of Protestantism; but that he never severed himself from the communion of the Roman Church is evident from his devoting so many years to the building of St. Peter's Church for "the love of God." We find little allusion to the Church, or her peculiar doctrines, in his poems;

but the great truths of religion, the guardian care and love of God, the communion of the human soul with his spirit, the solemn responsibility of duty, and the glorious hope of immortality, are apparent on every page. These holy comforters sustained him through nearly ninety years of life, labor, and trial, and they gave a vitality to his whole being which makes him still a living presence to us, almost three hundred years after his weary body was laid in the grave.

He died of a slow fever, February 17th, 1564. His funeral obsequies were celebrated with the greatest magnificence, the first artists of the time vying with one another to do him honor. His last will was in these simple words: "I leave my soul to God, my body to the earth, and my property to my nearest relations."

We owe Mr. Harford thanks for the two volumes which have suggested our theme; but we cannot feel that he has exhausted his subject. When the additional manuscripts lying among the archives of the Buonarroti family are made public, we trust some writer with a mind of broader scope, a richer imagination, and purer taste, will gather up the scattered materials, and weave them into a grand whole, which shall give us a true picture of the Life and Times of Michel Angelo.

ART. II. — *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis conditum a* CAROLO DUFRESNE DOMINO DUCANGE, *cum Supplementis Integris* MONACHORUM ORDINIS S. BENEDICTI, D. P. CARPENTERII, ADELUNGI, *Aliorum, suisque digessit* G. A. L. HENSCHEL. VII. Tomi. 4to. Parisiis. 1840-1850.

No student of modern history can pronounce the name of Ducange without a feeling of affectionate veneration. The rare combination of qualities requisite to lexicography, — patient industry, critical acumen, exhaustless learning, — so seldom vouchsafed to a single individual, render those who succeed in perfecting their self-imposed and repellent tasks benefactors of no common order. When, in addition to the ordinary difficulties surrounding such labor, the attempt is made in a new and almost unexplored province, which by its vast extent and intricate recesses seems beyond the capacity of one finite mind to grasp, success would appear hopeless, and even failure not undeserving of praise. Such was the endeavor of Ducange, and his generous self-confidence was not deceived; the fullest triumph crowned his gigantic labors, and the scholars of succeeding ages look up to him as their master and their guide. A simple glossary of bastard Latin, — a vocabulary of the barbarous words which had crept into the language used after the destruction of the Roman Empire, — such is the modest form of his undertaking; but to accomplish it on his plan required him to present all the details of mediæval life, civil and military, legal and political, commercial and ecclesiastical, technical and artistic, public and domestic. Each word gives rise to an essay, in which the subject is examined on all sides with an exhaustive erudition that seems almost superhuman. Sparing of his own remarks, which are terse and to the point, he cites contemporary authorities with a profusion of research that leaves little to be asked for; while, by his skilful apposition and comparison of doubtful allusions, obscure points become clear, and that which before was inexplicable is brought within the domain of positive knowledge. In this Ducange had but little assistance to expect from his predecessors. The glossaries and notes appended by Lindenbruck, Pithou, Bignon, and others, to their editions of ancient laws and formulæ, had, it is true, assembled together a certain amount of material; the Glossary of Spelman, a more ambitious attempt, and highly creditable to that learned and accurate archæologist, was more to the purpose, and contained the results of much curious and profitable research; but these were as nothing, in plan or in execution, to the vast conception of that enterprise which Ducange alone could dare and accomplish.

In 1678, three folio volumes conveyed to the public this stupendous work, which was at once received with acclamation by the learned throughout Europe, and was acknowledged as indispensable to the apparatus of all scholars. Diligent critics calculated that the number of extracts embodied in its pages amounted to one hundred and forty thousand, derived from six thousand different sources, printed or manuscript; while the immense range of topics discussed was rendered manifest by forty-five indexes or catalogues of words, each representing a special class, for the benefit of those who might desire to follow up particular subjects throughout the work. The very assistance afforded by the Glossary to antiquarian studies contributed, however, in the course of time, to render it imperfect, and caused deficiencies to be felt which had not previously existed. The renewed zeal of the learned gave to the world vast masses of mediæval manuscripts, which had lain concealed in dark corners of provincial libraries and ecclesiastical establishments, and the accumulation of fresh material rendered necessary an enlargement of the only work which could be referred to for its elucidation. A new edition was at length resolved on by the Benedictines, and when it appeared, in 1733-36, the original three volumes had expanded to six. This was no more a finality than its predecessor. The untiring efforts of Bouquet, Sécousse, Muratori, and their collaborators, to say nothing of the never-ending labors of the Bollandists, continued to collect additional matter, and in 1766 a Supplement of four more folios was published by Dom Carpentier, who had assisted his brethren in the preparation of the second edition. This huge and overgrown bulk of course placed the rich treasury of erudition beyond the reach of ordinary students, and the whole speedily became scarce and high-priced, notwithstanding various reprints of the Benedictine edition in Switzerland and Italy. At length, in our own day, the Didots of Paris, with a liberality more nearly allied to the professional pride of the early printers than to the practical money-making ideas of the present age, undertook to reconstruct this magnificent monument of their country's learning, and the result is before us. By the resources of modern typography, seven royal quarto volumes, with more than six thousand triple-columned pages, present the contents of the ten folios of the last century, augmented by much valuable matter. M. Henschel, the editor, has not only incorporated throughout the Supplement of Dom Carpentier, but, from the labors of Adelung, Haltaus, and other German lexicographers, together with his own researches, he has also remedied to a considerable extent the deficiencies formerly existing with respect to the Teutonic writers and history.

Prodigally as Ducange lavished his intellectual wealth on this immense repository, we must not imagine that it exhausted his resources. A similar key was required to the Greek authors of the Lower Empire, and this, long vainly desired by scholars, was supplied by him in two folios, overflowing with the same abundant learning. Other works, illustrative of Byzantine and French history, any one of which would be sufficient to establish an ordinary reputation, were given to the public with equal facility; and the piles of manuscripts left behind him show that these were for him only the prolegomena of designs yet more vast and comprehensive. These labors, which, without exaggeration, may well be termed gigantic, were accomplished by steady and unremitting application. During a long life, fourteen hours a day were allotted regularly to study, and he yet found time for the domestic duties of a husband and father, and for the faithful performance of the functions of a public office. So intense was his mental activity, that his marriage-day only found him willing to reduce his allowance to six or seven hours. Looking round at the learned of our own day, and marking their skill in beating out their intellectual minimum of gold, we feel abashed in presence of the simple and single-minded scholar, with his unfathomable erudition.

If History be indeed "Philosophy teaching by example," then her text should not be merely the scandalous intrigues of a court, or the desolating achievements of an army. The inner life of the people affords the most instructive lessons, and he who would attempt to study or to teach, must seek to penetrate into these recesses. The fact which to the mere chronicler is a result, to him should be only material which, in combination with other facts, may enable him to deduce a principle. It is from this consideration that the work before us derives its special and incomparable importance. Scattered amid masses of documents, printed and manuscript, accessible to few inquirers, lie the treasures from which the history of Europe and of modern civilization is yet to be constructed. Careless allusions to forgotten customs, hints of matters which the contemporary annalist or scrivener takes for granted, when rightly understood, often throw a flood of light on the character and manners of a period; and yet who, aspiring to more than the simple collection of materials, can undertake the hopeless task of traversing public libraries, or of penetrating carefully guarded archives, guided only by the instinct that there must be something lying concealed, yet scarcely knowing what to look for, and happy if he recognize it when found? Such efforts necessarily circumscribe the sphere of research to the narrowest possible bounds, and no enlarged results can be deduced from them. Even should the student be fortunate enough to have at his command the interminable bulk which has already been committed to print, the span of a single life is barely sufficient for the examination of his materials. To such investigations the assistance of Ducange is inestimable; not that he supplies all we may want, but that, used merely as an index, his work spares us endless, useless labor, by guiding us to the fields which yield the fullest return, while from his own inexhaustible stores he does much to make good our deficiencies. In the following attempt to group together some of the peculiarities of human progress as developed in the institution of the ORDEAL, we pay the best practical tribute to the utility of this *opus magnum.* The frequency of our citations will show the assistance derived from its richly stored pages.

It is only in an age of high and refined mental culture that man, unassisted by direct inspiration, can entertain an adequate conception of the Supreme Being. An Omnipotence that can work out its destined ends, and yet allow its mortal creatures free scope to mould their own fragmentary portions of the great whole; a Power so infinitely great that its goodness, mercy, and justice are compatible with the existence of evil in the world which it has formed, so that man has full liberty to obey the dictates of his baser passions, without being released from responsibility, and, at the same time, without disturbing the preordained results of Divine wisdom and beneficence, — these are not the ideas which prevail in the formative periods of society. Accordingly, in the earlier epochs of almost all races, a belief in a Divine Being is accompanied with the expectation that special manifestations of power will be made on all occasions, and that the interposition of Providence may be had for the asking, whenever man, in the pride of his littleness, condescends to waive his own judgment, and undertakes to test the inscrutable ways of his Creator by the touchstone of his own limited reason. Thus miracles come to be expected as matters of every-day occurrence, and the laws of nature are to be suspended whenever man chooses to tempt his God with the promise of right and the threat of injustice to be committed in His name.

To these elements of the human mind is attributable the almost universal adoption of the so-called Judgment of God, by which men, oppressed with doubt, have essayed in all ages to relieve themselves from responsibility by calling in the assistance of Heaven. Nor, in so doing, have they seemed to appreciate the self-exaltation implied in the act itself, but, in all humility, have cast themselves and their sorrows at the feet of the Great Judge, making a merit of abnegating the reason which, however limited, has been bestowed to be used and not rejected. In the Carlovingian Capitularies there occurs a passage, dictated doubtless by the spirit of genuine trust in God, which well expresses the pious sentiments presiding over acts of the grossest practical impiety. "Let doubtful cases be determined by the judgment of God. The judges may decide that which they clearly know, but that which they cannot know shall be reserved for Divine judgment. Whom God hath kept for his own judgment may not be condemned by human means. 'Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts.'"* (1 Cor. iv. 5.)

With but one exception, the earliest records of the human race bear witness to the existence of the superstition thus dignified with the forms of Christian faith, and this exception, as might be anticipated, is furnished by China. Her strange civilization presents itself, in the Sacred Books collected by Confucius five hundred years before the Christian era, in nearly the same form as it exists to this day, guided by a religion destitute of life, and consisting of a system of cold morality, which avoids the virtues as well as the errors of more imaginative and generous faith. In the most revered and authoritative of the Chinese scriptures, the Chou-King, or Holy Book, of which the origin is lost in fabulous antiquity, we find a theo-philosophy recognizing a Supreme Power (Taï-Ki) or Heaven, which is pure reason, or the embodiment of the laws and forces of Nature, acting under the pressure of blind destiny. Trace back the Chinese belief as far as we may, we cannot get behind this refined and philosophical scepticism. The flowery kingdom starts from the night of Chaos intellectually full-grown, like Minerva, and from first to last there is no semblance of a creed which would admit of the direct practical intervention of a higher power. The fullest admission which this prudent reserve will allow is expressed by the legislator Mou-Vang (about 1000 B. C.) in his instructions to his judges in criminal cases: "Say not that Heaven is unjust, — it is that man brings these evils on himself. If it were not that Heaven inflicts these severe punishments, the world would be ungoverned."* In the modern penal code of China there is accordingly no allusion to evidence other than that of witnesses, and even oaths are neither required nor admitted in judicial proceedings.†

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* "In ambiguis, Dei judicio reservetur sententia. Quod certe agnoscunt suo, quod nesciunt divino reservent judicio. Quoniam non potest humano condemnari examine quem Deus suo judicio reservavit. Incerta namque non debemus judicare quoadusque veniat Dominus, qui latentia producet in lucem, et inluminabit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit consilia cordium." — Capit. Lib. VII. cap. 259.

When we turn, however, to the other great source of Asiatic jurisprudence, whose fantastic intricacy forms so strange a contrast to the coeval sober realism of China, we find in the Laws of Menou abundant proof of our general proposition. There is no work of the human intellect which offers so curious a field of speculation to the student of human nature; none in which the transitions are so abrupt, or the contradictions so startling, between the most sublime doctrines of spiritual morality, and the grossest forms of puerile superstition, — the most elevated precepts of universal justice, and the foulest partiality in specific cases. Its very complexity reveals a highly civilized state of society, and the customs and observances which it embodies are evidently not innovations on an established order of things, but merely a compilation of regulations and procedures established through previous ages, whose origin is lost in the trackless depths of remote antiquity. When, therefore, we see in the Hindoo code the same strange and unnatural forms of purgation which two thousand years later* greet us on the threshold of European civilization, adorned but not concealed by a thin veil of Christianized superstition, the coincidence seems more than accidental. That the same principle should be at work in each, we can account for by the general tendencies of the human mind; but that this principle should manifest itself under the same remarkable shapes in races so far removed by time and space, seems to hint at special affinities of origin, perplexing and impenetrable, and as yet but darkly guessed at by modern ethnologists. In the following texts, the principal forms of Ordeal prescribed are precisely similar to the most popular of the mediæval judgments of God: —

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* Chou-King, Part IV. chap. 27, § 21 (after Goubil's translation).

† Staunton, Penal Code of China, p. 364.

> "Or, according to the nature of the case, let the judge cause him who is under trial to take fire in his hand, or to plunge in water, or to touch separately the heads of his children and of his wife.
>
> "Whom the flame burneth not, whom the water rejects not from its depths, whom misfortune overtakes not speedily, his oath shall be received as undoubted.
>
> "When the Richi Vatsa was accused by his young half-brother, who stigmatized him as the son of a Soûdra, he sware that it was false, and passing through fire proved the truth of his oath: the fire, which attests the guilt and the innocence of all men, harmed not a hair of his head, for he spake the truth." †

That this was not merely a theoretical injunction is shown by a subsequent provision (Book VIII. v. 190), enjoining the ordeal on both plaintiff and defendant, even in certain civil cases. From the immutable character of Eastern institutions, we need not be surprised to see the custom flourishing in India to the present day, and to find that, in the popular estimation, the guilt or innocence of the accused is to be tested by his ability to carry red-hot iron, to plunge his arm unhurt in boiling oil, to pass through fire, to remain under water, to swallow consecrated rice, to drink water in which an idol has been immersed, to maintain his normal weight when a paper on which the accusation is written has been addded to the scale, or to choose between an image of silver and one of lead, — all forms which still preserve their hold on public veneration,* as many of them did within five or six centuries among our own forefathers.

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* Sir William Jones places the composition of the Laws of Menou about 880 B. C. More recent investigators, however, have arrived at the conclusion, that they are anterior to the Christian era by at least thirteen centuries.

† Laws of Menou, Book VIII. v. 114–116 (after Delongchamp's translation).

The numerous points of resemblance existing between the Indian and Egyptian civilizations, which render it probable that the one was derived from the other, lead us also to presume that these superstitions were common to both races. Detailed evidence, such as we possess in the case of Hindostan is, however, not to be expected with regard to Egypt, of which the literature has so utterly perished; but an incident related by Herodotus shows us that the same belief existed in the land of the Pharaohs, in at least one form, and that in judicial proceedings an appeal was habitually made to some deity, whose response had all the weight of a legal judgment, a direct interposition of the divinity being expected as a matter of course by all parties. King Amasis, whose reign immediately preceded the invasion of Cambyses, "is said to have been, even when a private person, fond of drinking and jesting, and by no means inclined to serious business; and when the means failed him for the indulgence of his appetites, he used to go about pilfering. Such persons as accused him of having their property, on his denying it, used to take him to the oracle of the place, and he was oftentimes convicted by the oracles, and oftentimes acquitted. When, therefore, he had come to the throne, he acted as follows: Whatever gods had absolved him from the charge of theft, of their temples he neither took any heed, nor contributed anything toward their repair; neither did he frequent them nor offer sacrifices, considering them of no consequence at all, and as having only lying responses to give. But as many as had convicted him of the charge of theft, to them he paid the highest respect, considering them as truly gods, and delivering authentic responses." *

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* Hastings, Asiatic Researches (Königswarter).

A passing allusion only is necessary to the instances, which will readily occur to the Biblical student, in the Hebrew legislation and history. The bitter water by which conjugal infidelity was revealed (Numbers v. 11–31), was an ordeal pure and simple, as were likewise the special cases of determining criminals by lot, such as that of Achan (Joshua vii. 16–18) and of Jonathan (1 Samuel xiv. 41, 42), — precedents which were duly put forward by the monkish defenders of the practice, when battling against the efforts of the Papacy to abolish it.

Looking to the farthest East, we find the belief in full force in Japan. Fire is there considered, as in India, to be the touchstone of innocence,† and other superstitions, less dignified and more puerile, have equal currency. The *goo*, a paper inscribed with certain cabalistic characters, and rolled up into a bolus, when swallowed by an accused person, is believed to afford him no internal rest, if guilty, until he is relieved by confession, and a beverage of water in which the *goo* has been soaked is attended with like happy effects. ‡ The immobility of Japanese customs authorizes us to conclude that these practices have been observed from time immemorial. §

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* Euterpe, 174 (Cary's translation).

† Königswarter, Études Historiques sur le Développement de la Société Humaine, p. 203.

‡ Collin de Plancy, Dictionnaire Infernal, pp. 255 and 305.

§ The preservation of the *status in quo* is amply provided for in Japan. Any functionary of the government, however exalted, who attempts an innovation, is forthwith reported to head-quarters and capitally sentenced. Even in the supreme council, a member who proposes an alteration in the existing state of affairs loses his life if it is not adopted; while, on the other hand, the Ziogoon or Emperor is put to death if he rejects such an alteration after it has passed the council, on its rejection being disapproved by an interior committee, consisting of his relatives. If his action be sustained by this committee, then all who voted for the unsuccessful measure in the supreme council are liable to the same fate. (Perry's Japan Expe-

In Pegu the same ordeals are employed as in India, and Java and Malacca are equally well supplied.* Thibetan justice has a custom of its own, which is literally even-handed, and which, if generally used, must exert a powerful influence in repressing litigation. Both plaintiff and defendant thrust their arms into a caldron of boiling water containing a black and a white stone, victory being assigned to the one who succeeds in obtaining the white.†

Among the crowd of fantastic legends concerning Zoroaster is one which, from its resemblance to the ordeal of fire, may be regarded as indicating a tendency to the same form of superstition among the Guebres. They relate that, when an infant, he was seized by the magicians, who predicted his future supremacy over them, and was thrown upon a blazing fire. The pure element refused to perform its office, and was changed into a bath of rose-water for the wonderful child.‡

To some extent the Moslems are an exception to the general rule; and this may be attributed to the doctrine of predestination which forms the basis of their creed, as well as to the elevated ideas of the Supreme Being which Mahomet drew from the Bible, and which are so greatly in advance of all the Pagan forms of belief. There is accordingly no authority in the Koran for any description of ordeal; but yet it is occasionally found among the true believers. Among some tribes of Arabs, for instance, the ordeal of red-hot iron appears in the shape of a gigantic spoon, to which, when duly heated, the accused applies his tongue, his guilt or innocence being apparent from his undergoing or escaping injury.§ The tendency of the mind towards superstitions of this nature, in spite of the opposite teaching of religious dogmas, is likewise shown by a species of divination employed among the Turks, by which thieves are discovered by observing the marks on

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dition, I. 16, 17.) Under these regulations, existing institutions may be regarded as almost imperishable. It is quite possible that the recent *hari-kari*, or suicide, of the late Emperor, may be attributable to the innovation of permitting foreign intrusion.

* Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 202.

† Duclos, Mém. sur les Épreuves.

‡ Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* p. 555.

§ Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 203.

wax slowly melted while certain cabalistic sentences are repeated over it.*

The gross and clumsy superstitions of Africa have this element in common with the more refined religions of other races, modified only in its externals. Thus among the Kalabarese various ordeals are in use, of a character which reveals the rude nature of the savage. The "afia-edet-ibom" is administered with the curved fang of a snake, which is cunningly inserted under the lid and round the ball of the defendant's eye; if innocent, he is expected to eject it by rolling the eye, while, if unable to perform this feat, it is removed with a leopard's tooth, and he is condemned. The ceremony of the "afia-ibnot-idiok" is even more childish. A white and a black line are drawn on the skull of a chimpanzee, which is then held up before the accused, when an apparent attraction of the white line towards him indicates his innocence, or an inclination of the black towards him pronounces his guilt. The use of the ordeal-nut is more formidable, as it contains an active principle which is a deadly poison, manifesting its effects by frothing at the mouth, convulsions, paralysis, and speedy death. In capital cases, or even when sickness is attributed to unfriendly machinations, the "abiadiong" or sorcerer decides who shall undergo the trial, and as the poisonous properties of the nut can be eliminated by boiling, liberality on the part of the accused is supposed to be an unfailing mode of rendering the ordeal harmless.†

Although the classical nations of antiquity were not in the habit of employing ordeals as a judicial process, during the periods in which their laws have become known to us, still there is sufficient evidence that a belief in their efficacy existed before philosophical scepticism had reduced religion to a system of hollow observances. The various modes of divination by oracles and omens, which occupy so prominent a position in history, manifest a kindred tendency of mind, in demanding of the gods a continual interference in human affairs, at the call of any suppliant, and we are therefore prepared to recognize, among the Greeks, the relics of pre-existing judicial ordeals in various forms of solemn oaths, by which, under impressive ceremonies, actions were occasionally terminated, the party swearing being obliged to take the oath on the heads of his children (*κατὰ τῶν παίδων*), with curses on himself and his family (*κατ' ἐξωλείας*), or passing through fire (*διὰ τοῦ πυρός*).* The secret meaning of these rites becomes fully elucidated on comparing them with a passage from the Antigone of Sophocles, in which, the body of Polynices having been secretly carried off for burial against the commands of Creon, the guard endeavor to repel the accusation of complicity by offering to vindicate their innocence in various forms of ordeal, which bear a striking similarity to those in use throughout India, and long afterwards in mediæval Europe.

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* Collin de Plancy, s. v. *Céromancie.*

† Hutchinson's Impressions of Western Africa. London. 1858.

> "Ready with hands to bear the red-hot iron,
> To pass through fire, and by the gods to swear,
> That we nor did the deed, nor do we know
> Who counselled it, nor who performed it." †

The water ordeal, which is not alluded to here, may nevertheless be considered as having its prototype in several fountains, which were held to possess special power in cases of suspected female virtue. One at Artecomium, mentioned by Eustathius, became turbid as soon as entered by a guilty woman. Another near Ephesus, alluded to by Achilles Tatius, was even more miraculous. The accused swore to her innocence, and entered the water, bearing suspended to her neck a tablet inscribed with the oath. If she were innocent, the water remained stationary, at the depth of the midleg; while if she were guilty, it rose until the tablet floated. Somewhat similar to this was the Lake of Palica in Sicily, commemorated by Stephanus Byzantinus, where the party inscribed his oath on a tablet, and committed it to the water, when, if the oath were true, it floated, and if false, it sunk.*

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* Smith, Dict. Greek and Roman Antiq., s. v. *Martyria.*

† *ἦμεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν,*
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκωμοτεῖν,
τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῳ ξυνειδέναι
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι, μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ.
Antigone, ver. 264 – 267.

The Roman nature, sterner and less impressible than the Greek, offers less evidence of weakness in this respect; but traces of it are nevertheless to be found. The mediæval *corsnæd*, or ordeal of bread, finds a prototype in a species of alphitomancy practised near Lavinium, where a sacred serpent was kept in a cave under priestly care. Women whose virtue was impeached offered to the animal cakes made by themselves, of barley and honey, and were condemned or acquitted according as the cakes were eaten or rejected.† The fabled powers of the *ætites*, or eagle-stone, mentioned by Dioscorides,‡ likewise remind us of the *corsnæd*, as bread in which it was placed, or food with which it was cooked, became a sure test for thieves, from their being unable to swallow it. Special instances of miraculous interposition to save the innocent from unjust condemnation may also be quoted as manifesting the same general tendency of belief. Such was the case of the vestal Tucca, accused of incest, who demonstrated her purity by carrying water in a sieve,§ and that of Claudia Quinta, who, under a similar charge, made good her defence by dragging a ship against the current of the Tiber, after it had run aground, and had resisted all other efforts to move it.‖ As somewhat connected with the same ideas, we may

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* Eustathii de Amor. Ismenii, Lib. VII. and XI.; Achill. Tatii de Amor. Clitoph. Lib. VIII.; Steph. Byzant. s. v. Παλικη (apud Spelman, Gloss. p. 324). Superstitions of this nature have obtained in all ages, and these particular instances find their special modern counterpart in the fountain of Bodilis, near Landivisiau in Brittany, in which a girl when accused places the pin of her collar, her innocence or guilt being demonstrated by its floating or sinking.

† Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* p. 31.

‡ Lib. V. cap. 161 (ap. Lindenbrog.).

§ Valer. Maxim. Lib. VIII. cap. 1.

‖ "Supplicis, alma, tuæ, genetrix fœcunda Deorum,
Accipe sub certa conditione preces.
Casta negor; si tu damnas, meruisse fatebor.
Morte luam pœnas, judice victa Dea.
Sed si crimen abest, tu nostræ pignora vitæ
Re dabis; et castas casta sequere manus,
Dixit, et exiguo funem conamine traxit," etc.
Ovid, Fastorum, Lib. IV. l. 305, et seq.

This invocation to the goddess to absolve or condemn, and the manner in which allude to the imprecations accompanying the most solemn form of oath among the Romans, known as "Jovem lapidem jurare" ("quod sanctissimum jusjurandum est habitum," Aulus Gellius, I. 21), whether we take the ceremony, mentioned by Festus, of casting a stone from the hand, and invoking Jupiter to reject in like manner the swearer if guilty of perjury, or that described by Livy as preceding the combat between the Horatii and Curiatii, in which an animal was knocked on the head with a stone, under a somewhat similar adjuration.*

In turning to the Barbarian races from whom the nations of modern Europe are descended, we are met by the question, which has been variously mooted, whether the ordeals that form so prominent a part of their jurisprudence were customs derived from remote Pagan antiquity, or whether they were inventions of the priests in the early periods of rude Christianity, to enhance their own authority, and to lead their reluctant flocks to peace and order under the influence of superstition. There would seem to us no doubt that the former is the correct opinion, and that the religious ceremonies surrounding the ordeal as we find it judicially employed, were introduced by the Church to Christianize the Pagan observances, which in this instance, as in so many others, it was judged impolitic, if not impossible, to eradicate. Various traces of such institutions are faintly discernible in the darkness from which the wild tribes emerge into the twilight of history. Thus an anonymous epigram preserved in the Greek Anthology informs us of a singular custom existing in the Rhine-land, anterior to the conversion of the inhabitants, by which the legitimacy of children was established by exposure to an ordeal of the purest chance.

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the entire responsibility is thrown upon the supernal judge, give the whole transaction a striking resemblance to an established judicial form of ordeal.

* "Si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter salva urbe arceque bonis ejiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem." — Festus, Lib. X.; Livy, I. 24. If we can receive as undoubted Livy's account of a similar ceremony performed by Hannibal to encourage his soldiers before the battle of the Ticinus (Lib. XXI. cap. 45), we must conclude that the custom had obtained a very extended influence.

Θαρσαλέοι Κελτοὶ ποταμῷ ζηλήμονι Ῥήνῳ, κ. τ. λ.*

"Upon the waters of the jealous Rhine
  The savage Celts their children cast, nor own
Themselves as fathers, till the power divine
  Of the chaste river shall the truth make known.
Scarce breathed its first faint cry, the husband tears
  Away the new-born babe, and to the wave
Commits it on his shield, nor for it cares
  Till the wife-judging stream the infant save,
And prove himself the sire. All trembling lies
  The mother, racked with anguish, knowing well
The truth, but forced to risk her cherished prize
  On the inconstant water's reckless swell."

We learn from Cassiodorus that Theodoric, towards the close of the fifth century, abolished the battle ordeal among the Ostrogoths, whence we may reasonably conclude that the appeal to the judgment of God was an ancestral custom of the race.† But the most convincing proof is found in the Salique Law, of which the earliest known text may safely be assumed to be coeval with the conversion of Clovis, as it contains no allusion to Christian rules such as appear in revisions made somewhat later. In this text, the ordeal of boiling water finds its place as a judicial process in regular use, as fully as in the subsequent revisions of the code.‡ In the Decree of Tassilo, Duke of the Baioarians, issued in 772, there is a reference to a pre-existing custom, named *Stapfsaken*, used in cases of disputed debt, which is denounced as a relic of Pagan rites,—"in verbis quibus ex vetusta consuetudine paganorum, idolatriam reperimus,"—and which is there altered to suit the new order of ideas, affording an instructive example of the process to which we have alluded. It is evidently a kind of ordeal, as is manifested by the expression, "Let us stretch forth our right hands to the just judgment of God."* These proofs we deem amply sufficient to demonstrate the existence of the practice as a primitive custom of the Barbarian races, prior to their occupation of the Roman empire. If more be required, it must be remembered that the records of those wild tribes do not extend beyond the period of their permanent settlement, when baptism and civilization were received together, so that we cannot reasonably ask for codes and annals at a time when each sept was rather a tumultuous horde of freebooters than a people living under a settled form of organized society. Tacitus, it is true, makes no mention of anything approaching nearer to the Judgment of God than the various forms of rude divination common to all superstitious savages. It is highly probable that to many tribes the ordeal was unknown, and that it had nowhere assumed the authority which it afterwards acquired, when the Church found in it a powerful instrument to enforce her authority, and to acquire influence over the rugged nature of her indocile converts. Indeed, we have evidence that in some cases it was introduced, and its employment enforced, for the purpose of eradicating earlier Pagan observances.†

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* Anthologiæ, Lib. IX. Ep. 125. This charming trait of Celtic domestic confidence has been called in question by some writers, but it rests on good authority. Claudian evidently alludes to it as a well-known and undisputed fact in the lines,

"Galli
Quos Rhodanus velox, Araris quos tardior ambit,
Et quos nascentes explorat gurgite Rhenus."
In Rufinum, Lib. II. l. 110.

† Variarum, Lib. III. Epist. 23, 24.

‡ Tit. LIII., LVI. (First Text of Pardessus.)

Be this as it may, the custom was not long in extending itself throughout Europe. The laws of the Salien Franks we have already alluded to, and the annals of Gregory of Tours and of Fredegarius, the Merovingian Capitularies, and the various collections of Formularies, show that it was not merely a theoretical prescription, but an every-day practice among them. The Ripuarian Franks were somewhat more cautious, and the few references to its employment which occur in their code would seem to confine its application to slaves and strangers.‡ The code of the Alamanni makes no allusion to any form except that of the "tracta spata," or judicial duel. The Lex Baioariorum, in its original form, while referring constantly to the combat, seems innocent of any other mode. The supplementary Decree of Tassilo, however, affords an instance, quoted above, and another which seems to show that force was sometimes necessary to carry out the decision to employ it.* The Wisigoths, who, like their kinsmen the Ostrogoths, immediately on their settlement adapted themselves in a great degree to Roman laws and customs, for nearly two centuries had no allusion in their body of laws to any form of ordeal. It was not until 693, long after the destruction of their independence in the South of France, and but little prior to their overthrow in Spain by the Saracens, that their king, Egiza, with the sanction of the Council of Toledo, issued an edict commanding the employment of the *æneum*, or ordeal of boiling water. The expressions of the law, however, warrant the conclusion, that this was only the extension of a custom previously existing, by removing the restrictions which had prevented its application to all questions, irrespective of their importance.† The Burgundian code refers more particularly to the duel, which was the favorite form of ordeal with that race, but from the writings of St. Agobard we may safely assume that the trials by hot water and by iron were in frequent use. The primitive Saxon jurisprudence also prefers the battle ordeal; but the other kinds are met with in the codes of the Frisians ‡ and of the Thuringians.§ The earliest Lombard law, as compiled by Rotharis, refers only to the wager of battle; but the additions of Liutprand, made in the eighth century, allude to the employment of the hot-water ordeal as a recognized procedure.‖ In England, the Britons appear to have regarded the ordeal with much favor, as a treaty between the Welsh and the Saxons (about the year 1000) provides that all questions between individuals of the two races should be settled in this manner, in the absence of a special agreement between the parties.* The Anglo-Saxons seem to have been somewhat late in adopting it; for the Dooms of the earlier princes refer exclusively to the refutation of accusations by oath with compurgators, and we find no allusion made to the ordeal until the time of Edward the Elder, at the commencement of the tenth century, that allusion, however, being of a nature to show that it was then a settled custom, and not an innovation.† Among the Northern races it was probably indigenous, the earliest records of Iceland, Denmark, and Sweden manifesting its vigorous existence, at a period anterior to their conversion to Christianity; and the same may be said of the Sclavonic tribes in Eastern Europe, from Bohemia to the farthest confines of Russia.‡ The Majjars placed equal reliance on this mode of proof, as is shown by the Statutes of King Coloman (about the year 1100), which allude to various forms of ordeal as in common use.§ Scotland likewise employed it in her jurisprudence, as developed in the code known as "Regium Majestatem Scotiæ," attributed to David I., in the first half of the twelfth century.|| Even the Byzantine civilization became contaminated with the prevailing custom, and various instances of its use are related by the historians of the Lower Empire, to a period as late as the middle of the fourteenth century.

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* "Extendamus dextera nostra ad justum judicium Dei." — Decret. Tassilonis, Tit. II. § 7.

† "Et vetavit Comes ne Sclavi de cetero jurarent in arboribus, fontibus, et lapidibus; sed offerrent criminibus pulsatos sacerdoti, ferro ac vomeribus examinandos." — Anon. Chron. Sclavic. Cap. XXV. (Ducange.)

‡ L. Ripuar. Tit. XXX. §§ 1, 2; Tit. XXXI. § 5.

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* "Ut . . . . . liberi . . . . . ad eadem cogantur judicia quæ Baioarii *Urtella* dicunt." — Decret. Tassilon. Tit. II. § 9.

† "Multas cognovimus querelas, et ab ingenuis multa mala pati, credentes in ccc. solidis quæstionem agitari. Quod nos modo per salubrem ordinationem censemus, ut quamvis parva sit actio rei facti ab aliquo criminis, eum per examinationem aquæ ferventis a judice distringendum ordinamus." — L. Wisigoth. Lib. VI. Tit. I. § 3.

‡ L. Frision. Tit. III. §§ 4, 5, 6.

§ L. Anglior. et Werinor. Tit. XIV.

‖ L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. XXXIII. § 1.

One cause of the general prevalence of the ordeal among the Barbarian tribes settled in the Roman provinces may perhaps have arisen from the custom, which prevailed universally, of allowing all races to retain their own jurisprudence, how-

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* "Non sit alia lada (i. e. purgatio) de tyhla (i. e. compellatione) nisi ordalium, inter Walos et Anglos." — Senatus-Consult. de Monticolis Waliæ, Cap. II. Our references to Anglo-Saxon laws are made to Thorpe's excellent collection, "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," 2 vols., 8vo, London, 1840.

† Dooms of King Edward, Cap. III.; Laws of Edward and Guthrum, Cap. IX.

‡ Königswarter, *op. cit.* pp. 211, 224.

§ "Judicium ferri et aquæ in aliqua ecclesia fieri indicimus." — Lib. I. (Ducange, s. v. *Aquæ Frigidæ.*)

|| For instance, Lib. IV. Cap. III. § 4. (Ducange.)

ever socially intermingled the individuals might be. The confusion thus produced is well set forth by St. Agobard, when he remarks that frequently five men shall be in close companionship, each owning obedience to a different law.* He further states, that, under the Burgundian rules of procedure, no one was admitted to bear witness against a man of different race; † so that in a large proportion of cases there could be no legal evidence attainable, and recourse was had of necessity to the judgment of God. No doubt a similar tendency existed generally, and the man who appealed to Heaven against the positive testimony of witnesses of different origin, would be very apt to find the court disposed to grant his request.

Having thus indicated the universality of the custom throughout Europe, we proceed to consider the various forms which were chiefly used. In this we shall take no notice of the wager of battle, though perhaps the most important of all in its widely extended jurisdiction, its early appearance, and its late abolition. A detailed account of it in a late number of this journal (No. CLXXXII., for January, 1859), renders further allusion to it inappropriate, except so far as may be necessary to illustrate the common principle upon which all were based.

The principal modes by which the will of Heaven was ascertained were the ordeal of fire, whether administered directly, or through the agency of boiling water or red-hot iron; that of cold water; of bread or cheese; of the Eucharist; of the cross; the lot; and the touching of the body of the victim in cases of murder. Some of these, it will be seen, required a miraculous interposition to save the accused, others to condemn; some depended altogether on volition, others on the purest chance; while others, again, derived their power from the influence exerted on the mind of the patient. They were all accompanied with solemn religious observances, and the most impressive ceremonies of the Church were lavishly employed to give authority to the resultant decisions, and to impress on the minds of all the directness of the interposition which was expected from the Creator.

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* "Nam plerunque contingit ut simul eant aut sedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum communem legem cum altero habeat." — Lib. adv. Legem Gundobadi, Cap. IV.

† "Ex qua re oritur res valde absurda, ut si aliquis eorum in cœtu populi, aut etiam in mercato publico commiserat aliquam pravitatem, non coarguatur testibus." — Ibid. Cap. VI.

The ordeal of boiling water (*æneum, judicium aquæ ferventis, cacabus, caldaria*) is probably the oldest form in which the application of fire was judicially administered in Europe as a mode of proof. It is the one usually referred to in the most ancient texts of laws, and its universal adoption denotes a very high antiquity. A caldron of water was brought to the boiling point, and the accused was obliged with his naked hand to find a small stone or ring thrown into it; sometimes the latter portion was omitted, and the hand was simply inserted, in trivial cases to the wrist, in crimes of magnitude to the elbow, the former being termed the single, the latter the triple ordeal;* or, again, the stone was employed, suspended by a string, and the severity of the trial was regulated by the length of the line, a palm's breadth being counted as single, and the distance to the elbow as triple.† A good example of the process, in all its details, is furnished us by Gregory of Tours,‡ who relates that, an Arian priest and a Catholic deacon disputing about their respective tenets, and being unable to convince each other, the latter proposed to refer the subject to the decision of the *æneum*, and the offer was accepted. Next morning the deacon's enthusiasm cooled, and he mingled his matins with precautions of a less spiritual nature, by bathing his arm in oil, and anointing it with protective unguents. The populace assembled to witness the exhibition, the fire was lighted, the caldron boiled furiously, and a little ring thrown into it was whirled round like a straw in a tornado, when the deacon politely invited his adversary to make the trial first. This was declined, on the ground that precedence belonged to the challenger, and with no little misgiving the deacon proceeded to roll up his sleeve, when the Arian, observing the precautions that had been taken, exclaimed that he had been using magic arts, and that the trial would amount to nothing. At this critical juncture, when the honor of the orthodox faith was trembling in the balance, a stranger stepped forward, — a Catholic priest named Jacintus, from Ravenna, — and offered to undergo the experiment. Plunging his arm into the bubbling caldron, he was two hours in capturing the ring, which eluded his grasp in its fantastic gyrations; but finally, holding it up in triumph to the admiring spectators, he declared that the water felt cold at the bottom, with an agreeable warmth at the top. Fired by the example, the unhappy Arian boldly thrust his arm into the water; but the falseness of his cause belied the confidence of its rash supporter, and in a moment the flesh was boiled off the bones up to the elbow. "Injectu manu, protinus usque ad ipsa ossium internodia caro liquefacta defluxit."

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* Dooms of King Æthelstan, IV. cap. 7.

† Adjuratio ferri vel aquæ ferventis (Baluze, II. 655).

‡ De Gloria Martyrum, Lib. I. cap. 81 (Eccardus).

This was a volunteer experiment. As a means of judicial investigation, the process was surrounded with all the solemnity which the most venerated rites of the Church could impart. Fasting and prayer were enjoined for three days previous, and the ceremony commenced with special prayers and adjurations, introduced for the purpose into the litany, and recited by the officiating priests; mass was celebrated, and the accused was required to partake of the sacrament under the fearful adjuration, "This body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be to thee this day a manifestation!" This was followed by an exorcism of the water, of which numerous formulas are on record, varying in detail, but all presenting the quaintest superstition mingled with the most audacious presumption, as though all the powers of the Creator were intrusted to his servant, — the whole furnishing a vivid picture of robust faith and self-confident ignorance.

"O creature of water! I adjure thee by the living God, by the holy God who in the beginning separated thee from the dry land; I adjure thee by the living God who led thee from the fountain of Paradise, and in four rivers commanded thee to encompass the world; I adjure thee by Him who in Cana of Galilee by his will changed thee to wine, who trod on thee with his holy foot, who gave thee the name Siloa; I adjure thee by the God who in thee cleansed Naaman, the Syrian, of his leprosy; — Saying, O holy water, O blessed water, water which washest the dust and sins of the world, I adjure thee by the living God that thou shalt show thyself pure, nor retain any false image, but shalt be exorcised water, to make manifest and reveal and bring to naught all falsehood, and to make manifest and bring to light all truth; so that he who shall place his hand in thee, if his cause be just and true, shall receive no hurt; but if he be perjured, let his hand be burned with fire, that all men may know the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, who will come with the Holy Ghost to judge with fire the quick and the dead, and the world! Amen!"*

After the experiment had taken place, the hand was carefully enveloped in a cloth, sealed with the signet of the judge, and three days afterwards it was unwrapped, when the guilt or innocence of the party was announced by the condition of the member.†

The justification of this mode of procedure by its most able defender, Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, is similar in spirit to this form of adjuration. King Lothair, great-grandson of Charlemagne, desiring to get rid of his wife, Teutberga, accused her of the foulest incest, and forced her to a confession, which she afterwards recanted, proving her innocence by undergoing the ordeal of hot water by proxy. Lothair, nevertheless, married his concubine, Waldrada, and for ten years the whole of Europe was occupied with the disgusting details of the quarrel, council after council assembling to consider the subject, and the thunders of Rome being freely employed. Hincmar, the most conspicuous ecclesiastic of his day, stood boldly forth in defence of the unhappy Queen, and in his treatise "De Divortio Lotharii et Teutbergæ," he was led to justify the use of ordeals of all kinds. The species of reasoning which was deemed conclusive in the ninth century may be appreciated from his arguments in favor of the *æneum*,—"Because in boiling water the guilty are scalded and the innocent are unhurt, because Lot escaped unharmed from the fire of Sodom and the future fire which will precede the terrible Judge will be harmless to the

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* Formulæ Exorcismorum, Baluze, II. 639 et seq. Various other formulas are given by Baluze, Spelman, Muratori, and other collectors, all manifesting the same unconscious irreverence.

† Doom concerning hot iron and water; Laws of Æthelstan, Thorpe, I. 226; Baluze, II. 644.

Saints and will burn the wicked, as in the Babylonian furnace of old."*

This form of trial was in use among all the races in whose legislation the *purgatio vulgaris* found place. It is the only mode alluded to in the Salique Law, from the primitive text to the amended code of Charlemagne.† The same may be said of the Wisigoths, as we have already seen; while the early codes of the Frisians, the Anglo-Saxons, and the Lombards, all refer cases to its decision.‡ In Iceland it was employed from the earliest times, under the name of *ketiltak* or *ketilfang*; § and it continued in vogue throughout Europe until the general discredit attached to this mode of judgment led to the gradual abandonment of the ordeal as a legal process. It is among the forms enumerated in the sweeping condemnation of the whole system in 1215 by Innocent III. in the Fourth Council of Lateran; but even subsequently we find it prescribed in certain cases by the municipal laws in force throughout the whole of Northern and Southern Germany,‖ and as late as 1282 it is specified in a charter of Gaston of Béarn, conferring on a church the privilege of holding ordeals.¶

The trial by red-hot iron (*judicium ferri, juise*) was in use from a very early period, and became one of the favorite modes of determining disputed questions. It was administered in two essentially different forms. The one (*vomeres igniti, examen pedale*) consisted of laying on the ground at certain distances six, nine, or in some cases twelve, red-hot ploughshares, among which the accused walked barefooted, sometimes blindfolded, when it became an ordeal of pure chance, and sometimes compelled to press each iron with his naked feet.[*] The other and more usual form obliged the patient to carry in his hand for a certain distance, usually nine feet, a piece of red-hot iron, the weight of which was determined by law and varied with the importance of the question at issue or the magnitude of the alleged crime.[†] The hand was then wrapped up and sealed, and three days afterward the decision was rendered in accordance with its condition.[‡] These proceedings were accompanied by the same solemn observances which we have already described, and the intervention of God was invoked in the name of all the manifestations of Divine clemency or wrath by the agency of fire, — Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, the burning bush of Horeb, the destruction of Sodom, and the day of judgment.[§]

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* "Quia in aqua ignita coquuntur culpabiles et innoxii liberantur incocti, quia de igne Sodomitico Lot justus evasit inustus, et futurus ignis qui præibit terribilem judicem, Sanctis erit innocuus et scelestos aduret, ut olim Babylonica fornax, quæ pueros omnino non contigit." — Interrog. VI.

† First Text of Pardessus, Tit. LIII., LVI.; MS. Guelferbyt. Tit. XIV., XVI.; L. Emend. Tit. LV., LIX.

‡ L. Frision. Tit. III.; L. Æthelredi, IV. § 6; L. Lombard. Lib. I. Tit. XXXIII. § 1.

§ Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 212.

‖ Jur. Provin. Saxon. Lib. I. Art. 39; Jur. Provin. Alaman. Cap. XXXVII. §§ 15, 16.

¶ Ducange.

In the earlier periods the burning iron was reserved for cases of peculiar atrocity. Thus we find it prescribed by Charlemagne in accusations of parricide,[||] and among the Thuringians it was ordered for women suspected of poisoning or otherwise murdering their husbands,[¶] a crime visited with peculiar severity in almost all codes. Subsequently, however, it became rather an aristocratic procedure, as contradistinguished from the water ordeals. This nevertheless was not universal, for both kinds were employed indiscriminately by the Anglo-Saxons,* and at a later period throughout Germany; † while in the Assises de Jerusalem the hot iron is the only form alluded to as employed in the *roturier* courts,‡ and as early as 847 the Council of Mayence indicates it especially for slaves.§ Notwithstanding this, we find it to have been the mode usually selected by persons of rank when compelled to throw themselves upon the judgment of God. The Empress Richarda, wife of Charles le Gros, accused in 887 of adultery with Bishop Liutward, offered to prove her innocence either by the judicial combat or the red-hot iron.|| The tragical tradition of Mary, wife of the Third Otho, contains a similar example, with the somewhat unusual variation of an accuser undergoing an ordeal to prove a charge. The Empress, hurried away by a sudden and unconquerable passion for Amula, Count of Modena, in 996, repeated in all its details the story of Potiphar's wife. The unhappy Count, unceremoniously condemned to lose his head, asserted his innocence to his wife, and entreated her to clear his reputation. He was executed, and the Countess, seeking an audience of the Emperor, disproved the calumny by carrying unharmed the red-hot iron, when Otho, convinced of his rashness by this triumphant vindication, immediately repaired his injustice by consigning his Empress to the stake.¶ When Edward the

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[*] "Si titubaverit, si singulos vomeres pleno pede non presserit, si quantulumcunque læsa fuerit, sententia proferatur." — Annal. Winton. Eccles. (Ducange, s. v. *Vomeres.*)

[†] Thus, among the Anglo-Saxons, in the "simple ordeal" the iron weighed one pound, in the "triple ordeal" three pounds. The latter is prescribed for incendiaries and "morth-slayers" (secret murderers), Æthelstan, IV. § 6, — for false coining, Ethelred, III. § 7, — for plotting against the king's life, Ethelred, V. § 30, and Cnut, Secular, § 58, — while at a later period, in the collection known as the Laws of Henry I., we find it extended to cases of theft, robbery, arson, and felonies in general, Cap. LXVI. § 9.

[‡] Laws of Æthelstan, IV. § 7. — Adjuratio ferri vel aquæ ferventis, Baluze, II. 656. — Even in this minute particular we see the mysterious connection between the superstitions of Europe and those of India. In Malabar, the ordeal of red-hot iron was followed by a similar ceremony; the hand was wrapped up with linen soaked in rice-water, sealed by the king, and opened three days afterward for examination. (Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* 228.)

[§] For instance, see various forms of exorcism given by Baluze, II. 651 - 654.

[||] Capit. Carol. Mag. II. Ann. 803, cap. 5.

[¶] L. Anglior. et Werinor. Tit. XIV.

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* Laws of Æthelred, IV. § 6, — where the accuser had the right to select the mode in which the ordeal should be administered.

† The Jur. Provin. Alaman. (Cap. XXXVII. §§ 15, 16; Cap. CLXXXVI. §§ 4, 6, 7; Cap. CCCLXXIV.) allows thieves and other malefactors to select the ordeal they prefer. The Jur. Provin. Saxon. (Lib. I. Art. 39) affords them in addition the privilege of the duel.

‡ Baisse Court, Cap. 132, 261, 279, 280, etc.

§ "Si Presbyterum occidit, si liber est, cum XII. juret; si autem servus, per XII. vomeres ferventes se expurget." (Ducange, s. v. *Vomeres*.)

|| Regino, Ann. 887. — Annales Metenses.

¶ Gotfridus Viterbiensis, Pars XVII. "De Tertio Othone Imperatore." Siffridi Epit. Lib. I. Ann. 998. The story is not mentioned by any contemporary authorities, and Muratori has well exposed its improbability (Annali d' Italia, Ann. 996). In convicting the Empress of calumny, the Countess of Modena appeared as an accuser, making good the charge by the ordeal; but if we look upon her as simply vindicating her husband's character, the case enters into the ordinary course of such affairs. Indeed, among the Anglo-Saxons there was a special provision by which the friends of an executed criminal might clear his reputation by undergoing the triple ordeal, after depositing pledges, to be forfeited in case of defeat. Ethelred, III. § 6.

Confessor, who entertained a not unreasonable dislike to his mother Emma, listened eagerly to the accusation of her criminal intimacy with Alwyn, Bishop of Winchester, she was condemned to undergo the ordeal of the burning shares, and walking over them barefooted and unharmed, she established beyond peradventure the falsehood of the charge.* Robert Curthose, son of William the Conqueror, while in exile during his youthful rebellion against his father, formed an intimacy with a pretty girl. Years afterwards, when he was Duke of Normandy, she presented herself with two likely youths, whom she asserted to be pledges of the Duke's former affection. Robert was incredulous; but the mother, carrying unhurt the red-hot iron, forced him to forego his doubts, and to acknowledge the paternity of the boys, whom he thenceforth adopted.† Remy, Bishop of Dorchester, when accused of treason against William the Conqueror, was cleared by the devotion of a follower, who underwent the ordeal of hot iron.‡ About the same period, Centulla IV. of Béarn caused it to be employed in a dispute with the Bishop of Lescar concerning the fine paid for the murder of a priest, the ecclesiastic, as usual, being victorious.§ But perhaps the instance of this ordeal most notable in its results was that by which Bishop Poppo, in 962, succeeded in convincing and converting the Pagan Danes. The worthy missionary, dining with King Harold Blaatand, denounced, with more zeal than discretion, the indigenous deities as lying devils. The King dared him to prove his faith in his God, and on his assenting, caused next morning an immense piece of iron to be duly heated, which the undaunted Poppo grasped and carried round to the satisfaction of the royal circle, displaying his hand unscathed by the glowing metal. The miracle was sufficient, and Denmark thenceforth becomes an integral portion of Christendom.||

No form of ordeal was more thoroughly introduced through-

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* Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, I. 123.

† Ordericus Vitalis, Lib. X. cap. 13.

‡ Roger of Wendover, Ann. 1085.

§ Mazure et Hatoulet, Fors de Béarn, p. xxxviii.

|| Widukindi Lib. III. cap. 65; Sigebert. Gemblac. Ann. 966.

out the whole extent of Europe. From Spain to Constantinople, and from Scandinavia to Naples, it was appealed to with confidence as an unfailing mode of ascertaining the will of Heaven. The term "judicium," indeed, was at length understood to mean an ordeal, and generally that of hot iron, and in its barbarized form, "juise," may almost always be considered to indicate this particular kind. In the code of the Frankish kingdoms of the East, it is the only mode alluded to, except the duel, and it there retained its legal authority long after it had become obsolete elsewhere. The Assises de Jerusalem were in force in the Venetian colonies until the sixteenth century, and the manuscript, preserved officially in the archives of Venice, described by Morelli as written in 1436, retains the primitive directions for the employment of the *juise*.* Even the Venetian translation, commenced in 1531 and finished in 1536, is equally scrupulous, although an act of the Council of Ten, April 10th, 1535, shows that these customs had fallen into desuetude and had been formally abolished.† We may therefore be justified in assuming that in fact it had previously been abandoned in the East about the same time that it was disused in the West, in the first half of the thirteenth century, though doubtless occasional instances of its employment may have occurred, as we find them in Germany until the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

The ordeal of fire was sometimes administered directly, without the intervention of water or of iron; and in this, its simplest form, it may be considered the origin of the proverbial expression, "J'en mettrai le doigt au feu," as an affirmation of positive belief,‡ showing how thoroughly the whole system engrained itself in the popular mind. The earliest legal allusion to it occurs in the code of the Ripuarian Franks, where it is prescribed in some cases of doubt, as applicable to slaves and strangers.§ From the phraseology of these passages, we may conclude that it was then administered by placing the hand of the accused in a fire. Subsequently, however, it was conducted on a larger and more impressive scale; huge pyres were built, and the individual undergoing the trial literally walked through the flames. The celebrated Petrus Igneus gained his surname and reputation by an exploit of this kind, which attracted great attention in its day. Pietro di Pavia, Bishop of Florence, unpopular with the citizens, but protected by Godfrey, Duke of Tuscany, was accused of simony and heresy. Being acquitted by the Council of Rome, in 1063, and the offer of his accusers to prove his guilt by the ordeal of fire being refused, he endeavored to put down his adversaries by tyranny and oppression. Great disturbances resulted, and at length, in 1067, the monks of Vallombrosa, who had received and sheltered many exiled brothers, resolved to decide the question by the ordeal, incited thereto by no less than three thousand enthusiastic Florentines, who assembled there for the purpose. Pietro Aldobrandini, a monk of Vallombrosa, urged by his superior, the holy S. Giovanni Gualberto, offered himself to undergo the trial. After imposing religious ceremonies, he walked slowly between two piles of blazing wood, ten feet long, five feet wide, and four and a half feet high, the passage between them being six feet wide and covered with an inch or two of glowing coals. The violence of the flames agitated his dress and hair, but he emerged without hurt, even the hair on his legs being unsinged, barelegged and barefooted though he was. A formal statement of the facts was sent to Rome by the Florentines, the Papal court gave way, and the Bishop was deposed; while the monk who had given so striking a proof of his steadfast faith was marked for promotion, and eventually

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* This text is given by Kausler, Stuttgard, 1839, together with an older one compiled for the lower court of Nicosia. It is to this edition that our references are made.

† Pardessus, Us et Coutumes de la Mer, I. 268 et seq.

‡ Thus Rabelais, "en mon aduiz elle est pucelle, toutesfoys ie nen vouldroys mettre mon doigt on feu." Pantagruel, Lib. II. Chap. XV.

§ "Quodsi servus in ignem manum miserit, et læsam tulerit," etc. — Tit. XXX.

Cap. I.; also Tit. XXXI. If we may credit Cedrenus (Compend. Histor. Ann. 16 Anastasii), as early as the year 507, under the Emperor Anastasius, a Catholic bishop, who had been worsted in a theological dispute with an Arian, vindicated his tenets by standing in the midst of a blazing bonfire, and thence addressing an admiring crowd; but Cedrenus being a compiler of the eleventh century, and zealous in his orthodoxy, the incident can hardly be thought to possess much historical authority, and only illustrates the age of the writer, not that attributed to the occurrence.

died Cardinal of Albano.* An example of a similar nature occurred in Milan, in 1103, when the Archbishop Grossolano was accused of simony by a priest named Liutprand, who, having no proof to sustain his charge, offered the ordeal of fire. In the Piazza di S. Ambrosia he accordingly traversed a blazing pile of huge dimensions, receiving only a slight burn on one hand and one foot, which being claimed as a victory, Grossolano was obliged to retire to Rome. Pascal II., however, received him graciously, and the Milanese suffragans disapproved of the summary conviction of their metropolitan, — to which they were probably all equally liable. A tumult was excited in Milan, the priest was forced to seek safety in flight, and Grossolano was restored.†

But the experiment was not always so successful for the rash enthusiast. In 1098, during the first Crusade, after the capture of Antioch, when the Christians were in turn besieged in that city, and, sorely pressed and famine-struck, were well-nigh reduced to despair, an ignorant peasant named Peter Bartholomew, a follower of Raymond of Toulouse, announced a series of visions in which St. Andrew and the Saviour had revealed to him that the lance which pierced the side of Christ lay hidden in the church of St. Peter. After several men had dug in the spot indicated, from morning until night, without success, Peter leaped into the trench, and by a few well-directed strokes of his mattock exhumed the priceless relic, which he presented to Count Raymond. Cheered by this, and by various other manifestations of Divine assistance, the Christians gained heart, and defeated the Infidels with immense slaughter. Peter became a man of mark, and had fresh visions on all important conjunctures. Amid the jealousies and dissensions which raged among the Frankish chiefs, the possession of the holy lance vastly increased Raymond's importance, and rival princes were found to assert that it was merely a rusty Arab weapon, hidden for the occasion, and wholly undeserving the veneration of which it was the object. At length, after some months, during the leisure of the siege of Archas, the principal ecclesiastics in the camp investigated the matter, and Peter, taunted by the doubts expressed as to his veracity, offered to vindicate the identity of the relic by the fiery ordeal. He was taken at his word, and after three days allowed for fasting and prayer, a pile of dry olive-branches was made, fourteen feet long and four feet high, with a passage-way one foot wide. In the presence of forty thousand men all eagerly awaiting the result, Peter, bearing the object in dispute, and clothed only in a tunic, boldly rushed through the flames, amid the anxious prayers and adjurations of the multitude. As the chroniclers lean to the side of the Neapolitan Princes or of the Count of Toulouse, so do their accounts of the event differ; the former asserting that Peter sustained mortal injury in the fire; the latter assuring us that he emerged safely, with but one or two slight burns, and that, the crowd enthusiastically pressing round him in triumph, he was thrown down, trampled on, and injured so severely that he died in a few days, asseverating with his latest breath the truth of his revelations. Raymond persisted in upholding the sanctity of his relic, but it was subsequently lost.*

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* Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique, Liv. LXI.; Muratori, Annali d' Italia, Ann. 1067.

† Muratori, *op. cit.*, Ann. 1103.

The most remarkable attempt at this kind of ordeal occurred at a period long after the abrogation of the whole system; and though not carried into execution, it is worthy of passing notice, as it may be said to have produced results affecting the destinies of civilization to our own day. When, at the close of the fifteenth century, Savonarola, the precursor of the Reformation, was commencing at Florence the career which Luther afterwards accomplished, and was gradually throwing off all reverence for the infamous Borgia, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, he challenged any of his adversaries to undergo with him the ordeal of fire, to test the truth of his propositions that the Church needed a thorough reformation, and that the excommunication pronounced against him by the Pope was null and void. In 1497 the Franciscan, Francesco di Puglia, an ardent opponent, accepted the challenge, but left Florence before the preliminaries were arranged. On his return, in the following year, the affair was again taken up; but the principals readily found excuses to devolve the dangerous office on enthusiastic followers. Giuliano Rondinelli, another Franciscan, agreed to replace his companion, declaring that he expected to be burned alive; while on the other side the ardor was so great that two hundred and thirty-eight Dominicans and numberless laymen subscribed a request to be permitted to vindicate their cause by triumphantly undergoing the trial unhurt, in place of Domenico da Peschia, who had been selected as Savonarola's champion. At length, after many preliminaries, the Signiory of Florence assigned the 7th of April, 1498, for the experiment. An immense platform was erected, on which a huge pile of wood was built, charged with gunpowder and other combustibles, and traversed by a narrow passage, through which the champions were to walk. All Florence assembled to see the show; but when everything was ready, quibbles arose about permitting the champions to carry crucifixes, and to have the sacrament with them, the nature of their garments, and other like details, in disputing over which the day wore away, and at vespers the assemblage broke up without result. Each party, of course, accused the other of having raised the difficulties in order to escape the ordeal; and the people, enraged at being cheated of the promised exhibition, and determined to have compensation for it, easily gave credit to the assertions of the Franciscans, who stimulated their ardor by affirming that Savonarola had endeavored to commit the sacrilege of burning the sacrament. In two days they thus succeeded in raising a tumult, during which Savonarola's convent of San Marco was attacked. Notwithstanding a gallant resistance by the friars, he was taken prisoner, and, after undergoing frightful tortures, was hanged and burned. Thus was repressed a movement which at one time promised to regenerate Italy, and to restore purity to a corrupted Church. The mind loses itself in conjecturing what would have been the result, if the career of Savonarola had not thus been brought to an untimely end; though, while fully acknowledging his genius and fervor, we must admit that he was not of the stuff of which the leaders of mankind are fashioned.*

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* Fulcher. Carnot. Cap. X.; Radulf. Cadomensis, Cap. C., CI., CII., CVIII.; Raimond. de Agiles (Bongars, I. 150–168). The latter was chaplain of the Count of Toulouse, and a firm asserter of the authenticity of the lance. He relates with pride, that on its discovery he threw himself into the trench and kissed it while the point only had as yet been uncovered. He likewise officiated at the ordeal, and delivered the adjuration as Peter entered the flames: "Si Deus omnipotens huic homini loquutus est facie ad faciem, et beatus Andreas Lanceam Dominicam ostendit ei, cum ipse vigilaret, transeat iste illæsus per ignem. Sin autem aliter est, et mendacium est, comburatur iste cum lancea quam portabit in manibus suis." Raoul de Caen, on the other hand, became in 1107 secretary to the chivalrous Tancred, and thus obtained his information from the opposite party. He is very decided in his animadversions on the discoverers. Fulcher de Chartres was chaplain to Baldwin I. of Jerusalem, and seems impartial, though sceptical.

It will be observed that the ordeal of fire was principally affected by ecclesiastics in church affairs, perhaps because it was of a nature to produce a powerful impression on the spectators, while at the same time it could no doubt in many instances be managed to secure the desired results by those who controlled the details. In like manner, it was occasionally employed on inanimate matter to decide points of faith or polity. Thus, in the question which excited great commotions in Spain in 1077, as to the substitution of the Roman for the Gothic or Mozarabic rite, after a judicial combat had been fought and determined in favor of the national ritual, the partisans of the former continuing to urge its pretensions, the ordeal of fire was appealed to; a missal of each kind was committed to the flames, and, to the great joy of all patriotic Castilians, the Gothic offices escaped unconsumed.† A somewhat similar instance occurred in Constantinople as late as the close of the thirteenth century, when Andronicus II., on his accession, found the city torn into factions relative to the patriarchate, arising from the expulsion of Arsenius, a former patriarch. All attempts to soothe the dissensions proving vain, at length both parties agreed to write out their respective statements and arguments, and, committing both books to the flames, to abide by the result, each side hoping that its manuscript would be preserved by the special interposition of Heaven. The ceremony was conducted with imposing state, and, to the general surprise, both books were reduced to ashes. Singularly enough, all parties united in the sensible conclusion that God had thereby commanded them to forget their differences, and to live in peace.*

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* We have principally followed a very curious and characteristic account of the "Sperimento del Fuoco," contained in a Life of Savonarola by the P. Pacifico Burlamacchi, given by Mansi in his edition of the Miscellanea of Baluze,. I. 530 et seq. Burlamacchi, as a friend and ardent follower of the reformer, of course throws all the blame of defeating the ordeal on the quibbles raised by the Franciscans, while the Diary of Burchard, master of ceremonies of the Papal Chapel to Borgia (quoted by Bayle, Dict. Hist. s. v. *Savonarola*, Note G), roundly asserts the contrary. Guicciardini (Lib. III. Cap. VI.) briefly states the facts, without venturing an opinion, except that the result utterly destroyed the credit of Savonarola, and enabled his enemies to make short work with him.

† Ferreras, Hist. Gen. d'Espagne, trad. d'Hermilly, III. 245.

The genuineness of relics was often tested in this manner by exposing them to the action of fire. When in 1065 the pious Ægelwin, Bishop of Durham, miraculously discovered the relics of the holy martyr, King Oswyn, he gave the hair to Judith, wife of Tosti, Earl of Northumberland, and she with all reverence placed it on a raging fire, whence it was withdrawn, not only uninjured, but marvellously increased in lustre, to the great edification of all beholders.† Guibert de Nogent likewise relates, that, when his native town became honored with the possession of an arm of St. Arnoul, the inhabitants, at first doubting the authenticity of the precious relic, cast it into the flames; when it vindicated its sanctity, not only by being fire-proof, but also by leaping briskly away from the coals, — testimony which was held to be incontrovertible.‡

The cold-water ordeal (*judicium aquæ frigidæ*) differed from most of its congeners in requiring a miracle to convict the accused, as in the natural order of things he escaped. The preliminary solemnities, fasting, prayer, and religious rites, were similar to those already described; the reservoir of water, or pond, was then exorcised with formulas exhibiting the same combination of faith and impiety, and the accused, bound with cords, was lowered into it with a rope, to prevent fraud if guilty, and to save him from drowning if innocent,§

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* Niceph. Gregor. Lib. VI.

† Matthew of Westminster, Ann. 1065.

‡ Guibert. Noviogent. de Vita sua, Lib. III. Cap. XXI.

§ "Ne aut aliquem possit fraudem in judicio facere, aut si aqua illum velut innoxium reciperit, ne in aqua pericletetur, ad tempus valeat retrahi." — Hincmar. de Divort. Lothar. Interrog. VI. It may readily be supposed that a skilful man-the length of rope allowed under water being an ell and a half, according to the Anglo-Saxon rule.*

The basis of this ordeal was the superstitious belief that the pure element would not receive into its bosom any one stained with the crime of a false oath, a belief which we have seen was entertained in primeval India, and which bears considerable resemblance to the kindred superstition of old, that the earth would eject the corpse of a criminal, and not allow it to remain quietly interred. The ecclesiastical doctrines on the subject are clearly enunciated by Hincmar: "He who seeks to conceal the truth by a lie will not sink in the waters over which the voice of the Lord hath thundered; for the pure nature of water recognizes as impure, and rejects as incompatible, human nature which, released from falsehood by the waters of baptism, becomes again infected with untruth." † The baptism in the Jordan, the passage of the Red Sea, and the crowning judgment of the Deluge, were freely adduced in support of the theory, though these latter were in direct contradiction to it, and the most figurative language was boldly employed to give some show of probability to the results expected. Thus, in St. Dunstan's elaborate formula, the prayer offered over the water metaphorically adjures the Supreme Being, — "Let not the water receive the body of him who, released from the weight of goodness, is upborne by the wind of iniquity!" ‡

Although the use of this form of ordeal prevailed whenever the judgment of God was appealed to, and although it enjoyed a later existence than any of its kindred practices, it was the last to make its appearance in Europe. There seems to

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agement of the rope might easily produce the appearance of floating, when a conviction was desired by the priestly operators.

* "Et si judicium aque frigide sit, tunc immergatur una ulna et dimidia in fune." — L. Æthelstani, I. Cap. XXIII.

† "Qui veritatem mendacio cupit obtegere, in aquis, super quas vox Domini Dei majestatis intonuit, non potest mergi, quia pura natura aquæ naturam humanam per aquam baptismatis ab omni mendacii figmento purgatam, iterum mendacio infectam, non recognoscit puram, et ideo eam non recipit, sed rejicit ut alienam." — De Divort. Lothar. Interrog. VI.

‡ "Nec patiantur recipere corpus, quod ab onere bonitatis evacuatam, ventus iniquitatis allevavit ac inane constituit." — Ordo S. Dunstani Dorobern. (Baluze, II. 650.)

be good reason for attributing its introduction as a Christian mode of trial to Pope Eugenius II., who occupied the pontifical throne from 824 to 827, although some critics have denied to it this paternity, on what appear to us insufficient grounds. Baluze gives a formula for conducting it which is thought to be of the ninth century, and which expressly states that Eugenius invented it at the request of Louis le Débonnaire, as a means of repressing the prevalent vice of perjury, and another manuscript to which Mabillon attributes the same date makes a similar assertion.* All this derives additional probability from the fact that the cold-water ordeal is not alluded to in any of the codes or laws anterior to the ninth century, while it is continually referred to in subsequent ones; and another evidence of weight is afforded by St. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, who, in his celebrated treatise against the judgment of God, written a few years before the accession of Eugenius, while enumerating and describing the various modes in use, says nothing about that of cold water.† The only arguments alleged in favor of an earlier date are certain passages in Gregory of Tours, describing miracles in which saintly personages condemned to be drowned floated triumphantly ashore, — cases which have evidently nothing to do with the question, as they were interpositions of Providence to save, not to condemn, and were cases of punishment, not legal investigations.‡

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* "Hoc judicium autem, petente Domno Hludovico Imperatore, constituit beatus Eugenius, ... ne perjuri super reliquias sanctorum perdant suas animas in malum consentientes." — Baluze, II. 646. "Hoc autem judicium creavit omnipotens Deus, et verum est; et per Domnum Eugenium Apostolicum inventum est." — Mabillon, Analecta, pp. 161, 162, ap. Cangium. The same assertion is made in several other rituals which are given at length by Muratori, Antiq. Ital., Dissert. 38; and by Juretus, Observat. ad Ivon. Epist. 74.

† "Non oportet . . . . suspicari quod omnipotens Deus occulta hominum in præsenti vita per aquam calidam aut ferrum revelari velit; quanto minus per crudelia certamina?" — Lib. adv. L. Gundobadi, Cap. IX. And again in the Liber contra Judicium Dei, Cap. I.: "Mitte unum de tuis, qui congrediatur mecum singulari certamine, ut probet me reum tibi esse, si occiderit; aut certe, jube ferrum vel aquas calefieri, quas manibus illæsus attrectem; aut constitue cruces, ad quas stans immobilis perseverem."

‡ The Epistle given in Gratian (C. Mennam caus. 2. 9. 4) as written by St. Gregory to Queen Brunhilda, scarcely needs a reference, its allusions to the ordeal having long since been restored to their true author, Alexander II.

The new process had a hard struggle for existence. But a few years after its introduction, it was condemned by Louis le Débonnaire at the Council of Worms, in 829; its use was strictly prohibited, and the "missi dominici" were instructed to see that the order was carried into effect, — regulations which were repeated by the Emperor Lothair, son of Louis.* Notwithstanding this, it seemed to adapt itself to popular prejudices, and the interdiction was of little avail. Its use spread throughout Europe, and among all the Continental races it was placed on an equal footing with the other forms of ordeal. Among the Anglo-Saxons, indeed, its employment has been called in question by some modern writers; but the Dooms of Æthelstan, and the formula of St. Dunstan of Canterbury, already quoted, sufficiently manifest its existence in England before the Conquest.

The ordeals of both hot and cold water were stigmatized as plebeian from an early period, as the red-hot iron and the duel were patrician. Thus Hincmar in the ninth century alludes to the former as applicable to persons of servile condition; † a constitution of the Emperor St. Henry II. (about A. D. 1000) in the Lombard law has a similar bearing; ‡ an Alsatian document in the eleventh, and the laws of Scotland in the twelfth century, assume the same position,§ and Glanville at the end of the twelfth century expressly asserts it.|| This, however, was an innovation; for in the earliest codes there is no such distinction, a provision in the Salique law even prescribing the *æneum*, or hot-water ordeal, for the

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* "Ut examen aquæ frigidæ, quæ hactenus fiebat, a missis nostris omnibus modis interdicatur, ut non ulterius fiat." — Capit. Wormat. Ann. 829, Tit. II. cap. 12; L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. § 31.

† "Ut si præfati sui homines quia non liberæ conditionis sunt, aut cum aqua frigida, aut cum aqua calida, inde ad judicium Dei exirent, quid inde Deus ostenderet mihi sufficeret." — Opusc. adv. Hincmar. Laudun. Cap. XLIII.

‡ "Si quis . . . . . accusatus negare voluerit, aut per duellum si liber est; si vero servus, per judicium ferventis aquæ defendat se." — L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. IX. § 39.

§ Conventus Alsat., Anno 1051, § 6; Regiam Majestatem, Lib. IV. Cap. III. § 4 (ap. Cangium).

|| "In tali autem causa tenetur se purgare is qui accusatur per dei judicium . . . . . scilicet per ferrum calidum si fuerit homo liber, per aquam si fuerit rusticus." — De Legg. Angliæ, Lib. XIV. Cap. I.

Antrustions, who constituted the most favored class in the state.* Nor even in later times was the rule by any means absolute. In the tenth century, Sanche, Duke of Gascony, desirous of founding the monastery of Saint Sever, claimed some land which was necessary for the purpose, and being resisted by the possessor, the title was decided by reference to the cold-water ordeal.† In 1027, Guelf II., Count of Altorf, ancestor of the great houses of Guelf in Italy and England, having taken part in the revolt of Conrad the Younger and Ernest of Suabia, was forced by the Emperor Conrad the Salique to prove his innocence in this manner.‡ This may have been, perhaps, intended rather as a humiliation than as a judicial proceeding, for Guelf had been guilty of great excesses in the conduct of the rebellion; but we find, nearly two centuries later, when all the vulgar ordeals were falling into disuse, that the water ordeal was established among the nobles of Southern Germany, as the mode of deciding doubtful claims on fiefs.§

Although the cold-water ordeal disappears from the statute-book in civil and in ordinary criminal actions at the same time that the other similar modes of purgation were abandoned, there is one class of cases in which it maintained its hold upon the popular faith to a much later period. These were the accusations of sorcery and witchcraft which form so strange and prominent a feature of mediæval society, and its use for this purpose may apparently be traced to various causes. For such crimes, drowning was the punishment inflicted by the customs of the Franks, as soon as they had lost the respect for individual liberty of action which excluded personal punishments from their original code; || and

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* Text. Herold. Tit. LXXVI.

† Mazure et Hatoulet, Fors de Béarn, p. xxxi.

‡ Conrad. Ursperg., sub Lothar. Saxon.

§ Juris Feud. Alaman. Cap. LXXVII. § 2.

|| "Lodharius . . . . . Gerbergam, *more maleficorum*, in Arari mergi præcepit." — Nithardi Hist. Lib. I. Ann. 834.

The Salique law merely inflicts fines in cases of witchcraft, even when the offender had, according to a widely spread superstition of the times, eaten the victim bodily. (L. Emendat. Cap. XXI. § 3; Cap. LXVII. § 3.) So also the L. Ripuarior. (Tit. LXXXIII.) Charlemagne allowed suspected persons to be tortured for confession, provided the process was not carried to the point of death, in addition to the general belief that the pure element refused to receive those who were tainted with crime, there was in this special class of cases a widely spread belief that those who became adepts in sorcery and magic lost their specific gravity. Pliny mentions a race of enchanters on the Euxine who were lighter than water, — "eosdem non posse mergi . . . . . ne veste quidam degravatos"; and Stephanus Byzantinus describes the inhabitants of Thebe as magicians who could kill with their breath, and floated when thrown into the sea.* This whimsical opinion was perpetuated to a comparatively late period, and gave rise to a species of ordeal known as the *trial by balance*, in which the suspected sorcerer was weighed to ascertain his guilt, enabling him, we

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and after conviction they were to be imprisoned until amendment. (Capit. I. Ann. 805, Cap. XXV.) The legislation of other races was very various in this respect. The Ostrogoths visited all such practices with death (Cod. Theoderici, Cap. CVIII.), relaxing somewhat on the laws of Constantine, who sought to extirpate them with fire and torments (Const. 3, 6, 7; C. De Maleficis. IX. 18). The Wisigoths more humanely contented themselves with stripes, shaving the head, and exposure (L. Wisigoth. Lib. VI. Tit. II. cap. 3). The Lombard law (Lib. II. Tit. XXXVIII. § 2) ordered them to be sold as slaves beyond the boundaries of the province, and the earliest legislator, King Rotharis, denounced severe penalties against those who put women to death under the absurd belief that they could eat living men. "Quod Christianis mentibus nullatenus est credendum, nec possibile est, ut hominem mulier vivum intrinsecus possit comedere." (L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. XI. § 9.) The Pagan Saxons entertained a similar superstition, for which they were in the habit of burning witches and sorcerers, as we learn from the civilizing and Christianizing capitulary of Charlemagne: "Si quis, a diabolo deceptus, crediderit, secundum morem paganorum, virum aliquem aut feminam strigam esse et homines comedere, et propter hoc ipsam incenderit," etc. (Capit. de Partibus Saxoniæ, Ann. 789, Cap. VI.) The Anglo-Saxons merely banished the witch who would not reform, with the penalty of death for disobedience (Laws of Edward and Guthrum, Tit. XI.; Ethelred, VI. § 7; Cnut Secular, Cap. IV.); unless the death of a victim had been compassed, when the offender was executed (Æthelstan, I. § 6), or delivered to the kindred to be punished at their pleasure (Henrici I. Tit. LXXI. § 1).

The cause of humanity gained but little when, all such accusations being included in the convenient general charge of heresy, for five hundred years luckless sharpers and dupes were committed pitilessly to the flames. Even in the enlightenment of the seventeenth century, who can read without grim mirth and wonder the terrible farce of the trial of Urbain Grandier, hurrying, amid details ludicrously revolting, its unfortunate victim through torture to the stake, to retrieve the worthless reputation of some *filles perdues*?

Perhaps the superstition of the devouring of living men by witches may find its last lingering remnants in the vampirism of Eastern Europe.

* Ameilhon, de l'Épreuve de l'Eau Froide.

may presume, to escape, except when the judges, determined to procure a conviction, managed to elude the vigilance of the inspectors.* To the concurrence of these notions we may attribute the fact, that when the cold-water ordeal was abandoned, in the thirteenth century, as a judicial practice in ordinary cases, it still maintained its place as a special mode of trying those unfortunate persons whom their own folly, or the malice and fears of their neighbors, pointed out as witches and sorcerers.† No less than a hundred years after the efforts of Innocent III. had virtually put an end to all the other forms of vulgar ordeals, we find Louis Hutin ordering its employment in these cases ; ‡ and three hundred years later still, the Parlement of Paris was obliged to exert its authority to prevent ignorant judges from disgracing the seventeenth century by convictions obtained on the strength of this mode of proof. In 1588, an appeal was taken to the supreme tribunal from a sentence pronounced by a Champenois court, ordering a prisoner to undergo the experiment, and the Parlement in December, 1601, registered a formal decree against the practice, — an order which it found necessary to repeat, August 10th, 1641.§ That this latter was not uncalled for, we may assume from the testimony of the celebrated Jerôme Bignon, who, writing nearly at the same time, says that, to his own knowledge, within a few years, judges were in the habit of elucidating doubtful cases in this manner.‖ In the Rhine countries the superstition manifested equal vitality. A treatise written against it in 1585, by Hermann Neuwald, shows that it still required to be combated, while another composed in its defence in 1590, by Rickius, a learned jurisconsult of Cologne, gives evidence that it did not lack advocates, and moreover declares on the title-page that it was then in common use.* We have already alluded to its employment by an Hungarian tribunal as late as the eighteenth century; and though within the last hundred years it has disappeared from the authorized legal procedures of Europe, still the popular mind has not as yet altogether overcome the superstitions and prejudices of so many ages, and occasionally in some benighted spot an outrage occurs to show us that mediæval ignorance and brutality still linger amid the triumphs of modern civilization. In 1815, Belgium was disgraced by a trial of the kind performed on an unfortunate person suspected of witchcraft; and in 1836, the populace of Hela, near Dantzic, twice plunged into the sea an old woman reputed to be a sorceress, and as the miserable creature persisted in rising to the surface, she was pronounced guilty, and beaten to death.†

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* Königswarter (*op. cit.* p. 186) states that as late as 1728, at Szegedin in Hungary, thirteen persons suspected of sorcery were, by order of court, subjected to the ordeal of cold water, and then to that of the balance. At Oudewater in Holland, according to the same authority, the scales used on these occasions are still to be seen. A modification of the trial by balance consisted in putting the accused into one scale and a Bible into the other. (Collin de Plancy, s. v. *Bibliomancie.*)

† In earlier times, various other modes of proof were habitually practised. Among the Lombards, King Rotharis prescribed the judicial combat (L. Longobard. Lib. I. Tit. XVI. § 2). The Anglo-Saxons (Æthelstan, Cap. VI.) direct the triple ordeal, which was either red-hot iron or boiling water.

‡ "Ille adversus quem maleficium factum fuerit vel proditio, si alium accusaverit, de quo aliqua suspicio sit curiæ, accusatus recipiet judicium aquæ frigidæ." — Regest. Ludovici Hutini (ap. Cangium).

§ Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 176.

‖ "Porro, nostra memoria, paucis abhinc annis, solebant judices reos maleficii accusatos mergere, pro certo habentes incertum crimen hac ratione patefieri." — Notæ ad Legem Salicam.

The ordeal of the cross (*judicium crucis, stare ad crucem*) was one of simple endurance. The plaintiff and defendant, after appropriate religious ceremonies and preparation, stood with uplifted arms before a cross, while divine service was performed, victory being adjudged to the one who was able longest to maintain his position.‡ The earliest allusion to it which we have observed occurs in a Capitulary of Pepin le Bref, in 752, where it is prescribed in cases of application for dissolution of marriage by a wife.§ Charlemagne appears to have regarded it with much favor; for he not only frequently refers to it in his Edicts, but, when dividing his mighty empire, in 806, he directs that all territorial disputes which may arise in the future between his sons shall be settled in this manner.* An example occurring during his reign shows the details of the process. A controversy between the Bishop and citizens of Verona, relative to the building of certain walls, was referred to the decision of the cross. Two young ecclesiastics, selected as champions, stood before the sacred emblem from the commencement of mass; at the middle of the Passion, Aregaus, who represented the citizens, fell lifeless to the ground, — "in terram velut exanimis corruit," — while his antagonist, Pacificus, held out triumphantly to the end, and the Bishop gained his cause, as ecclesiastics were wont to do.†

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* The title of the work of Rickius was "Compendiosa certisque modis astricta defensio Probæ, ut loquuntur, Aquæ Frigidæ, qua in examinatione maleficiarum, plerique judices hodie utuntur." (Ap. Cangium.)

† Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 177.

‡ A formula for judgments obtained in this manner by order of court, in cases of disputed title to land, occurs in the Formulæ Bignonianæ, For. XII.

§ "Si qua mulier se reclamaverit quod vir suus nunquam cum ea mansisset, exeant inde ad crucem, et si verum fuerit, separentur, et illa faciat quod vult."—Capit. Pippini, Ann. 752, Cap. XVII.

Witnesses too infirm to undergo the battle-trial, by which in the regular process of law they were bound to substantiate their testimony, were allowed, by a Capitulary of 816, to select the ordeal of the cross, with the further privilege, in cases of extreme debility, of substituting a relative or other champion, whose robustness promised an easier task for the Divine interference.‡

A slight variation of this form of ordeal consisted in standing with the arms extended in the form of a cross, while certain portions of the service were recited. In this manner, St. Lioba, Abbess of Bischoffsheim, triumphantly vindicated the purity of her flock, and traced out the offender, when the reputation of her convent was imperilled by the discovery of a new-born child drowned in a neighboring pond.§

The sensitive piety of Louis le Débonnaire was shocked at this use of the cross, as tending to bring the Christian symbol into contempt, and in 816, soon after the death of Charlemagne, he prohibited its continuance, at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle,[*] an order which was repeated by his son, the Emperor Lothair.[†] Baluze, however, considers, with apparent reason, that this command was respected only in the Rhenish provinces and in Italy, from the fact that the manuscripts of the Capitularies belonging to those regions omit the references to the ordeal of the cross, which are retained in the copies used in the other territories of the Frankish empire.[‡] Louis himself would seem at length to have changed his opinion; for in his final division of his succession between his sons, he repeats the direction of Charlemagne as regards the settlement of disputed boundaries.[§] The procedure, however, appears to have soon lost its popularity, and indeed never to have obtained the wide and deeply-seated hold on the veneration of the people enjoyed by the other forms of ordeal. We see little of it at later periods, except the trace it has left in the proverbial allusion to an *experimentum crucis*.

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* "Si caussa vel intentio sive controversia talis inter partes propter terminos aut confinia regnorum orta fuerit quæ hominum testimonio declarari vel definiri non possit, tunc volumus ut ad declarationem rei dubiæ, judicio crucis, Dei voluntas et rerum veritas inquiratur." — Chart. Division. Cap. XIV. The allusions to it, throughout the Capitularies of this monarch, are very frequent; for instance, Capit. Ann. 779, Cap. X.; Capit. IV. Ann. 803, Cap. III., VI.; In L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. XXVIII. § 3; Tit. LV. § 25, etc.

† Ughelli, Italia Sacra, Vol. V. p. 610 (ap. Baluz. Not. ad Libb. Capit.).

‡ "Namque si debiliores ipsi testes fuerint, tunc ad crucem examinentur. Nam si majoris ætatis, et non possint ad crucem stare, tunc mittant aut filios aut parentes, aut qualescunque homines possint, qui pro eis hoc tendunt." — Capit. Lud. Pii, Ann. 816, Cap. I. (Eccardus, L. Francorum, pp. 183, 184.)

§ Rudolph. Fuldens. Vitæ S. Liobæ, Cap. XV. (Ducange, s. v. *Crucis Judicium.*)

The ordeal of consecrated bread or cheese (*judicium offæ*, *panis conjuratio*, the *corsnæd* of the Anglo-Saxons) was administered by presenting to the accused a piece of bread (generally of barley) or of cheese, about an ounce in weight, over which prayers and adjurations had been pronounced. After appropriate religious ceremonies, including the communion, the morsel was eaten, the event being determined by the ability of the accused to swallow it. This depended of course on the imagination, and we can readily understand how, in those times of faith, the impressive observances which accompanied the ordeal would affect the criminal, who, conscious of guilt, stood up at the altar, took the sacrament, and pledged his salvation on the truth of his oath. The mode by which a conviction was expected may be gathered from the forms of exorcism employed, of which a number have been preserved.

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[*] "Sancitum est ut nullus deinceps quamlibet examinationem crucis facere præsumat, ne quæ Christi passione glorificata est, cujuslibet temeritate contemptui habeatur." — Concil. Aquis-Gran. Cap. XVII.

[†] L. Longobard. Lib. II. Tit. LV. § 32.

[‡] Notæ ad Libb. Capit. Lib. I. cap. 103. This derives additional probability from the text cited immediately above, relative to the substitution of this ordeal for the duel, which is given by Eckhardt from an apparently contemporary manuscript, and which, as we have seen, is attributed to Louis le Débonnaire in the very year of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle. It is not a simple Capitulary, but an addition to the Salique Law, which invests it with much greater importance. Lindenbruck (Cod. Legum Antiq. p. 355) gives a different text, purporting likewise to be a supplement to the Law, made in 816, which prescribes the duel in doubtful cases between laymen, and orders the ordeal of the cross for ecclesiastical causes, — "in Ecclesiasticis autem negotiis, crucis judicio rei veritas inquiratur," — and allows the same privilege to the "imbecillibus aut infirmis qui pugnare non valent." Baluze's collection contains nothing of the kind as enacted in 816, but under date of 819 there is a much longer supplement, in which Cap. X. presents the same general regulations, almost verbatim, except that in ecclesiastical affairs the testimony of witnesses only is alluded to, and the *judicium crucis* is altogether omitted. The whole manifestly shows great confusion of legislation.

[§] Chart. Divisionis, Ann. 837, Cap. X. The words used are identical with those of Charlemagne, with the substitution of "vexillo crucis" for "judicio crucis." The word *vexillum* frequently had the signification of *signum* or *testimonium* (v. Cangium, *sub voce*).

"O Lord Jesus Christ, ... grant, we pray thee, by thy holy name, that he who is guilty of this crime in thought or in deed, when this creature of sanctified bread is presented to him for the proving of the truth, let his throat be narrowed, and in thy name let it be rejected rather than devoured. And let not the spirit of the Devil prevail in this to subvert the judgment by false appearances. But he who is guilty of this crime, let him, chiefly by virtue of the body and blood of our Lord which he has received in communion, when he takes the consecrated bread or cheese tremble, and grow pale in trembling, and shake in all his limbs; and let the innocent quietly and healthfully, with all ease, chew and swallow this morsel of bread or cheese, crossed in thy holy name, that all may know that thou art the just Judge," &c.*

A striking illustration of the superstitions connected with this usage is found in the story related by most of the English chroniclers concerning the death of the powerful Godwin, Earl of Kent, father of King Harold, and in his day the king-maker of England. As he was dining with his royal son-in-law, Edward the Confessor, some trivial circumstance caused the king to repeat an old accusation that his brother Alfred had met his death at Godwin's hands. The old but fiery Earl, seizing a piece of bread, exclaimed: "May God cause this morsel to choke me if I am guilty in thought or in deed of this crime." Then the king took the bread and blessed it, and Godwin, putting it in his mouth, was suffocated by it, and fell dead.†

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* Exorcismus panis hordeacei vel casei. Baluze, II. 655.

† This account, with unimportant variations, is given by Roger of Wendover,

This form of ordeal never obtained the extended influence which characterizes some of the other modes, and it seems to have been chiefly confined to the populations allied to the Saxon race. In England, before the Conquest, it was enjoined on the lower orders of the clergy,* and it may be considered as a plebeian mode of trial, rarely rising into historical importance. Its vitality, however, is demonstrated by the fact that Lindenbruck, writing in 1613, states that it was then still in frequent use.†

A simplification of this ordeal was the trial by the Eucharist, which indeed may be regarded as bearing a similar relation to all the forms of ordeal, as its administration was invariably a portion of the preparatory ceremony, with the awful adjuration, "Corpus hoc et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit vobis ad probationem hodie!" The general use of the sacrament to lend authority and solemnity to transactions, and the binding force it was thought to give to treaties, agreements, and the testimony of witnesses, might seem to remove it in its simplicity from among the list of ordeals proper, were it not for the superstition of the age which believed that, when the consecrated wafer was offered under appropriate invocations, the guilty could not receive it, or that, if it were taken, immediate convulsions and speedy death, or some other miraculous manifestation, ensued. This is well illustrated by a form of exorcism preserved by Mansi: "We humbly pray thy Infinite Majesty that this priest, if guilty of the accusation, shall not be able to receive this venerated body of thy Son, crucified for the salvation of all, and that what should be the remedy of all evil shall prove to him hurtful, full of grief and suffering, bearing with it all sorrow

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Ann. 1054, Matthew of Westminster, Ann. 1054, the Chronicles of Croyland, Ann. 1053, Henry of Huntingdon, Ann. 1053, and William of Malmesbury, Lib. II. cap. 13; which shows that the legend was widely spread and generally believed, although the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ann. 1052, and Roger de Hoveden, Ann. 1053, in mentioning Godwin's death, make no allusion to its being caused in this manner.

No great effort of scepticism is requisite to suggest that Edward, tired of the tutelage in which he was held, may have made way with Godwin by poison, and then circulated the story related by the annalists to a credulous generation.

* Dooms of Ethelred, IX. § 22; Cnut, Eccles. Tit. V.

† "Alium examinis modum, nostro etiamnunc sæculo, sæpe malo modo usitatum." — Cod. Legum Antiq. p. 1418.

and bitterness."* What might be expected under such circumstances is elucidated by a case which occurred in the early part of the eleventh century, as reported by Rodolphus Glaber, a contemporary, in which a monk, condemned to undergo the trial, boldly received the sacrament, when the Host, indignant at its lodgment in the body of so perjured a criminal, immediately slipped out at the navel, white and pure as before, to the immense consternation of the accused, who forthwith confessed his crime.†

This was usually a sacerdotal form of purgation, as is shown by the Anglo-Saxon laws,‡ and by the canons of the Councils of Tribur and Worms, directing its employment in all cases of ecclesiastics charged with crimes, to relieve them from the necessity of taking oaths.§ Thus, in 941, Frederic, Archbishop of Mayence, publicly submitted to an ordeal of this kind, to clear himself of the suspicion of having taken part in an unsuccessful rebellion of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, against his brother, Otho the Great.‖ After the death of Henry, slander assailed the fame of his widow, Juthita, on account of an alleged intimacy between her and Abraham, Bishop of Frisingen. When she, too, died, the Bishop performed her funeral rites, and, pausing in the mass, he addressed the congregation: "If she was guilty of that whereof she was accused, may the Omnipotent Father cause the body and blood of the Son to be my condemnation to just perdition, and perpetual salvation to her soul!" — after which he took the sacrament unharmed, and the people acknowledged the falsity of their belief.¶

Perhaps the most striking instance recorded of its administration was, however, in a secular matter, when in 869 it closed the unhappy controversy between King Lothair and his wives, to which reference has already been made. To reconcile himself to the Church, Lothair took a solemn oath before Adrian II. that he had obeyed the ecclesiastical mandates in maintaining a complete separation from his pseudo-wife Waldrada, after which the Pontiff admitted him to communion, under an adjuration that it should prove the test of his truthfulness. Lothair did not shrink from the ordeal, nor did his nobles, to whom it was given on their declaring that they had not abetted the designs of the concubine; but, leaving Rome immediately afterward, the royal *cortége* was stopped at Placentia by a sudden epidemic which broke out among the courtiers, and there Lothair died, August 8th, with nearly all of his followers, — an awful example held out by the worthy chroniclers as a warning to future generations, "for he who eats and drinks it unworthily, eats and drinks his own condemnation."*

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* Baluz. Miscell. II. 575.

† Lib. V. cap. 1. Somewhat similar is the story of a volunteer miracle vouchsafed to an unchaste priest at Lindisfarne, who being suddenly summoned to celebrate mass without having time to purify himself, when he came to partake of the sacramental cup, saw the wine change to an exceeding blackness. After some hesitation he took it, and found it bitter to the last degree. Hurrying to his bishop, he confessed his sin, underwent penance, and reformed his life. (Roger of Wendover, Ann. 1051.)

‡ Dooms of Ethelred, X. § 20; Cnut, Eccles. Tit. V.

§ Ducange, s. v. *Eucharistia.*

‖ Reginonis Continuat. Ann. 941.

¶ Dithmari Chron. Lib. II.

In this degradation of the Host to the level of daily life there was a profanity which could hardly fail to disgust a reverential mind, and we are therefore not surprised to find King Robert the Pious, in the early part of the eleventh century, raising his voice against its judicial use, and threatening to degrade the Archbishop of Sens for employing it in this manner, especially as his biographer informs us that the custom was daily growing in favor.† Robert's example was soon afterward imitated by Alexander II., who occupied the pontifical chair from 1061 to 1073.‡ The next Pope, however, the impetuous Hildebrand, made use of it on a memorable occasion, and in a manner productive of lasting results. When in 1077 the unhappy Emperor Henry IV. had endured the depths of humiliation before the arrogant Pontiff's castle gate at Canosa, and had at length purchased peace by submitting to all the exactions demanded of him, the excommunication under which he had lain was removed in the chapel.

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* Regino, Ann. 869; Annal. Bertiniani. "But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup, for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." — 1 Corinth. xi. 28, 29.

† Helgaldi Epitome Vitæ Roberti Regis. ‡ Duclos, Mémoire sur les Épreuves.

Then Gregory, referring to the crimes imputed to himself by the Emperor's partisans, said that he could easily refute them by abundant witnesses; "but lest I should seem to rely rather on human than divine testimony, and that I may remove from the minds of all, by immediate satisfaction, every scruple, behold this body of our Lord which I am about to take. Let it be to me this day a test of my innocence, and may the Omnipotent God this day by his judgment absolve me of the accusations if I am innocent, or let me perish by sudden death, if guilty!" Swallowing the wafer, he turned to the Emperor, and demanded of him the same refutation of the charges urged against him by the German princes. Appalled by this unexpected trial, Henry in an agony of fear evaded it, and, trembling, consulted hurriedly with his councillors how to escape the awful test. Finally he declined, on the ground of the absence of both his friends and his enemies, without whose presence the result would establish nothing; and thus, to avoid the present danger of his imagination, he promised to submit to a trial by the Imperial Diet. By this he lost the results so dearly bought by his sacrifices and humiliations, and perpetuated the civil strife, to put an end to which he had labored and endured so much.*

The ordeal of the lot left the decision to pure chance, in the hope that Heaven would interpose to save the innocent and punish the guilty. We may assume that this was extensively practised in Pagan times, but that, on the introduction of Christianity, it gradually became obsolete, as the various modes of appealing to the Deity, which are described above, gradually acquired importance, and threw the less impressive reference to the lot into insignificance. The only allusions to it occur in the earlier laws, and no trace of it is to be met with in the subsequent legislation of any race. Mention of it is made in the Ripuarian code,* and in some of the earlier Merovingian documents its use is prescribed in the same brief manner.† No explanation is given of the details of the process by which this appeal to fortune was made, and we know of no contemporary applications by which we can investigate its formula; but in the primitive Frisian laws there is described a singular ordeal of chance, which may reasonably be assumed to bear some relation to it. When a man was killed in a chance-medley and the murderer remained unknown, the friends had a right to accuse seven of the participants in the brawl. Each of these defendants had then to take the oath of denial with twelve conjurators, after which they were admitted to the ordeal. Two pieces of twig, precisely similar, were taken, one of which was marked with a cross; they were then wrapped up separately in white wool and laid on the altar; prayers were recited, invoking God to reveal the innocence or guilt of the party, and the priest, or a sinless youth, took up one of the bundles. If it contained the marked fragment, the defendants were absolved; if the unmarked one, the guilty man was among them. Each one then took a similar piece of stick and made a private mark upon it; these were rolled up as before, placed on the altar, taken up one by one, and unwrapped, each man claiming his own. The one whose piece was left to the last was pronounced guilty, and was obliged to pay the wehr-gild of the murder.‡ The various modes of ecclesiastical divination, so frequently used in the Middle Age to obtain an insight into the future, sometimes assumed the shape of an appeal to Heaven to decide questions of the present or of the past. Thus when three bishops, of Poitiers, Arras, and Autun, each claimed the holy relics of St. Liguaire, and human means were unavailing to reconcile their pretensions, the decision of the Supreme Power was resorted to, by placing under the altar-cloth three slips with their respective names inscribed, and after a becoming amount of prayer, on withdrawing one of them, the See of Poitiers was enriched with the precious remains by Divine favor.*

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* Lambert. Schaffnab. Ann. 1077. — In estimating the mingled power of imagination and conscience which rendered the proposal insupportable to the Emperor, we must allow for the influence which a man like Hildebrand with voice and eye can exert over those whom he wishes to impress. At an earlier stage of his career, in 1055, he improvised a very effective species of ordeal, when presiding as Papal legate at the Council of Lyons, assembled for the repression of simony. A guilty Bishop had bribed the opposing witnesses, and no testimony was obtainable for his conviction. Hildebrand addressed him: "The episcopal grace is a gift of the Holy Ghost. If, therefore, you are innocent, repeat, 'Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!' The Bishop boldly commenced, "Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to —" Here his voice failed him, he was unable to finish the sentence; and, confessing the sin, he was deposed. This anecdote rests on good authority. Peter Damien states that he had it from Hildebrand himself, and Calixtus II. was a witness of the scene. (Fleury, Hist. Ecclés. Liv. LX.)

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* "Ad ignem seu ad sortem se excusare studeat." — Tit. XXXI. § 5.

† Pactus Childeberti et Chlotarii, Ann. 593, § 5: "Et si dubietas est, ad sortem ponatur." Also § 8: "Si litus de quo inculpatur ad sortem ambulaverit." As in § 4 of the same document the *æneum* or hot-water ordeal is provided for freemen, it is possible that the lot was reserved for slaves. This, however, is not observed in the Decretio Chlotarii, Ann. 595, § 6, where the expression, "Si de suspicione inculpatur, ad sortem veniat," is general in its application, without reservation as to station.

‡ L. Frision. Tit. XIV. §§ 1, 2. This may not improbably be derived from the

The superstition that, at the approach of a murderer, the body of his victim would bleed, or give some other manifestation of recognition, is one of ancient origin, and in some countries it has been made a means of investigation and detection. Shakespeare introduces it in King Richard III., where Gloster interrupts the funeral of Henry VI., and Lady Anne exclaims:

"O gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds
Open their congealed mouths and bleed afresh."

The story is well known which relates that, when Richard Cœur-de-Lion hastened to the funeral of his father, Henry II., and met the procession at Fontevraud, the blood poured from the nostrils of the dead king, whose end he had hastened by his disobedience and rebellion.† The belief in this, as also in the ordeal of fire, is well illustrated in the ballad of "Earl Richard," given by Scott in "The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border."

"'Put na the wite on me,' she said;
'It was my may Catherine.'
Then they hae cut baith fern and thorn,
To burn that maiden in.

"It wadna take upon her cheik,
Nor yet upon her chin;
Nor yet upon her yellow hair,
To cleanse that deadly sin.

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mode of divination practised among the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus, De Moribus German. Cap. X.

* Baldricus, Lib. I. Chron. Camerac. cap. 21. (Ducange, s. v. *Sors.*)

† Roger de Hoveden, Ann. 1189; Roger of Wendover.

> "The maiden touched that clay-cauld corpse,
> A drap it never bled;
> The ladye laid her hand on him,
> And soon the ground was red."

In the notes to this ballad, Scott gives some curious instances of the judicial use of this belief, even as late as the seventeenth century. In 1611, suspicion arising as to the mode by which a person had met his death, the body was exhumed, and the neighborhood summoned to touch it according to custom. The murderer, whose rank and position placed him above implication, kept away; but his little daughter, attracted by curiosity, happened to approach the corpse, when it commenced bleeding, and the crime was proved. In another case, which occurred in 1687, the indictment sets forth that blood rushed from the mouth and nostrils of the deceased, who had been found drowned, on being accidentally touched by his son; and the latter was convicted and executed, although there was little other evidence against him, except a generally bad character. The extent to which the superstition was carried is shown by a story of a young man, who quarrelled with a companion, stabbed him, and threw the body into a river. Fifty years passed away, when a bone chancing to be fished up, the murderer, then an old man, happened to touch it, and it streamed with blood. Inquiring where it had been found, he recognized the relic of his crime, confessed it, and was duly condemned. We may trace a more poetic form of this superstition in the touching legend of the welcome which the bones of Abelard gave to Heloise, when, twenty years after his death, she was consigned to the same tomb.

Although there is no allusion to this custom in any of the primitive Leges Barbarorum, nor even in the German municipal code of the thirteenth century, yet it was judicially employed there until the sixteenth century, under the name of "Bahr-recht." A variation of it, known as "Scheingehen," was practised in the Netherlands and the North, in which the hand of the corpse was cut off, and touched by all suspected persons, with protestations of innocence, and when the guilty one came, it was expected to bleed.*

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* Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 183.

Having thus described the various forms in which the common principle of the ordeal developed itself, there are some general considerations connected with it which claim our brief attention. It was thoroughly and completely a judicial process, ordained by the law for certain cases, and carried out by the tribunals as a regular form of ordinary procedure. From the earliest times, the accused who was ordered to undergo the trial was compelled to submit to it, as to any other decree of court. Thus, by the Salique law, a recusant under such circumstances was summoned to the royal court; and if still contumacious, he was outlawed, and his property confiscated, as was customary in all cases of contempt.* The directions of the Codes, as we have seen, are generally precise, and admit of no alternative. Occasionally, however, a privilege of selection was afforded between this and other modes of compurgation, and also between the various forms of ordeal.†

The circumstances under which its employment was ordered varied considerably with the varying legislations of races and epochs; and to enter minutely into the question of the power of the court to decree it, or the right to demand it by the appellant or the defendant, would require too much space, especially as it has already been discussed at some length with regard to the kindred wager of battle, in a previous number of this journal. Suffice it to say, that the absence of satisfactory testimony, rendering the case one not to be solved by human means alone, is frequently alluded to as a necessary element;[*] and indeed we may almost assert that this was so, even when not specifically mentioned, as far as regards the discretion of the tribunal to order an appeal to the judgment of God. At the same time, numerous examples among those we have described authorize us to conclude that an offer on the part of the accused was rarely refused, even when there was strong evidence against him. In civil cases, we may assume that absence of testimony, or the consent of both parties, was requisite to its employment.[†] The comfort which the system must have afforded to indolent judges in doubtful cases is well exhibited by a rule in the ancient Custom of Normandy of the thirteenth century, by which a man suspected of crime, even though no accuser came forward, was thrown into prison and kept there until he cleared himself by the ordeal of water.[‡]

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* That this was a settled practice, is shown by its existence in the earliest text of the law (Tit. LVI.), as well as in the latest (L. Emendata, Tit. LIX.). It is therefore difficult to understand how Montesquieu could have overlooked it, when, in order to establish his theory that the original Frankish institutions admitted no negative proofs, he asserts with regard to the ordeal that "Cette preuve étoit une chose de convention, que la loi souffroit, mais qu'elle n'ordonnoit pas" (Esp. des Loix, Lib. XXVIII. chap. 16), — a statement contradicted by all the monuments, historical and juridical, of the period. His only proof is a somewhat curious custom of the Salien Franks, to which we shall shortly have occasion to refer.

† "Et eligat accusatus alterutrum quod velit, sive simplex ordalium, sive jusjurandum unius libre in tribus hundredis super xxx. den." — Legg. Henrici I. Cap. LXV. § 3. By the municipal codes of Germany, a choice between the various forms of ordeal was sometimes allowed to the accused who was sentenced to undergo it. Jur. Provin. Alaman. Cap. XXXVII. §§ 15, 16; Jur. Provin. Saxon. Lib. I. Art. 39.

A rule for its employment which was extensively adopted was that which allowed the accused the privilege of compurgation with conjurators, in certain cases, only requiring him to submit to the ordeal on his failing to procure the requisite number of sponsors. Thus, in 794, a certain Bishop Peter, who was condemned by the Synod of Frankfort to clear himself, with two or three conjurators, of the suspicion of complicity in a conspiracy against Charlemagne, being unable to obtain them, one of his vassals offered to pass through the ordeal in his behalf, and on his success the Bishop was reinstated.[§] That this was strictly in accordance with usage, is shown by a very early text of the Salique Law,[||] as well as by a similar provision in the Ripuarian code.* Among the Anglo-Saxons it likewise obtained, from the time of the earliest allusion to the ordeal occurring in their jurisprudence, down to the period of the Conquest.†

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[*] "Si certa probatio non fuerit." L. Sal. Tit. XIV., XVI. (MS. Guelferbyt.) The same is found in the Pactus Childeberti et Chlotarii, § 5, — Decret. Chlotarii II. Ann. 595, § 6. Capit. Carol. Calvi, Ann. 870, cap. 3, 7. Cnuti, Constit. de Foresta, § 11: "Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur nisi ubi nuda veritas nequit aliter investigari." Further instances are hardly needed, as the same limitation occurs in many of the laws quoted above.

[†] "Si accolis de neutrius jure constat, adeoque hac in re testimonium dicere non queant, tum judicio aquæ res decidatur." — Jur. Provin. Alaman. Cap. CCLXXVIII. § 5. "Poterit enim alteruter eorum petere probationem per aquam (wasser urteyll) nec Dominus nec adversarius detrectare possit; sed non, nisi quum per testes probatio fieri nequit." — Jur. Feud. Alaman. Cap. LXXVII. § 2.

[‡] Établissements de Normandie, Tit. de Prison (Éd. Marnier).

[§] Capit. Car. Mag. Ann. 794, § 7.

[||] "Se juratores non potuerit invenire, aut ad ineum ambulat aut," etc. — MS. Guelferbyt. Tit. XIV.

This regulation gives to the ordeal decidedly the aspect of punishment, as it was thus inflicted on those whose guilt was so generally believed that they could find none to stand up with them at the altar as partakers in their oath of denial; and this is not the only circumstance which leads us to believe that it was frequently so regarded. The graduated scale of single and triple ordeals for offences of different magnitudes is so totally at variance with the theory of miraculous interposition to protect innocence and punish guilt, that we can only look upon it as a mode of inflicting graduated punishments in doubtful cases, thus holding up a certain penalty *in terrorem* over those who would otherwise hope to escape by the secrecy of their crime, — no doubt with a comforting conviction, like that of De Montfort's priestly adviser at the sack of Beziers, that Heaven would know its own. Further evidence is afforded by the principle, interwoven in various codes, by which a first crime was defensible by conjurators, or other means, while the "tiht-bysig" man, the "homo infamatus," one of evil repute, whose character had been previously compromised, was denied this privilege, and was forced at once to the hot iron or the water. Thus among the Anglo-Saxons, in the earliest allusion to the ordeal by Edward the Elder, it is provided that perjured persons, or those who had once been convicted, should not be deemed thereafter oathworthy, but be hurried to the ordeal, — a regulation repeated with some variations in the laws of Ethelred, Cnut, and Henry I.‡ In the German municipal law of the thirteenth century, the same principle is observed. An officer of the mint issuing false money was permitted the first time to swear to his ignorance, but on a second offence he had to submit to the ordeal; and it was similarly enjoined on those who had become infamous on account of a previous conviction of theft.* In the legislation of Charlemagne, there is a curious provision, by which a man convicted seven times of theft was no longer allowed to escape on payment of a fine, but was forced to undergo the ordeal of fire. If he succumbed, he was put to death; if he escaped unhurt, he was not discharged as innocent, but his lord was allowed to enter bail for his future good behavior,† — a mode at once of administering punishment and of ascertaining whether his death would be agreeable to Heaven. When we thus regard it as a penalty on those who by misconduct had forfeited the confidence of their fellow-men, the system loses a part of its absurdity, — in proportion as it departs from the principle under which it was established.

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* "Quod si . . . . . juratores invenire non potuerit, ad ignem seu ad sortem se excusare studeat." L. Ripuar. Tit. XXXI. § 5.

† Dooms of Edward the Elder, Cap. III. So also in the Laws of William the Conqueror, Tit. I. Cap. XIV. — "Si sen escundira sei duzime main. E si il auer nes pot, si sen defende par juise." The collection known by the name of Henry I. has a similar provision, Cap. LXVI. § 3.

‡ "Ut deinceps non sint digni juramento sed ordalio." — Legg. Edwardi, Cap. III.; Ethelredi, Cap. I. § 1; Cnuti Sæcul. Cap. XXII., XXX.; Henrici I. Cap. LXV. § 3.

There is also another aspect in which we feel confident that the ordeal was viewed by those whose common sense must have shrunk from it simply as an appeal to the judgment of God. There can be little doubt that it was frequently found of material use in extorting confession or unwilling testimony. By the early codes, as in the primitive Greek and Roman law, torture could be applied only to slaves, and the ordeal was a legalized torture, applied under circumstances peculiarly provocative of truth. In those ages of faith, the professing Christian, conscious of guilt, must indeed have been hardened, who could undergo the most awful rites of his religion, pledging his salvation on his innocence, and knowing under such circumstances that the direct intervention of Heaven could alone save him from having his hand boiled to rags,‡ after which he was to meet the full punishment of his crime, and perhaps in addition lose a member for the perjury committed. With such a prospect, all motives would conspire to lead him to a prompt and frank acknowledgment in the early stages of the proceedings against him. Our conclusions with regard to this point are strengthened by the fact that when the judicial use of torture, as a means of obtaining testimony and confession, was becoming systematized and generally employed, the ordeal was falling into desuetude and rapidly disappearing. The latter had fulfilled its mission, and the former was a substitute better fitted for an age which reasoned more, believed less, and at the same time was quite as arbitrary and violent as the preceding. A further confirmation of this supposition is afforded by the coincidence, that the only primitive jurisprudence which excluded the ordeal — that of the Wisigoths — was likewise the only one which habitually permitted the use of torture.*

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* Jur. Provin. Alaman. Cap. CLXXXVI. §§ 4, 6, 7; Cap. CCCLXXIV.; Jur. Provin. Saxon. Lib. I. Art. 39.

† Capit. Car. Mag. III. Ann. 813, cap. 46.

‡ The severity of the ordeal, when the sufferer had no friends among the operators to save him, may be deduced from the description of a hand when released from its three days' tying up after its plunge into hot water; — "inflatam admodum et excoriatam sanieque jam carne putrida effluentem dexteram invitus ostendit." (Ducange, s. v. *Aquæ Ferv. Judicium.*) In this case the sufferer was the adversary of an abbey, of which the monks perhaps had the boiling of the kettle.

There are two peculiarities of the system, perhaps worth alluding to, which may be thought to militate somewhat against our theory of its use. The one is the permission sometimes accorded to put forward substitutes or champions, who dared the fire or water as freely as the field of single combat. Of this custom we have already given incidentally so many examples, that further instances would be superfluous, and we would only add, that it is nowhere permitted as a general rule by any code, except in the case already quoted of the ordeal of the cross, where it was a privilege accorded to the old or infirm, and probably only as a local custom. That a person rich enough to purchase a substitute, or powerful enough to force some unhappy follower or vassal to take his place, should obtain a favor not generally allowed, is a matter of course in the formative stages of society; accordingly it will be observed that all the instances of the kind mentioned above relate to those whose dignity or station may well have rendered them exceptional.

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* An epistle attributed both to Stephen V. and Sylvester II. shows that the ordeal was evidently regarded as a torture by those whose enlightenment enabled them to condemn the popular faith in it as a superstition : "Ferri candentis vel aquæ ferventis examinatione confessionem extorqueri a quolibet, sacri non censuerunt canones, et quod sanctorum Patrum documento sancitum non est, superstitiosa adinventione non est præsumendum." — Ivon. Carnot. Epist. 74.

The other objection to our hypothesis is that to some extent the common ordeal was a plebeian process, while the patricians arrogated to themselves the wager of battle. This distinction, however, hardly existed before the rise of feudalism gave all privileges to those who were strong enough to seize them, and even then it was by no means universal. We have already seen, that although in the early part of the eleventh century the Emperor Henry II. undoubtedly promulgated such a rule, yet that Glanville a hundred and fifty years later considers the red-hot iron as noble, and that in the thirteenth century the feudal law of Germany prescribes the *wasserurteyll* for territorial disputes between gentlemen. In the earlier codes the distinction is unknown, except that the Ripuarian Franks reserved the ordeal for strangers and slaves, — so that we are justified in assuming that no general principles can be deduced from a regulation so late in its appearance and so uncertain in its application.

The degree of confidence really inspired by the results of the ordeal is a somewhat curious subject of speculation, and one on which definite opinions are not easily reached. Judicially, the trial was conclusive; the man who had duly sunk under water, walked unharmed among the burning shares, or withdrawn an unblistered hand from a caldron of legal temperature, stood forth among his fellows as innocent. So the verdict of twelve fools in a jury-box may even now discharge a criminal, against the plainest dictates of common sense; but in neither case, perhaps, would the sentiments of the community be changed by the result. The reverential feelings which alone could impart faith in the system seem scarcely compatible with the practice of compounding for ordeals, by which a man was permitted to buy himself off, by settling the matter with his accuser. This mode of adjustment was not extensively introduced, but it nevertheless existed among the Anglo-Saxons,* while among the Franks it was a settled custom, permitted by all the texts of the Salique Law, from the earliest to the latest.† Charlemagne in the earlier portion of his reign does not seem to have entertained much respect for the judgment of God when he prescribed the administration of the ordeal for trifling affairs only, cases of magnitude being reserved for the regular investigation of the law.* Thirty years later, the public mind appears afflicted with the same doubts, for we find the monarch endeavoring to enforce confidence in the system by his commands.† How far he succeeded in this difficult attempt, we have no means of ascertaining; but a rule of English law, four hundred years later, during the expiring struggles of the practice, would show that it was regarded as by no means conclusive, when a malefactor who had established his innocence by hot water or iron obtained thereby only a commutation of punishment, and was forced to leave the kingdom in perpetual exile.‡ There is also evidence that the manifest injustice of the results obtained not unfrequently tried the faith of believers, to a point which required the most ingenious sophistry for an explanation. When in 1127 the sacrilegious murder of Charles the Good, Earl of Flanders, sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe, Lambert of Redenburg, whose participation in the crime was notorious, succeeded in clearing himself by the hot iron. Shortly afterward he undertook the siege

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* Dooms of Æthelstan, I. cap. 21.

† First Text, Tit. LIII. and L. Emend. Tit. LV. — A person condemned by the court to undergo the ordeal could, by a transaction with the aggrieved party, pur-

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chase the privilege of clearing himself by canonical compurgation, and thus escape the severer trial. He was bound to pay his accuser only a portion of the fine which he would incur if proved guilty, — a portion varying with different offences from one fourth to one sixth of the *wehr-gild*. The interests of the tribunal were guarded by a clause which compelled him to pay to the *grafio*, or judge, the full *fredum*, or public fine, if his conscience impelled him to submit to an arrangement for more than the legal percentage. It is on this custom that Montesquieu relies for proof of his theory of the absence of negative proofs in the Frankish jurisprudence. The fallacy of the argument is further shown by the existence of a similar privilege in the English laws, with which the learned jurist endeavors to establish a special contrast.

* "Quod si accusatus contendere voluerit de ipso perjurio stent ad crucem. . . . . . Hoc vero de minoribus rebus. De majoribus vero, aut de statu ingenuitatis, secundum legem custodiant." — Capit. Car. Mag. Ann. 779, cap. 10. That this was respected as law in force, nearly a hundred years later, is shown by its being included in the collection of Capitularies by Benedict the Levite. Lib. V. cap. 196.

† "Ut omnes judicio Dei credant absque dubitatione." Capit. Car. Mag. I. Ann. 809, cap. 20.

‡ "Constitutio quidem talis fuit, quod quamvis aliquis se purgaret judicio aquæ vel ignis, hic nihilominus regnum abjuraret." Bracton, Lib. III. Tract. II. Cap. XVI. § 3.

of Ostbourg, which he prosecuted with great cruelty, and was killed in a sally of the besieged. The pious Galbert assumes that Lambert, notwithstanding his guilt, escaped at the ordeal in consequence of his humility and repentance, and philosophically adds: "Thus it is that in battle the unjust man is killed, although in the ordeal of water or of fire he may escape, if truly repentant."* The same doctrine was enunciated under John Cantacuzenes, in the middle of the fourteenth century, by a Bishop of Didymoteichus in Thrace. A frail fair one being violently suspected by her husband, the ordeal of hot iron was demanded by him. In this strait she applied to the good Bishop, and he, being convinced of her repentance and intention to sin no more, assured her that in such a frame of mind she might safely venture on the trial, and she accordingly carried the glowing bar triumphantly twice round the Bishop's chair, to the entire satisfaction of her lord and master.† In fact, as the result depended at all times upon those who administered the ordeal, it conferred an irresponsible power to release or to condemn, and it would be expecting too much of human nature to suppose that men did not yield frequently to the temptation to abuse that power. The injustice thus practised must often have shaken the most robust faith, and this cause of disbelief would receive additional strength from the fact that the result itself was not seldom in doubt, victory being equally claimed by both parties. Of this we have already seen examples in the affairs of the lance of St. Andrew and of the Archbishop of Milan, and somewhat similar is an incident related by the Bollandists in the life of St. Swithin, in which, by miraculous interposition, the opposing parties beheld entirely different effects resulting from an appeal to the red-hot iron.‡

Efforts of course were made from time to time to preserve the purity of the appeal, and to secure impartiality in its application. Clotair II. in 595 directs that three chosen persons shall attend on each side to prevent collusion;* and among the Anglo-Saxons, some four hundred years later, Ethelred enjoins the presence of the prosecutor under penalty of loss of suit and fine of twenty ores, apparently for the same object, as well as to give authenticity to the decision.† These regulations show that the evils were felt and complained of, but we may reasonably hesitate to believe that the remedies were effectual.

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* Vit. Carol. Comit. Flandren. Cap. XX.

† Collin de Plancy, *op. cit.* s. v. *Fer Chaud.*

‡ "Enimvero mirum fuit ultra modum, quod fautores arsuram et inflationem conspiciebant; criminatores ita sanam ejus videbant palmam, quasi penitus fulvum non tetigisset ferrum." (Ducange, s. v. *Arsura.*)

The Church was not a unit in its relations to the ordeal. During the earlier periods, indeed, no question seems to have been entertained as to the propriety of the practice; it was sanctioned by councils, and administered by ecclesiastics, and, as we have seen, numerous formulas of prayers and adjurations were authoritatively provided for all the different varieties in use. This unanimity was, however, soon disturbed. At the commencement of the sixth century, Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, remonstrated freely with Gundobald on account of the prominence given to the battle-ordeal in the Burgundian code, and some three centuries later St. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, attacked the whole system in two powerful treatises, which in many points display a breadth of view and clearness of reasoning far in advance of his age.‡ Soon after, Leo IV., about the middle of the ninth century, condemned it in a letter to the English bishops; some thirty years later, Stephen V. repeated the disapproval; in the tenth century, Sylvester II. opposed it, and succeeding pontiffs, such as Alexander II. and Alexander III., in vain protested against it. In this, the chiefs of the Church placed themselves in opposition to their subordinates. No ordeal could be conducted without priestly aid, and the frequency of its employment, which has been seen above, shows how little the Papal exhortations were respected by the ministers of the Church. Nor were they contented with simple disregard; defenders were not wanting to pronounce the ordeal in accordance with the Divine law, and it was repeatedly sanctioned by provincial synods and councils. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, lent to it all the influence of his commanding talents and position; the Council of Mayence in 888, and that of Tribur near Mayence in 895, recommended it; that of Elne in 1065 recognized it; Burckhart, Bishop of Worms, whose collection of canons is still an authority, in 1023 assisted at the Council of Selingenstadt, which directed its employment. In the twelfth century we find St. Bernard alluding approvingly to the conviction of heretics by the cold-water process,* of which Guibert de Nogent gives us an instance in which he aided the Bishop of Soissons in administering it to two backsliders with the most complete success.† Prelates were everywhere found granting charters containing the privilege of conducting trials in this manner, and even so eminent a canonist as St. Yves of Chartres, as late as 1100, while insisting that ecclesiastics enjoyed immunity from it, admitted that the incredulity of mankind sometimes required an appeal to the decision of Heaven, even though such appeals were not commanded by the Divine law.‡ Pope Calixtus II. himself, about the same period, gave his sanction to the system, in the Council of Rheims, in 1119.§

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* "Ad utramque partem sint ternas personas electas, ne conludius fieri possit." —Decret. Chlotharii II. Cap. VII.

† Ethelred, III. § 4.

‡ The "Liber adversus Legem Gundobadi" and "Liber contra Judicium Dei."

This discrepancy is easily explained. During the ninth and tenth centuries the chair of St. Peter was occupied too often by men whose more appropriate sphere of action was the brothel or the arena, and the influence of the Papacy was feeble in the extreme. The Eternal City was civilly and morally a lazar-house, and the Popes had too much to do in maintaining themselves upon their tottering thrones, to have leisure or inclination for combined and systematic efforts to extend their power. The Italian expeditions of Otho the Great brought Italy out of the isolation into which it had fallen for nearly a century, and under the auspices of the Emperors the character of the Pontiffs improved, as their circle of influence widened. At length such men as Gregory VII. and Alexander III. were able to claim supremacy over both temporal and spiritual affairs, and, after a long resistance on the part of the great body of ecclesiastics, the tiara triumphed over the mitre. During this period, the clergy found in the administration of the ordeal a source of power and profit which naturally rendered them unwilling to abandon it at the Papal mandate. There were fees to be received for its honest,* bribes for its dishonest application; chartered privileges existed in favor of churches and monasteries by which they derived a certain revenue, and the holy relics in their keeping were rendered a source of gain considerably greater than that which accrued merely from the devotion of the faithful.† It afforded the means of awing the laity, by rendering the priest a special instrument of Divine justice, into whose hands every man felt that he was at any moment liable to fall; and even worse uses were sometimes made of the irresponsible power thus intrusted to unworthy ministers. From the Acts of the Third Council of Lateran, in 1179, we learn authoritatively that the extortion of money from innocent persons by its instrumentality was a notorious fact,‡ — a testimony confirmed by Ekkehardus Junior, who, a century earlier, makes the same accusation, and moreover inveighs bitterly against the priests who, to gratify the vilest instincts, were in the habit of exposing women to the ordeal of cold water, that they might strip them for the purpose.*

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* "Examinati judicio aquæ mendaces inventi sunt . . . . . aqua eos non suscipiente." — In Cantica, Sermo 66. (Ameilhon.)

† De Vita sua, Lib. III. cap. 18.

‡ Herbert, Bishop of Mans, was accused by Henry I. of England of endeavoring to betray that city to its former master, and was ordered to prove his innocence by the ordeal of hot iron. Yves assured him (Epist. 74) that no law or custom required it of an ecclesiastic, and we may presume that churchmen knew too much of it to trust themselves to it, except where the management was in their own hands. Yves, however, allows it for laymen. "Non negamus tamen quin ad divina aliquando recurrendum sit testimonia quando, præcedente ordinaria accusatione, omnino desunt humana testimonia: non quod lex hoc instituerit divina, sed quod exigat incredulitas humana." — Epist. 252. And again: "Vel, si id facere non poterit, candentis ferri examinatione innocentiam suam comprobet. Si hæc causa apud me ita ventilaretur, ita eam vellem tractari." — Epist. 249.

§ Ducange, s. v. *Judicium probabile.*

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* For instance, in a charter granted to the Vicar of Bourges, we find the following heavy payments enumerated as customary in such cases: "Qui judicium portaverit, erit in custodia vicarii, et habebit vicarius ex illo pro custodia 20 den. et si portaverit judicium, et locutus fuerit, emendabit 30 sol." (Ducange, s. v. *Judicium Portare.*)

† Charters of this nature are almost too numerous to require more than an allusion. We may however quote one or two examples. Thus Thibaut the Great of Champagne, in 1148, grants to the church of St. Mary Magdalen of Chateaudun the exclusive privilege of administering the necessary oaths on such occasions: "Ne alicui liceret exhibere sancta ad sacramenta juranda in villa Castriduni præter ministris præfatæ ecclesiæ, omnibus duellis vel sacramentis," etc. (Ducange, s. v. *Adramire.*) From Spelman we take the following, by which Henry III., in 1227, granted to the monks of Semplingham the right to hold the ordeal, among other jurisdictions: "Habeant . . . . . curiam suam et justitiam, cum saka et soka et thol et theam . . . . . et *ordell* et orest," etc.

‡ Appendix, Part II. can. 3, 11. (Ducange, s. v. *Ignis.*)

At length, when the Papal authority reached its culminating point, a vigorous and sustained effort to abolish the whole system was made by Alexander III., Innocent III., and Honorius III., who occupied the pontifical throne from 1191 to 1227. Under Innocent, the Fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215, formally forbade the employment of any ecclesiastical ceremonies in such trials; † and as the moral influence of the ordeal depended entirely upon its religious associations, a strict observance of this canon must speedily have swept the whole system into oblivion. It was actively followed up by the Papal legates in various countries, and the effect was soon discernible. In England, a rescript of Henry III., dated January 27, 1219, directs the judges then starting on their circuits to employ other modes of proof, — "cum prohibitum sit per Ecclesiam Romanam judicium ignis et aquæ." ‡ Some few charters and confirmations dated some years subsequently allude to the privilege of administering it; but Matthew of Westminster, when enumerating, under date of 1250, the remarkable events of the half-century, specifies its abrogation as one of the occurrences to be noted,§ and we may conclude that thenceforth it was practically abandoned throughout the kingdom. This is confirmed by the fact that Bracton, writing about the same time, refers only to the wager of battle as a legal procedure, and, when alluding to other forms, speaks of them as things of the past. Nearly contemporary was the Neapolitan Code, promulgated in 1221 by authority of the Emperor Frederic II., in which he not only prohibits the use of the ordeal in all cases, but ridicules, in a very curious passage, the folly of those who could place confidence in it.* We may conclude, however, that this was not effectual in eradicating it; for, fifty years later, Charles of Anjou found it necessary to repeat the injunction.† About the same time, Waldemar II. of Denmark, Hakonsen of Iceland and Norway, and soon afterward Birger Jarl of Sweden, followed the example.‡ In France, we find no formal abrogation promulgated; but the contempt into which the system had fallen is abundantly proved by the fact, that in the ordinances and books of practice issued during the latter half of the century, such as the *Établissements* of St. Louis, the *Conseil* of Pierre de Fontaines, the *Coutumes du Beauvoisis* of Beaumanoir, and the *Livres de Jostice et de Plet*, its existence is not recognized even by a prohibitory clause, the judicial duel thenceforward monopolizing the province of irregular evidence. Germany was more tardy in its progress; for in 1279 we find the Council of Buda obliged to repeat the interdiction uttered by that of Lateran.§ Don Jayme I. of Aragon, in 1248, abolished it in his revision of the constitution of Majorca; ‖ but on the mainland the march of enlightenment was slower, if Spelman's citation be correct, of a council in 1320 which threatened with excommunication all concerned in administering the ordeal of fire or of water.¶

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* "Holophernicos . . . . . Presbyteros, qui animas hominum carissime appreciatas vendant; fœminas nudatas aquis immergi impudicis oculis curiose perspiciant, aut grandi se pretio redimere cogant." — De Casibus S. Galli, Cap. XIV.

† Cap. 18 enjoins on every ecclesiastic, "ne . . . . . purgationi aquæ ferventis vel frigidæ, seu ferri candentis ritum cujuslibet benedictionis seu consecrationis impendat." (Ducange, s. v. *Aquæ Frig. Jud.*)

‡ Spelman, Gloss. s. v. *Judicium.*

§ "Prohibitum est judicium quod fieri consuevit per ignem et per aquam." Mat. Westmon. Ann. 1250.

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* "Leges quæ a quibusdam simplicibus sunt dictæ paribiles . . . . . præsentis nostri nominis sanctionis edicto in perpetuum inhibentes, omnibus regni nostri judicibus, ut nullus ipsas leges paribiles, quæ absconsæ a veritate deberent potius nuncupari, aliquibus fidelibus nostris indicet. . . . . . Eorum etinim sensum non tam corrigendum duximus quam ridendum, qui naturalem candentis ferri calorem tepescere, imo (quod est stultius) frigescere, nulla justa causa superveniente, confidunt; aut qui reum criminis constitutum, ob conscientiam læsam tantum asserunt ab aquæ frigidæ elemento non recipi, quem submergi potius aeris competentis retentio non permittit." — Constit. Sicular. Lib. II. Tit. 31. This last clause would seem to allude to some artifice of the operators by which the accused was prevented from sinking, in the cold-water ordeal, when a conviction was desired.

† Statut. MSS. Caroli I. Cap. XXII. (Ducange, s. v. *Lex Parib.*)

‡ Königswarter, *op. cit.* p. 176.

§ Ducange, s. v. *Judicium Probabile.*

‖ "Pro aliquo crimine vel delicto, vel demanda, non facietis nobiscum vel cum bajulo aut curia civitatis, nec inter vos ipsos, batalam per ferrum calidum, per hominem nec per aquam, vel aliam ullam rem." (Ducange, s. v. *Batalia.*)

¶ Gloss. s. v. *Purgatio.*

Although the ordeal was thus removed from the admitted jurisprudence of Europe, the principles of faith which had given it vitality were too deeply implanted in the popular mind to be at once eradicated, and accordingly, as we have seen above, instances of its employment continued occasionally for several centuries to disgrace the tribunals. The ordeal of battle, indeed, was not legally abrogated until long afterward; but as this forms no part of our present theme, we shall not follow its history, contenting ourselves with an extract from Sir William Staundford, a learned judge and respectable legal authority, who, in 1557, expresses the same confident expectation of Divine interference which had animated Hincmar or Poppo. After stating that in an accusation of felony, unsupported by evidence, the defendant had a right to wager his battle, he proceeds: "Because in that the appellant demands judgment of death against the appellee, it is more reasonable that he should hazard his life with the defendant for the trial of it, than to put it on the country, ... and to leave it to God, to whom all things are open, to give the verdict in such case, *scilicet*, by attributing the victory or vanquishment to the one party or the other, as it pleaseth Him." *

The Papal authority, however, was not the only element at work to abolish this superstition. A powerful assistant must be recognized in the rise of the communes, whose sturdy common sense not unfrequently rejected its absurdity. Accordingly we find that it is rarely comprehended in their charters, as it is in those granted to abbeys and monasteries, while occasionally a special exemption is alluded to as a privilege.† The influence of the commercial and municipal spirit, fostered by the establishment of chartered towns, in dissipating the mists of error and prejudice, is further shown by the fact, that the early codes of the Commercial Law make no reference whatever to the proof by ordeal, though some of those codes were drafted at a period when it was a recognized portion of ordinary jurisprudence. The Rôles d'Oléron, the Laws of Wisby, and the Consulat de la Mer, endeavor to regulate all questions by the reasonable rules of evidence, and offer no indication that the judgment of God was resorted to when human means were at fault. Indeed, King Amaury, who ascended the throne of Cyprus in 1194, specifically declares, in a law embodied in the Assises de Jerusalem, that maritime causes are under the jurisdiction of a special court, instead of the ordinary civic tribunal, in order to avoid the battle ordeal permitted by the latter;* from which we may safely assume that the other forms of ordeal were equally ignored by the maritime law dispensers.

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* Plees del Corone, Chap. XV. (quoted in 1 Barnewall & Alderson, 433).

† An instance of this occurs as early as 1132, in a charter granted by King Roger of Naples to the inhabitants of Bari: "Ferrum cacavum, pugnam, aquam, vobis non judicabit vel judicari faciet." (Muratori, Antiq. Ital., Dissert. 38.)

Although we may hail the disappearance of the ordeal as marking an era in human progress, yet should we err in deeming it either the effect or the cause of a change in the constitution of the human mind. The mysterious attraction of the unknown and undefined, the striving for the unattainable, the yearning to connect our mortal nature with some supernal power, — all these mixed motives assisted in maintaining the follies and superstitions which we have described. The mere external manifestations were swept away; but the potent agencies which vivified them remained, not perhaps less active because they worked more secretly. Thus generation after generation of absurdities, strangely affiliated, waits on the successive descendants of man, and perpetuates in another shape the superstition which we had fondly thought eradicated. In its most vulgar and abhorrent form, we recognize it in the fearful epidemic of sorcery and witchcraft which afflicted the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; sublimed to the verge of heaven, we see it reappear in the seraphic theories of Quietism; descending again towards earth, it assumes the mad vagaries of the Convulsionnaires. In a different guise it leads the refined scepticism of the eighteenth century to a belief in the supernatural powers of the divining-rod, which could not only trace out hidden springs and deep-buried mines, but could also discover crime, and follow the malefactor through all the doublings of his cunning flight.* Each age has its own sins to answer for, its own puerilities to bewail, — happiest that which best succeeds in hiding them, for it can scarce do more. Here, in our boasted nineteenth century, when the triumph of human intelligence over the forces of nature, stimulating the progress of material prosperity with the press, the steam-engine, and the telegraph, has deluded us into sacrificing our psychical to our intellectual being, even here the duality of our nature reasserts itself, and in the obscene blasphemy of Mormonism and in the fantastic follies of pseudo-Spiritualism we see a protest against the despotism of mere reason. If we wonder at these frightful perversions of our noblest attributes, we must remember that the intensity of the reaction measures the original strain, and in the dismal insanities of the day we thus may learn how utterly we have forgotten the Divine warning, "Man shall not live by bread alone!"

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* "Por ce que en la cort de la mer n a point de bataille por preuve ne por demande de celuy veage, et en l autre cort des borgeis deit aveir espreuves par bataille." — Baisse Court, Cap. 43.

Which age shall cast the first stone? When Cicero wondered how two soothsayers could look at each other without laughing, — "mirabile videtur quod non rideat haruspex cum haruspicem viderit," — he showed that the grosser forms of superstition were not universally shared. Such, we may be assured, has been the case at every period; and, in our own day, can we, who proudly proclaim our disbelief in the absurdities around us, individually assert that we have not contributed, each in his own infinitesimal degree, to the causes which have produced them?

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* When, in 1692, Jacques Aymar attracted public attention to the miracles of the divining-rod, he was called to Lyons to assist the police in discovering the perpetrators of a mysterious murder, which had completely baffled the agents of justice. Aided by his rod, he traced the criminals, by land and water, from Lyons to Beaucaire, where he found in prison a man whom he declared to be a participant, and who finally confessed the crime. Aymar was at length proved to be merely a clever charlatan; but the mania to which he gave rise lasted through the eighteenth century, and nearly at its close his wonders were rivalled by a brother sharper, Campetti.

ART. III. — 1. *Speeches of* Mr. JOHN BRIGHT, M. P., *at Birmingham and Manchester, on the Representation of the People.*

2. *A Letter to Mr. Bright on his Plan for turning the English Monarchy into a Democracy.* By HENRY DRUMMOND.

3. *Speech of* MR. DISRAELI, *Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Explanation of the Reform Bill laid before Parliament by the Government of Lord Derby.*

IT is the inevitable tendency of a government like that of England, to be more or less absolutely controlled by some one of its elements. At the era of the French Revolution, and for a hundred years previously, as well as during the subsequent struggle with Napoleon, the aristocracy were the ruling power. But since that period the democratic element has been rising into the chief place, and the control of affairs is surely passing into the hands of the Commons. The Reform Act of 1832 was a severe blow to the ascendency of oligarchical power, and though it is frequently asserted that, since the passage of that memorable bill, the House of Commons has been less distinguished for ability than before, it may be confidently affirmed that this has been owing, in large measure, to the fact that the last quarter of a century has not been adapted to develop such political abilities as were stimulated and brought into action by the great events of the previous period. Besides, in judging of the merits and consequences of the Reform Bill, we must consider the ameliorating measures that have since been adopted. Tested by that standard, it must be conceded that the extension of suffrage, and the redistribution of Parliamentary seats by the legislation of 1832, have been productive of immense good. The question now is, Shall the basis of that legislation be still further enlarged? Shall the democratic element in the British Constitution be still further increased in power and influence?

One class of British society are in favor of a new reform bill, because they believe that political justice and national well-being alike demand it. Another class are invincibly opposed to it, because they see, or think they see, in such a concession, the transfer of power from the aristocracy to the Commons, and along with it the ultimate overthrow of the distinctive principles of the Constitution. A third class, composed of rival parties, yield to it, not because they desire it, but because party exigences demand it. They will concede, however, as little as possible, — as much only as will enable them to gain or retain the control of public affairs.

We may regard Mr. Bright as a representative of the first class, Mr. Drummond of the second, and Mr. Disraeli of the third. Mr. Bright is a powerful speaker, — not an orator, indeed, in the sense in which Chatham and Mirabeau were orators, but a man who hits hard blows and makes a strong impression. Without much learning, and without systematic culture, he has strong natural abilities, extensive and intimate familiarity with the political history of his country since he came upon the stage, indomitable courage, and sturdy independence. He has little reverence for the past, sees things as they are, and is not likely to be misled by illusions. His estimate of the British Constitution differs radically from Mr. Burke's. He does not behold in King, Lords, and Commons "the triple cord which no man can break; the solemn, sworn, constitutional frank-pledge of this nation; the firm guaranties of each other's being and each other's rights; the joint and several securities, each in its place and order, for every kind and every quality, of property and of dignity." On the contrary, he has no reverence for the Constitution of England as it now exists.

> "I have no object," he said in his speech at Birmingham, "in making these observations, but to show to the people that they have been deluded by the idea that they have a glorious — that is, an excellent — Constitution. The Constitution of this country, said to be of a King or Crown, Lords, and Commons, is, in fact, an imposture, — an imposture which I take it to be a part of my duty to expose. John Foster, speaking of the English Constitution, spoke of it as that canted and extolled humbug. They tell us we owe everything to this Constitution. Now, I deny it altogether."

Sentiments of this kind startle such men as Mr. Drummond; they sound like the tocsin of revolution. But Mr. Drummond, whimsical, mystical, prejudiced, and absurd as his pamphlet proves him, though he is described as outspoken and scholarly, is not of force to arrest the movements of this energetic and practical age. He may amuse or annoy an opponent; he may gratify his own spleen, and pander to the spleen of others, by vulgar abuse of this country; yet it is not such adversaries that the friends of reform have to dread, but rather those who in reality entertain his opinions, who dislike reform quite as much as he does, and still, with their eyes fixed steadily on office, attempt to delude the country with such a bill as the government of Lord Derby laid before Parliament at the opening of the last session.

Mr. Disraeli, with ready speech, versatile talents, suppleness, and aptitude for affairs, may explain and defend with great show of reason the various provisions of this bill; but it is apparent upon the most cursory examination, that its leading, governing design and principle was, to preserve the ascendency of the aristocratic element in the House of Commons. Indeed, Mr. Disraeli vindicates, and with a great deal of ingenuity, this feature of his plan. He utterly rejects the notion that representation should be proportioned either to wealth, to population, or to both combined. His theory of representation regards only what he is pleased to term the interests of a country, by which he means classes and opinions. "Men," he says, "are sent to this House to represent the opinions of a place, and not its power." Hence it is, that his bill made no provision for a redistribution of seats in the Commons, and preserved, with the exception of a few glaring anomalies, the existing borough system. It did, indeed, extend the privilege of election to a considerable degree, but with such cautious discrimination as to exclude the great body of the working classes. But, even with the utmost extension of the elective franchise, so long as the House of Commons is constituted as at present, the result is the same.

"There are," said Mr. Bright in his speech at Birmingham,—"there are in the House of Commons at present 330 members (more than half) whose whole number of constituents do not amount to more than 180,000, and there are at the same time in Parliament 24 members, whose constituents are upwards of 200,000 in number;

and, while the constituents of the 330 members are assessed to the property tax at £15,000,000, the constituents of the 24 members are assessed to the same tax at more than £24,000,000."

Now Mr. Disraeli would not only maintain this unjust and unequal distribution of political power, but would make it even more unjust and unequal. By extending the suffrage he increases the disproportion between the constituency of the twenty-four members and the constituency of the three hundred and thirty members, without any change whatever in the relative number of the representatives. And upon what ground does he defend a scheme like this? Upon the fanciful notion that the chief element of representation should be the interests, or, in other words, the classes and opinions of a country, rather than its wealth and population. Admit this, however, to be the correct theory: does it follow that no sort of equality should be observed in fixing the ratio of representation between these various classes or interests? Must the opinions of a score of voters in a midland borough counterbalance the opinions of fifteen or twenty thousand voters in Liverpool or Manchester? Must the political influence of one class, and that the smallest, outweigh the political influence of all other classes? Must a constituency of 180,000 send 330 members to Parliament as the representatives of their opinions, and a constituency of 200,000 send only 24 members to represent theirs? To plain republicans such a scheme of representation appears unjust, — so unjust as to be scandalous.

That it cannot be much longer maintained is obvious. The Derby government has owed its existence thus far to the liberal members; and if that government should be overthrown, and Lord Palmerston again resume office, their support would doubtless be equally necessary to him. Holding this important position, and resolutely insisting upon a reform of the House of Commons, it is impossible that they should not carry their point. They may not, indeed, obtain in the first instance all that they desire; but they will gain vastly more than is proffered by the bill of Mr. Disraeli. Lord Palmerston will concede more than Lord Derby; he will be compelled, by the exigences of his position as a party leader, to come forward with a more satisfactory proposition, — a proposition which, though it may not fully meet the views or wishes of the sincere friends of reform, will be an advanced stage in their progress towards the goal at which they would arrive.

Moreover, when it happens, as happen it will, that the great body of the nation is included in the list of electors, and representation is proportioned to population, or to population and property combined, then England becomes, not in theory only, but in practice, a republic, though a republic under a monarchical form. The crown even now is but a pageant, the ornamental plumage of the noble bird, not the feathers that support him in his flight.

With a full and impartial representation of the people in the House of Commons, with an hereditary executive and an hereditary Senate or House of Lords, England would possess, according to the ideas of Polybius, a perfect polity. There would be that apt contexture of the three forms of government in the general frame which, as he thinks, produces the co-operation, mutual counteraction, and reciprocal control of the parts necessary to constitute a perfect political system. Let the hereditary principle be rejected (as it is likely to be in the progress of time), and the representative principle be substituted for it, England becomes a republic on the plan of our American constitutions. And what is there in this prospect, beyond the loss of power and privilege, that should excite such lively alarm in those whose cause finds a champion in Mr. Drummond? What, in fact, are the characteristic influences and effects of democratic institutions? It may be well, at a time like this, when the organs of one class of opinions and interests in England, from the apprehension of being Americanized, assail our republican system with studied disparagement and insidious censure, to consider this question, — to refresh and confirm our faith in that government which was contrived by the patriots of the Revolution, and which they fondly believed would preserve the liberties and establish the independence of their country. What, then, are the characteristic influences and effects of democratic institutions?

We answer, that they give to society a vital impulse and energy which no other description of government has been able to impart. The sense of personal independence and personal consequence which they inspire, raises and develops even the humblest individual. His faculties impose the only limit to his ambition, the only bound to his aims and endeavors. Hence the immense force, the restless exertion, of democratic communities. The ancient republics, — what brilliancy, what activity, in arts, in arms, in philosophy, letters, and industry, characterized all their career! Their achievements in war and in peace have been the admiration of every succeeding age. The prodigious prosperity of the Italian republics, their renown in all the arts that ennoble and embellish life, and in all the modes of industry that add to its comfort and enjoyment, sprang directly from their freedom.

While popular institutions thus quicken individual energies, and elevate society in all its constituent classes, they claim at the same time this peculiar praise, that they more fully identify the citizen with the state than any other form of government, and by this means foster an intense and lofty patriotism. Every man feels himself a part of the commonwealth, and its honor is as dear to him as his own. In monarchies, the habit of loyalty is, without doubt, a powerful tie, — a motive which in the hour of peril or trial goes far and does much. But, in all wars except those which are strictly national, and arouse a whole population to the defence of their altars and their fires, it may be confidently affirmed that the citizen of a republic comes forth with more alacrity at the call of his country than the subject of a monarchy. He has more of personal interest in all that concerns the government under which he lives; he is an indirect but influential agent in the administration of its affairs, watches with eager interest its course, and whenever difficulty or danger impends, with something more than a sense of duty or spirit of loyalty, acts boldly and greatly in its service. It is this personal interest and participation in the government of his country that animate and exalt the patriotism of a freeman. In addition to all those ties that inspire love of country, attachment to the land of his birth, the home of his ancestors, and the repository of their ashes, he has a sense of property in, of identification with, all the acts of the state.

At the same time, it may be affirmed that popular governments are less prone to war than monarchies. It is said, indeed, that the tastes and qualifications of the many, in all countries and under all systems of polity, lean towards the warlike virtues, and that in free states those tastes and qualifications can demand scope and employment, and hence wars are precipitated. The ancient republics are cited as an illustrative example. So far, it is alleged, were personal independence and personal ambition fostered by their institutions, that war and conquest, the storm and hurricane of life, could alone satisfy them. Undoubtedly, the ancient republics were warlike, and discovered a passion for the excitement and glory of arms; but this was the fault, the characteristic mark of their age, not of their systems of government. In our day, with the votaries of peace numerous and increasing, combined with the powerful classes who in every country are directly interested in its preservation, wars must inevitably become less frequent whenever and wherever these classes exercise a check, a control on government. In democratic states, through public opinion, through the press, and the ballot, they possess this check, this decisive means of enforcing respect for their pacific sentiments. In monarchies, on the contrary, with standing armies, with the military spirit habitually cherished, with the ambition, whims, caprices, and family connections of the monarch, as added motives to war, what wonder is it that the earth so frequently shakes beneath the tread of hostile forces, and drinks up the blood of the bravest and the best?

Popular governments are not only less liable to external war than monarchies, but they are less exposed to internal convulsion. There may, indeed, be local and temporary turbulence, there may be passionate excitement bursting out into acts of violence; but all this, like the passing wind, only agitates the surface, while the world of waters beneath remains undisturbed. That which shakes the foundations of society, that which precipitates revolutions, has been extinguished in its very germ. Equality of rights and privileges — the boon so eagerly coveted by mankind — is consecrated and insured. By incorporating this principle into the very texture of society, popular governments remove the prevalent cause of civil and revolutionary strife. No class endowed with hereditary political power or superior immunities stands as a barrier to essential progress.

Hence desirable changes are accomplished peacefully through the medium of constitutional forms. In monarchies, on the contrary, when the laws and customs are no longer adapted to existing circumstances, when they inflict even misery and injustice, it is difficult to procure their abrogation without the convulsive struggles of revolution. Those who have been long habituated to a system, who derive all its benefits and feel none of its mischiefs, naturally cling to it. Besides, they dread the consequences of disturbing the existing order of things. Change is denounced and frowned upon, lest, when it begins, it may be hard to restrain it, — lest it may slowly, but surely, sap the foundations upon which exclusive privilege reposes. All the influence of authority, of confirmed prejudices, of interested fears, is aroused and arrayed against reform. Hence, without other means of redress to the suffering classes, revolution, which is among the direst evils that can befall a state, and in the height of its fury tends to involve the whole fabric in one mighty ruin, is called in to achieve that which, under a different system, concurring interests or a provident foresight would naturally have anticipated. It was, as all the world knows, the threat and apprehension of revolution that wrung from the reluctant hands of the English aristocracy the reform legislation of 1832.

In a popular government, neither the sympathies nor the interests of the law-makers are bound up with a caste or order, whose power and perpetuity, whose weight and influence in the present and future, are primary objects of concern; but they are identified with the great body of the people, and for weal or woe must partake their fortune. Hence the greatest good of the greatest number is the distinguishing principle of popular legislation. There may be mistakes, there may be rash resolves, in moments of excitement or delusion; but the steady and uniform tendency will be to promote the interests and well-being of the greatest possible number. Such being for the most part the evident result, the law comes to have a fixed and firm hold upon the respect and reverence of a free people. In doing homage to law, they do homage to themselves, the creators and preservers of law. And a state without this reverence for law reposes on a foundation which may indeed last long, but is in danger every moment of subversion. It may impress the spectator with an idea of durable existence, but while he gazes, the structure may fall to the ground. Whenever, from any cause, the influence upon the imagination and the moral feeling of men which is exerted by long-established institutions, and the adventitious authority which naturally attaches itself to whatever is old, are lost or impaired, there is no other foundation upon which the despotic legislator can build, except fear, which, Protean in form, may suddenly assume the aspect of ferocity, and avenge its humiliation in the overthrow of all law and all authority.

Popular institutions not only inspire a respect for law, but they beget self-respect. Hence, we see in republican states nothing of that servile thraldom of mind which is so apparent in other conditions of society. Manners, indeed, which, as has been finely observed, throw a pleasing illusory charm over human nature, may not be carried to so high a standard of refinement as among the superior classes in monarchies. But manners, however pleasing, however necessary "to cover the defects of our naked, shivering nature," may be acquired at too great a sacrifice. It is better to protect and exalt the many, than to bless and adorn the few. It is better to strengthen and enlarge the foundations of the social edifice, than to lavish wealth and splendor upon its higher stories. It is better to cultivate the sentiment of brotherhood, to pour over the surface of society the balsam of charity and kindness, to engage men in common labors, common aims, and common sympathies, than to isolate and separate them by gradations of rank. By so doing, there may, indeed, be less lustre, but there will be more harmony, — a less showy, but a more happy country.

A popular government presupposes not only the removal of all restraints upon the dissemination of knowledge, but the adoption of all practicable measures to diffuse it as widely as possible. All authority having its rise and fountain in the people, it can hardly be conceived that they would employ it to put a padlock on their minds, and shut up the sources of information. Besides, participation in the daily affairs of their government opens and enlightens their minds. Such a people must necessarily discover a clearness of understanding, a practical sagacity, a facility in affairs, unequalled by any other. And while the mass of citizens in democratic states hold this high place in the scale of intelligence, history abundantly proves that they also contribute their full quota to the roll of the world's choice and master spirits.

What lustre was diffused around their country by the famous orators, philosophers, statesmen, and soldiers of republican Greece! Recall, too, the history of the modern Italian republics. What talents in every variety were summoned forth to grace and serve the state! In architecture, in sculpture, in painting, in poetry, history, and politics, republican Italy produced the great masters whose art and genius enlightened the darkness of that night which then enveloped the world. But not to confine our view to former times, let us turn our eyes to our own country. Let us see if, as is alleged by our impartial and friendly English critics, the character of our institutions has dwarfed talents, and sunk them to what has been termed the populous host of mediocrity.

Scarcely eighty years have gone by since our independence was achieved, and although we have had to encounter the obstacles naturally incident to a new country, and were compelled in the first instance to employ all our energies in recovering from the impoverishment of a long war, yet in letters, in all forms of civil and military ability, we have kept fully abreast of contemporary states which have existed for a thousand years.

But, says the leading journal of England, your statesmanship has declined, and declined in consequence of the universal participation of the people in the affairs of your government; in other words, in consequence of universal suffrage. Precisely the same thing is said of the representation of England in the House of Commons, and the fact is attributed to the

Reform Bill. We have already adverted to the circumstance, that the political events of the last quarter of a century have not been of a character to stimulate and bring into activity striking political abilities. Those who have shone most conspicuously in public life during that time, in either country, received their training and impulse in the previous period. That race of our statesmen who came into the national councils just before or just after the second war with England, had to grapple with great questions and imperilled interests, and the excitement and conflict of high debate gave tone and elevation to their minds. If our present representation in Congress has fallen below their measure, it is not attributable to universal suffrage; but, in good part, to the fact that the pabulum of our political life is of a less invigorating nature.

We know it is said, and Lord John Russell adopts the notion in his recent Life of Fox, that the natural jealousy of a democracy has led the American people to elevate their inferior men to the Presidency, in preference to their statesmen of reputation and ability. This assertion is altogether unwarrantable. That it has happened, in one or more instances, that candidates inferior to their competitors in point of talents have been raised to the highest office in our government, may be admitted. But why impute this fact to mean prejudices and unworthy motives? Will Lord John Russell pretend that it would be creditable to an intelligent people to choose for the chief of their state a man whose principles were wholly discordant with their own, merely because he possessed more shining talents than his competitor? Has not his experience taught him that a man may possess great metaphysical, logical, or oratorical abilities, and yet in the administration of public affairs be wanting in wisdom? The opinions of great masses of men on practical questions, affecting their interests, are very apt to be right. The individual, however eminent for talents, may be biased by social habitudes, or local and temporary influences, and thus be deflected from the true policy. If the collective wisdom, therefore, of a people sees what the individual fails to see, if they withhold their suffrages from an eminent personage because of the principles he advocates and represents, let it not be said that they are either incapable of discerning his merit, or indisposed, from a spirit of jealousy, to do honor to it. But after all, what member of the house of Hanover, coming to the throne, as Mr. Burke might say, in contempt of popular election, could be compared in point of abilities with the least illustrious name in the roll of our Presidents?

It is objected to popular institutions, that they foster a love of gain, and tend to make physical prosperity the goal of their citizens. Mr. Drummond, with facile calumny, declares that "they (the Americans) are utterly without private or public honor, and the only people on earth who ever avowed that gain was their sole object in every relationship of life." In what form and through what organs this extraordinary avowal has been made, Mr. Drummond has not thought proper to inform us. If he means to imply that our actions speak that language, we may be pardoned for applying the same test to his own countrymen. Are the English less moderate in their desire and exertions for gain than ourselves? Are they not emphatically the shop-keeping nation? If it be true, as is affirmed by one of the most charming of their poets, that

> "Honor sinks where commerce long prevails,"

it ill becomes an Englishman to boast of any superiority on that score. Mr. Drummond is a scholar, and is, doubtless, familiar with the history of the aristocratic governments of Rome, Carthage, and Venice. As an Englishman and a member of Parliament, the annals of his own country have naturally attracted much of his attention; and he must know that there has never been exhibited by any class of mankind such rapacity, such eagerness to obtain riches, as by the governing class in aristocratic states. The corruption, the venality, and the "jobs" that have distinguished and tainted the English government in times past, are matters of familiar history.

That the citizens of republics are remarkable for the ardor with which they pursue gain, we do not mean to deny. But they seek it in the paths of business, in adventures by sea and land, not from the influence of a mistress or the favor of a minister. "The Athenians," says Thucydides, "continue ever amid labors and dangers, enjoying nothing through sedulity to acquire, esteeming that only a time of festival in which they are prosecuting their projects, and holding rest as a greater evil than the most laborious business."

This boundless activity, this inextinguishable love of exertion, is indeed a characteristic distinction of democratic states. It is this which explores the mine, unlocks the secret treasures of the earth, whitens the seas with the canvas of unnumbered ships, diversifies industry, and stimulates intellect. Nevertheless, the passion of acquisition among such a people is not more eager than in a different condition of society; but it is more apparent, because the sources for its gratification are more numerous. More avenues are opened, the masses are not shackled by the habit of dependence, are conscious of their powers, and accustomed to rely on them. Their freedom gives them boldness, confidence, and a spirit of enterprise. Yet, if eager in acquiring, they are equally liberal in expending wealth. Nowhere is money more freely given for patriotic and beneficent purposes; nowhere do philanthropy and public spirit thrive so well as in republican soil.

Indeed, when we contemplate the benefits that flow from this description of polity as from a natural fountain, when we see the immense energies that are developed, and the immense advances that society makes under its auspices, what manly, generous mind would not wish it endued with an inherent strength, and fitted to survive for the good of mankind to the latest ages of the world? But forms of government, like every other contrivance of human wisdom, are mutable, and subject to decay. Time, which defaces the inscription and crumbles the marble, leaves untouched nothing beneath the sun.

What is to be the future fortune of our own political system it is vain to conjecture. This much is certain, — to preserve our institutions, we must preserve and foster an habitual respect for them. Fleets and armies cannot maintain them. The foundations on which they repose are not of material structure. They are based on ideas, and will continue to bless, develop, and accelerate our country on its great career, so long as the principles and sentiments of their founders shall animate their posterity. When these no longer hold sway, the form may indeed survive, but the animating soul of the republic will have departed.

It has not escaped observation, that familiarity with European society has already led many of our social and literary *dilettanti* to regard European institutions with no unfavorable eye. The gayety and glitter of foreign courts and capitals have dazzled their imaginations, and they have come to undervalue the freedom which has given their country its position among the nations. They might remind us of some rigid Protestant, whose antipathy to Rome would do no discredit to a Presbyterian of the school of Knox; yet who, when he comes to tread "the long-drawn aisle" of a venerable cathedral, covered with "the awful hoar of innumerable ages," to listen to the pealing anthem, and to witness the imposing ceremonies of an earlier worship, abandons his life-long convictions to the illusion of the passing hour.

But the great body of our citizens, all those who constitute the strength and ornament of their country, are devoted to its institutions with a warm and earnest attachment. They contemplate the past with pride, they anticipate the future with hope. The strictures that reach them from the Old World, whether clothed in the considerate phrase of a Russell or the envenomed language of a Drummond, do not abate their confidence or disturb their equanimity. They know that a successful republic is a pungent and ever-recurring criticism upon monarchy and aristocracy; that it awakens mankind to reflection, and engenders a love of liberty; that it is, in fine, at once an argument and an example, whose persuasive force summons the nations to demand institutions that shall recognize and guarantee their rights. They are not surprised, therefore, that those whose repose is thus disturbed, and whose power and privileges are endangered, should seek to disparage a government whose silent operation is productive of such results.

But they are neither so blind nor so prejudiced as not to know that perfection is unattainable in human affairs, and that evils are inseparable from every form of government. They have the sense and sagacity, however, to perceive that, while there are faults in the details and the practical working of their institutions, they possess excellences peculiar to themselves. It is not occasional irregularity, violence, or maladministration, whether state or municipal, resulting in whole or in part from the ordinary machinery, as it were, of their system, that can disaffect them with the general principles on which the system itself is founded. The essence of republicanism does not consist in the ballot and universal suffrage, as many persons seem to suppose. Doubtless, it is in the theory, as it should be in the practice of a republic founded on just principles, that those from whom it is derived, for whose benefit it was established, and whose contributions support it, should, by their suffrages, have the control of it. But every political society necessarily possesses the right of self-protection; and if any portion of its members, from vice or ignorance, from mental or moral defects, are incompetent to take a part in the administration of its affairs, they should be disfranchised. It would be well if our legislators would give a little more heed to this obvious truth.

In towns and cities where population is largely concentrated, and where a considerable portion of that population were the former subjects of England, and bred under a system which makes no provision for the instruction of youth, and keeps the great body of the people ignorant of political duties, it is highly impolitic to confer indiscriminately the privilege of election. The compatriots of Mr. Drummond should continue *in statu pupillari* until they become familiar with political rights, and imbibe a proper sense of political duties. Hereafter, when the British system shall have been reformed, they will receive that preliminary training at home which will qualify them for more immediate admission to the privileges of citizenship upon their arrival in this country. With a proper restriction of the right of suffrage, a proper check upon the unwise multiplication of elective offices, and a more discreet and attentive exercise of the privilege of election on the part of those who are most interested in a politic administration of affairs, we shall guard against that municipal misgovernment, wastefulness, and corruption, which have tended to bring reproach on our whole system.

But whatever the defects which a friendly or an unfriendly criticism may point out either in the foundation or superstructure of our institutions, in the organic law, or the details of legislation, the general result of the system is obvious. The generation of our countrymen now passing off the stage of action are nearly as old as the government under which they live; yet what prodigies have they witnessed! They have seen our boundaries enlarged, our resources developed, our weakness converted into strength, and our power acknowledged and respected by the most distant nations. Our territory, which even at the outset was deemed by European statesmen too vast and extended, is now washed by the waters of two oceans; capacious harbors indent its shores; immense rivers bear the products of thriving industry to the seas; populous towns and cities are scattered over the land; thought is unshackled, education diffused, and liberty insured. With a vast confederation of States, comprising every variety of climate, soil, and production, with innumerable cities, the natural centres of commerce, manufactures, and arts, with immense lines of railway stretching across the continent from ocean to ocean, and with such an administration of the government as will give us contentment at home and respect abroad, we shall present to the world an instance of beneficent power unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

Art. IV. — *Correspondence of* Charles, *first* Marquis Cornwallis. Edited, with Notes, by Charles Ross, Esq. London: John Murray. 1859. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 560, 577, 621.

Lord Cornwallis played a conspicuous part in the history of three continents. In the American war he held an independent command in this country; and after ravaging the Southern Colonies he closed his career here by the capitulation of Yorktown. Returning to England, he was subsequently appointed Governor-General of India, where he gained several victories over Tippoo Saib, and effected an administrative reform known in Indian history as the Zemindar Settlement. At a little later period he was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was a principal instrument in bringing about the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland. When Pitt resigned the premiership, and the Addington Ministry entered into negotiations with Bonaparte, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to conclude the definitive treaty of peace; and shortly afterward he was again made Governor-General of India. His correspondence, therefore, has a breadth of interest which commends it to special notice; and in regard to several subjects it possesses the highest value. The sources from which Mr. Ross has gathered this immense and precious collection are very numerous, embracing the family papers at Audley End, the seat of Lord Braybrooke; the letters addressed to the editor's father and Lord Cornwallis's most intimate friend, Lieutenant-General Ross; the papers at the India House; the documents in the State Paper Office, to some of which "no person had previously been allowed access"; the papers preserved in Dublin Castle; numerous manuscript volumes in the library of the British Institution; and other "private papers and letters in the possession of various individuals." Many other collections were also submitted to him; "but upon investigation it appeared that such documents as might have thrown additional light on the history of those times, and especially of the Union, had been purposely destroyed. For instance, after a search instituted at Welbeck by the kindness of the Duke of Portland, it was ascertained that the late Duke had burnt all his father's political papers from 1780 to his death. In like manner the Chancellor Lord Clare, Mr. Wickham, Mr. King, Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir Edward Littlehales, Mr. Marsden, the Knight of Kerry, and indeed almost all the persons officially concerned in carrying the Union, appear to have destroyed the whole of their papers. Mr. Marsden, by whom many of the arrangements were concluded, left a manuscript book containing invaluable details, which was burnt only a few years ago by its then possessor." In this paucity of trustworthy documents for elucidating the history of a transaction of such importance, the Cornwallis Correspondence assumes a still greater value, and must be regarded as one of the most important contributions recently made to historical literature in England.

Mr. Ross has confined his editorial labors almost entirely to the addition of numerous biographical notes relative to the different personages to whom the letters are addressed, or who are mentioned in them. His notes amount to more than two thousand in number, and doubtless contain some noticeable errors; but we have not found it necessary for our present purpose to verify their statements except in a few instances. He has also connected the different sections of the work by such brief explanatory remarks as are needful to give unity to the volumes. But every reader must experience a feeling of regret that the editor's plan did not include a life of Lord Cornwallis, as well as a selection from his public and private letters. In strictly biographical details the volumes are sadly deficient.

In dealing with American affairs in his notes and in his illustrative remarks, Mr. Ross commits numerous blunders, and exhibits that narrowness and illiberality which are too often shown by English writers in speaking of the loss of the Colonies. Thus, after accusing Franklin of discreditable conduct in regard to the publication of the letters of Hutchinson to Thomas Whateley, he revives in a foot-note the often-refuted story about Franklin's dress at the signing of the peace of Versailles. "This speech," he says, referring to Wedderburn's speech before the Privy Council, "was never forgotten nor forgiven by Franklin, who carefully preserved the velvet coat he happened to wear on the occasion, and put it on again the day he signed the preliminaries of peace in 1783."* After Mr. Sparks's very satisfactory refutation of this ridiculous story, it is scarcely necessary to add a word upon the subject; and in regard to the much more serious charge relative to the publication of Hutchinson's letters, we do not hesitate to deny the validity of all the inferences usually drawn by English writers. There is not a particle of evidence for supposing that Franklin obtained the letters dishonestly, that he violated any one's confidence in transmitting them to this country, or that he connived at their subsequent publication. In another place Mr. Ross speaks of Greene, the ablest of all the generals who served under Washington, as "coarse in his manners and harsh in his conduct," * — an assertion quite equal to Lord Stanhope's discovery that Greene was a drunkard, of which curious blunder notice was taken in a former number of this journal. Again, he says that the Loyalists in the Carolinas "were persecuted by the Rebels in the most cruel manner, and not unfrequently murdered, under circumstances of savage barbarity." † The war in the Southern Colonies was undoubtedly marked by a greater degree of asperity than was seen elsewhere, but not to the extent asserted by Mr. Ross; and it owed this character in no small degree to the express orders of Lord Cornwallis himself. On the 18th of August, 1780, his Lordship wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger: —

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* Vol. I. p. 18, note 6.

> "I have given orders that all the inhabitants of this Province, who had *submitted*, and who have taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigor, that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed; I have likewise directed that compensation should be made out of their effects to the persons who have been *plundered* and oppressed by them. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia-man who had borne arms with us, and who had afterwards joined the enemy, should be immediately hanged. I have now, Sir, only to desire that you will take the most *vigorous* measures to *extinguish the rebellion* in the district in which you command, and that you will obey in the strictest manner the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the treatment of the country." — Vol. I. pp. 56, 57.

By some means, the substance of this letter was communicated to Washington, who promptly addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Henry Clinton. A correspondence ensued, a portion of which is printed in the seventh volume of Mr. Sparks's edition of Washington's Writings, and there are a few additional letters in the volumes before us. But it is important to notice that Lord Cornwallis did not change his policy; and the numerous acts of cruelty and oppression wantonly committed under these and similar instructions were well suited to aggravate the animosity of the patriots, and to produce a bitter retaliation.

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* Vol. I. p. 75, note 1.

† Ibid. p. 70.

In another place, when speaking of the court-martial which tried André, Mr. Ross takes occasion to say, "that among the members of the court by which he was tried were two foreigners, ignorant of the English language, and several of the coarsest and most illiterate of the American generals"; and he adds, "In any case, the execution of that officer leaves an indelible blot on the character of Washington."* In answer to this it is enough to say, that the two foreigners referred to, Baron Steuben and Lafayette, had both been in the country long enough to acquire a thorough knowledge of the English language, — the former having landed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the 1st of December, 1777, nearly three years before the trial, and the latter at Charleston, South Carolina, a few months earlier; that the remaining twelve officers who composed the court were among the most intelligent and kindly men in the army; that the President, Nathanael Greene, was a man of singular clearness and force of judgment; and that André himself admitted to Hamilton, who was much with him in his last hours, that he had been treated by the court with liberality and politeness; and to quote Hamilton's own words, "he acknowledged the generosity of the behavior towards him in every respect, but particularly in this, in the strongest terms of manly gratitude." In regard to the course pursued by Washington personally, it must be observed that the duty which he had to discharge was a very painful one. Nevertheless it was a duty. He could not, consistently with a faithful performance of his various obligations to his country, overrule the decision of the court which had adjudged "that Major André, Adjutant-General to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death." Nor could he have interfered in any other way less open to censure. Washington's vindication must rest upon the correctness of the decision of the court as to the facts of the case and the law of nations applicable to them. On neither of these points do we entertain the shadow of a doubt.

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* Vol. I. p. 78.

In regard to one other case, — that of Captain Asgill, — Mr. Ross sharply condemns Washington's course, asserting that it "was the most unjustifiable act committed by Washington, with the exception of Major André's execution."* It is quite unnecessary, however, to enter into any discussion of this subject, which has been very fully and judiciously treated by Mr. Sparks in his Life of Washington; and in the eighth and ninth volumes of his edition of the Writings of Washington are all the letters necessary to a right understanding of the affair.

To only one other subject do we now think it necessary to refer. In speaking of the delay in the exchange of Lord Cornwallis after the surrender of Yorktown, Mr. Ross intimates that Franklin acted unfairly in the premises; and he asserts that when Washington wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, on the 30th of July, 1782, communicating to him the resolution of Congress ordering the immediate return of Lord Cornwallis to the United States, "unless the Honorable Henry Laurens, Esq. be forthwith released from his captivity, and furnished with passports to any part of Europe or America, at his option, or be admitted to a general parole," and adding that he had "the fullest expectation of Lord Cornwallis's immediate return to the United States, unless the conditions mentioned in the act of Congress are complied with," — Congress "*must* have previously heard" of the release of Mr. Laurens.† Against a supposition which bears such evident marks of absurdity on its face, we shall not condescend to argue. Having involved himself in these difficulties in regard to a very simple matter, Mr. Ross finally remarks: "Whether the Americans were actuated by petty spite, or a desire to revenge themselves upon the most active general who had been opposed to them, or whether they were swayed by some unknown political reasons, it is of course impossible to say." ‡ Upon this subject two observations seem to be necessary; and in regard to the part which Franklin took, it is sufficient to quote his own words in a letter to Mr. Oswald, dated June 11, 1782, and printed in the ninth volume of Mr. Sparks's edition of Franklin's Writings. "I do not conceive," says Franklin, "that I have any authority, in virtue of my office here, to absolve that parole in any degree; I have therefore endeavored to found it as well as I could on the express power given me by Congress to exchange General Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. A reservation is made of confirmation or disapprobation, not from any desire to restrain the entire liberty of that general, but because I think it decent and my duty to make such reservation, and that I might otherwise be blamed as assuming a power not given me, if I undertook to discharge absolutely a parole given to Congress, without any authority from them for so doing." It is not so easy to understand the reluctance of Congress to assent to the exchange of Lord Cornwallis, in direct opposition to the repeated advice of Washington; but it appears to have sprung partly from their wish to secure the liberation of Mr. Laurens, and partly from the strenuous resistance to his exchange by Mr. Rutledge and other Southern members, who naturally recalled with indignation the ravages perpetrated under his orders in Virginia and the Carolinas.

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* Vol. I. p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 135.

‡ Ibid. p. 136.

Leaving the field of controversial criticism, which we have not thought it necessary to extend to the sections of Mr. Ross's volumes relative to India and Ireland, we propose now to lay before our readers some account of the life and character of Lord Cornwallis, as they are exhibited in his Correspondence, and in other trustworthy publications.

Charles, first Marquis Cornwallis, was the eldest son of the first Earl of that name, and was born in Grosvenor Square, London, on the 31st of December, 1738. His mother was the daughter of Lord Townshend, and niece of Sir Robert Walpole; and upon his father's side he could trace his ancestry back to the fourteenth century, when the founder of the family held the office of Sheriff of London. At an early age he was sent to Eton; but we have no account of his school life, except the mention of an accident which caused a permanent injury to one of his eyes. While at play with a young companion, afterwards Bishop of Durham, he received a blow which produced the obliquity of vision still to be seen in his portraits. Even at this early period, however, Lord Brome, as the boy was then called, had indicated his preference for the military profession ; and before he was eighteen he received his first commission in the English army. In the following year he obtained permission to enter the Military Academy at Turin, and he also travelled for some time on the Continent. On leaving Turin he voluntarily joined the English army at that time gathering in Germany, and was appointed aide-de-camp to Lord Granby. In this capacity he served for some time, and was present at numerous engagements, including the memorable battle of Minden. Shortly after this event he returned to England, and in January, 1760, he was elected member of Parliament for Eye in Suffolk. In the following spring he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and again repaired to the seat of war, where he remained but a short time, though long enough to take part in several slight actions. On the death of his father, in June, 1762, he succeeded to the earldom ; and in November of the same year he took his seat as a member of the House of Lords.

Lord Cornwallis seldom engaged in the discussions in Parliament, but he generally voted with Lord Temple ; and it is worth noticing, as illustrative of his political opinions, that the only protest ever signed by him was one drawn up by the latter nobleman against the passage of a resolution aimed at Wilkes. In the debates upon American affairs he did not hesitate to express his general sympathy with the Colonists, and he even voted against Lord Rockingham's Declaratory Bill. So well known were his opinions on this subject, that Horace Walpole says, in his Last Journals, under date of February, 1782, that Lord Cornwallis "was more in earnest in serving the cause than was consistent with his principles, which had utterly opposed and condemned it." In the mean time he made a rapid advance in professional honors and emoluments, and he was also appointed to some offices in the civil service. In July, 1768, he married Jemima Tullikens, daughter of Colonel James Jones, to whom he appears to have been much attached, and by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter. In December, 1770, he was made Constable of the Tower, which office he held until February, 1784, and even while he was himself a prisoner of war; and in September, 1775, he was raised to the rank of Major-General.

When the ministry determined to send over reinforcements to this country, in the vain hope of coercing the Colonists, he was appointed Lieutenant-General in America; and on the 10th of February, 1776, he sailed from Cork at the head of seven regiments of infantry. After a long and disagreeable passage, he landed at Cape Fear early in May, and subsequently effected a junction with Sir Henry Clinton. In June, the combined armies made an unsuccessful attack on Charleston, South Carolina; and in consequence of this failure, Sir Henry Clinton determined to relinquish further attempts on the Southern Colonies for the present, and to return to the North. Both armies accordingly re-embarked, and arrived in the bay of New York on the 1st of August. On the 22d, they landed on Long Island, to the number of nine thousand men, under command of Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and several other general officers, and with forty pieces of artillery. It soon became apparent that their intention was to attack the American army intrenched at Brooklyn; but it was not until the 27th that the anticipated battle was fought. In this important action Lord Cornwallis had command of the rear guard, and was only partially engaged. But while making an attempt to outflank the American troops he was boldly attacked by Lord Stirling, and was nearly defeated by that officer. Large reinforcements, however, having joined him, the American troops were entirely cut to pieces, and Lord Stirling himself was made prisoner. Nor was the general result less disastrous to the Americans. They were totally defeated, and more than a third of their number swelled the list of killed, wounded, and missing. Still all was not lost; and by a wise disposition of his plans, and under cover of a thick fog, Washington was enabled to draw off the whole of his remaining forces on the evening of the 29th.

New York was now scarcely tenable; and early in September Washington withdrew from the city, and took post in the upper part of the island. From this point he retreated up the Hudson; and after the fall of Fort Washington and the evacuation of Fort Lee, which was occupied by Lord Cornwallis with six thousand troops on the 20th of November, he slowly retreated through New Jersey, and finally crossed the Delaware at Trenton early in December. In the mean time the British had taken possession of the Jerseys, and Lord Cornwallis had pursued the feeble remnant of Washington's army with considerable activity. The first design of the British commander, as we learn by a letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, "extended no further than to get and keep possession of East Jersey." Accordingly Lord Cornwallis "had orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, which occasioned him to discontinue his pursuit." Subsequently, however, it was deemed advisable to continue the pursuit, and his Lordship pushed forward to the Delaware, which he reached shortly after Washington had crossed it. Here his progress was stopped by the want of boats; and, after one or two ineffectual attempts to cross, the troops were sent into winter quarters, and their general prepared to return to England. But this intention was soon after relinquished, in consequence of the success of Washington's well-planned attack on the British and Hessians at Trenton, on the 26th of December.

Lord Cornwallis was then in New York; but upon receiving intelligence of the disaster which had befallen the troops so recently under his command, he immediately returned to the scene of action, reaching Princeton on the night of the 1st of January. Putting himself at the head of his troops, he at once advanced on Trenton, where the American troops were now collected, in the hope of wiping out the recent disgrace. In this hope he was disappointed. By another masterly movement, Washington evaded a battle which must have proved disastrous to the American cause, and withdrew with his whole army to Princeton. This place he entered on the morning of the 3d, after a slight skirmish with a detachment of British troops on their way to reinforce Lord Cornwallis. Finding that Washington had effected his escape, and alarmed by the rumor of rapid accessions to the

American army, his Lordship hastily retreated to Brunswick, now the only post except Amboy remaining in the hands of the British, — so speedy and brilliant had been Washington's success. The two armies once more went into winter quarters; and now, to quote the happy expression of Hamilton, then in his twentieth year, but having already given proof of his marvellous powers, "was seen the spectacle of a powerful army straitened within narrow limits by the phantom of a military force, and never permitted to transgress those limits with impunity; in which skill supplied the place of means, and disposition was the substitute for an army."

Early in the following summer, and after several unimportant skirmishes, in which Lord Cornwallis had taken an active part, Sir William Howe determined to evacuate the Jerseys and make an attack on Philadelphia. With this view he embarked the greater part of his army on the 5th of July; but in consequence of unfavorable winds, he did not reach the Delaware until the 30th, and it was not until the 25th of August that he began to land, six miles below the Head of Elk. The landing was effected with but little difficulty, nor was much resistance experienced until they reached the Brandywine. Here a signal victory was gained over the American troops by Lord Cornwallis, on the 11th of September, which sealed the fate of the city. From some unexplained cause, this advantage was not followed up, and more than a fortnight elapsed before the British troops entered Philadelphia. On the 26th, Lord Cornwallis, who had been detached for the purpose, marched into the city with drums beating and colors flying, and took formal possession.

His position, however, was by no means secure, since the Americans still held the control of the Delaware and the communication with the sea. Measures were accordingly taken to dislodge them from the important forts on Red Bank and Mud Island, respectively known as Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. While these measures were in preparation, Washington determined to make an attack on the British camp at Germantown. In this attempt he unfortunately failed, though the moral effect was good in inspiring courage in his troops and giving the American arms reputation abroad. A few weeks later Fort Mercer was successfully defended against a fierce assault by a picked body of Hessian troops, and their leader, Count Donop, was mortally wounded; but after a second attack the two forts were captured, one by Sir William Howe and the other by Lord Cornwallis, and the British at once secured the control of navigation. The only other important military operation in which Lord Cornwallis took part was an unsuccessful attack on Washington at White Marsh, where the American army was very strongly posted. Soon after this event his Lordship sailed for England. Through the whole of this campaign he had held a subordinate command; but it will be readily conceded that he had shown much military capacity, and had acted with zeal and energy in carrying out the orders of his superior officer.

The motive which induced his return to England at this time is not very apparent; but we are inclined to suspect that some want of harmony among the British generals suggested to him the propriety of looking after his own interests at court. It is certain, however, that on the 12th of April he received from Lord George Germaine, at that time Colonial Secretary, a dormant commission giving him the rank of General in America only, with the express purpose of securing to him the chief command "if any unforeseen accident should happen to Sir Henry Clinton"; and nine days afterward he sailed again for this country. During this short visit to England he resumed his attendance in the House of Lords, though he does not appear to have taken any active part in the discussions; and it is a significant circumstance that he was absent during all the debates on Lord North's Bill for Conciliation with America. It is believed, nevertheless, that his political opinions had undergone a change, and that he generally supported the government; and it is known that he was present at several important divisions. The last night on which he attended was on that memorable occasion when Lord Chatham made his last speech.

On his return to this country Lord Cornwallis appears to have had some difficulty with Sir Henry Clinton in regard to the future conduct of the war; and on the 17th of June, the day before the British evacuated Philadelphia, he wrote to

Lord George Germaine: "As there is great reason to apprehend, from the large detachments which Sir Henry Clinton is going to make, that no offensive measures can be undertaken against the enemy in this part of the world, I must beg that your Lordship will be so kind as to lay my most humble request before his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to permit me to return to England." This permission was refused; and in the few and inconclusive engagements during the latter part of the year, he took, as usual, an active part. But having received intelligence of the dangerous illness of Lady Cornwallis, who had suffered much from grief and anxiety at his absence, he resigned his command, and once more embarked for England. He arrived about the middle of December in the same year. Two months after his arrival Lady Cornwallis died; and for a time he seems to have withdrawn almost entirely from public business. He was, however, examined as a witness in the House of Commons before a Committee of the whole House to investigate the conduct of the war in America. He does not appear to have stated anything material in this examination, and according to Mr. Ross, he "refused to say whether he thought the movements of the troops under Sir William Howe judicious or not, and would only state generally that he had a high respect for Sir William's military talents."

Not long after the death of Lady Cornwallis, he determined to come to this country again; and early in August he landed here for the third time. Immediately on his arrival Sir Henry Clinton wrote home "to express how happy he was made by the return of Lord Cornwallis to this country." But we must not interpret this language too literally. Mortification and disgust were probably the feelings which Sir Henry experienced; for after indulging in some querulous remarks on his own disagreeable position, he closed his letter by tendering his resignation. "Thus circumstanced," he writes, "and convinced that the force under my command at present, or that will be during this campaign, is not equal to the services expected from it, I most earnestly request your Lordship to lay before his Majesty my humble supplications, that he will permit me to resign the command of this army to Lord Cornwallis." Doubtless this jealousy between the two principal officers contributed not a little to the final success of our arms at Yorktown.

The first expedition in which Lord Cornwallis was engaged after his arrival at New York, was that sent in the latter part of September to the relief of Governor Dalling of Jamaica, who was much alarmed for the safety of the island. A few days after the fleet had sailed, information was received of the arrival upon the coast of Georgia of a strong French fleet under Count D'Estaing, and Lord Cornwallis immediately returned to New York. After a delay of two months a new expedition set sail, on the 26th of December, 1779, for the long-projected attack on Charleston, South Carolina. The voyage was protracted and stormy; several of the vessels were lost; most of the horses for the use of the artillery and cavalry perished; and it was not until the last of January that the scattered and disabled ships were reunited at the mouth of the Savannah River. Two months more elapsed before the British army broke ground for the threatened siege of Charleston. The attack and the defence were from this time conducted with great activity; but the besieging army was too strong, too well equipped, and too ably supported by the ships of war, to leave the result doubtful. On the 12th of May the city surrendered; and shortly afterward the British troops took possession of its ruined fortifications. The exhausted garrison marched out and deposited their arms in the same manner which was observed a few months later at Yorktown. Satisfied with the success of this attack, Sir Henry Clinton returned to New York on the 5th of June, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command of the Southern army.

His first important business after Sir Henry's departure was the formation of some kind of regular government for the city and Colony, to replace that which had previously existed. For this purpose he returned from Camden, where he had been stationed, to Charleston, to make the necessary arrangements, and to prepare for an expedition into North Carolina. In the mean time, General Gates had been appointed to the command of the American troops, and had signalized his arrival in camp by beginning at once to march upon Camden. On receiving intelligence of this movement, Lord Cornwallis immediately left Charleston to resume the command of the troops posted at Camden. He arrived there on the 13th of August, and, with characteristic energy, determined not to await an attack, but to offer battle on the first opportunity. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th, he made a fierce attack on Gates's army. The militia, who formed the right wing of the American forces, were at once thrown into confusion; and though the regulars endeavored manfully to turn the tide of victory, the result was a total defeat. Gates did not pause in his retreat until he reached Hillsborough, a distance of one hundred and eighty miles from the scene of action. This disastrous defeat left the whole country at the mercy of the victors; but, fortunately, they were not in a condition to take advantage of it. Their delay in following up the victory enabled the defeated army to recover somewhat from the effects of the battle.

At length, on the 8th of September, his Lordship advanced towards the village of Charlotte, with the intention of establishing a strong military post there, and of attempting to overrun North Carolina. This long-cherished scheme was not to be accomplished so easily; and while he was at Charlotte, Lord Cornwallis received information which put a new aspect on the condition of affairs. On the 9th of October, a considerable body of Loyalists had been cut to pieces at King's Mountain; their leader, Major Ferguson, had been killed, and nearly the whole corps killed or taken prisoners. In consequence of this result, small as were the numbers engaged, his Lordship was compelled to relinquish his expedition, and to retreat into South Carolina. He accordingly took post at Winnsborough, where he remained inactive during the winter. In the mean time, a spirited partisan war was carried on, but without important results, though Marion, Sumpter, and others rendered their names memorable by the brilliancy of their actions, and though Colonel Tarleton, on the British side, made himself equally feared and hated for the energy with which he harried the country. On the 17th of January, another blow was struck in the total defeat of Tarleton at Cowpens by the indefatigable Morgan, who had recently been detached to serve in the South. This battle has justly been considered as one of the most important actions in the war, since it still further weakened the British cause, and was fruitful in important results.

Two days after this memorable battle, Lord Cornwallis started in pursuit of Morgan, after destroying the greater part of his baggage and many of his wagons. The pursuit was conducted by forced marches, but by great skill and address Morgan succeeded in effecting his escape. Still his Lordship pressed forward in the hope of cutting off Morgan, or Greene, who had been appointed to the chief command of the Southern army, in place of Gates. On the 15th of March, he came up with Greene, and totally defeated him, at Guilford Court-House. Greene's force was in numbers more than double that of Cornwallis, but in every other respect it was much inferior. Many of his troops were raw recruits, who had never seen service, and who were now to make their first essay in arms against a body of well-trained veterans, led by one of the most accomplished generals in the English army. Greene did not hesitate to meet the enemy. The result, as we have said, was his defeat; but the victory proved a barren triumph to Lord Cornwallis. He could not follow up his advantage; and Greene lay for two days within ten miles of the victors, gathering up his own scattered forces. He was then ready to follow the retreating steps of the victorious enemy.

Four days after the battle, Lord Cornwallis fell back to Cross Creek, from which point he retreated to Wilmington. Here he arrived on the 7th of April, in an exhausted state, having been closely pursued by Greene, who cut off his supplies and otherwise harassed his march. His position was still very far from being pleasant, and the prospect before him was well suited to dishearten any one.

"My present undertaking sits heavy on my mind," he says in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, dated April 23, 1781. "I have experienced the dangers and distresses of marching some hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country. The situation in which I leave South Carolina adds much to my anxiety, yet I am under the necessity of adopting this hazardous enterprise hastily, and with the appearance of precipitation, as I find there is no prospect of speedy reinforcements from Europe, and that the return of General Greene to North Carolina, either with or without success, would put a junction with General Phillips out of my power."

Neither his cavalry nor his infantry were in a proper condition for so great an undertaking as had been planned. The former were "in want of everything," and the latter had nothing but an ample supply of shoes. But undismayed by these difficulties, he determined to make the attempt; and two days after this letter was written he began his march for Virginia, with the hope of effecting a junction with Phillips at Petersburg. His Lordship reached that place on the 20th of May, and found Arnold, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Phillips, a week before, awaiting his arrival, and anxious to join in any measures for the destruction of the Colonies. Thence he proceeded to Williamsburg, which was reached the last of June. During this period, the depredations committed by his troops, and under his own eye, were of the most aggravated kind, and fix an indelible stain upon his character. For ten days his head-quarters were established in a house belonging to Mr. Jefferson, who has left on record some reminiscences of this occupation. In a letter to Doctor Gordon, dated July 16, 1788, and printed in the second volume of his Works, he says, Lord Cornwallis "destroyed all my growing crops of corn and tobacco; he burned all my barns, containing the same articles of the last year, having first taken what corn he wanted; he used, as was to be expected, all my stock of cattle, sheep, and hogs, for the sustenance of his army, and carried off all the horses capable of service; of those too young for service he cut the throats; he burned all the fences on the plantation, so as to leave it an absolute waste. He carried off also about thirty slaves." Mr. Jefferson then goes on to speak of the depredations committed on the property of his neighbors, and in order to guard against any mistake, he adds: "When I say that Lord Cornwallis did all this, I do not mean that he carried about the torch in his own hands, but that it was all done under his eye; the situation of the house in which he was commanding a view of every part of the plantation, so that he must have seen every fire. I relate these things on my own knowledge in a great degree, as I was on the ground soon after he left it." This testimony, we may add, is corroborated by all that is known of his Lordship's Southern campaign.

Doubtless some allowance must be made in favor of Lord Cornwallis, on account of the feelings of mortification which he must have experienced in seeing his schemes constantly defeated by Greene and the other American generals, and in finding how little community of interest there was between Sir Henry Clinton and himself. "Not only," says Mr. Ross, "did Sir Henry Clinton lay down no plan of operations for Lord Cornwallis, but, with the exception of the proposed attack on Philadelphia, he never said what he meant to do himself, professing his inability to make any arrangements till the expected reinforcements had arrived from Europe. Even more, — when General Phillips was sent to the Chesapeake, his instructions were not communicated to Lord Cornwallis." Under these annoying circumstances, it is not surprising that his subsequent movements should have been somewhat feeble and vacillating. In accordance, however, with what he believed to be the wish of Sir Henry Clinton, he determined to establish a permanent military post at Yorktown, and another at Gloucester, on the opposite side of York River. The troops were therefore conveyed down the river in boats, and landed on the 1st and 2d of August. Works were immediately commenced for the defence of the two places; but, from various causes, much delay occurred in their completion. In the mean time the Count de Grasse had entered the Chesapeake with a French fleet, and had fought an indecisive battle with the English fleet under Admiral Graves, who was compelled to sail for New York to repair damages. Information of these events was immediately sent by express to Washington, who was then in Philadelphia. He at once resolved to proceed to Virginia with a strong body of reinforcements, and, in connection with Lafayette and the troops then in the neighborhood of Yorktown, to give battle to Lord Cornwallis, or to attack him in his intrenchments.

On the night of the 28th of September he appeared before

Yorktown with an army twelve thousand strong. The next night the British evacuated their outposts and withdrew within the works, "hoping," says Lord Cornwallis in his official despatch, "by the labor and firmness of the soldiers, to protract the defence" until Sir Henry Clinton could arrive with the promised reinforcements. These outworks were immediately taken possession of by the French and Americans; and on the night of the 6th of October the first parallel was opened, within six hundred yards of the enemy, with but slight loss on the part of the besiegers. As soon as the parallel was completed, the batteries began to play on the town with marked effect; all the guns on the enemy's left were silenced; their works were much damaged; and many of their troops were killed. Two days after the fire was commenced from the first parallel, the second parallel was opened, within three hundred yards of the enemy's works; and on the evening of the 14th, two of the advanced redoubts were carried by assault, by separate detachments of French and American troops, and were united with the second parallel. The capture of these redoubts sealed the fate of Lord Cornwallis; but he determined not to yield as long as there was a possibility of escape. Accordingly, on the morning of the 16th he ordered a sortie, which was partially successful, though so little damage was done that the Americans found no difficulty in resuming the attack before night with the guns that had been spiked only a few hours before. The same night his Lordship, as a last resort, attempted to escape in boats to the opposite side of the river; but a violent storm frustrated this scheme. Nothing now remained but to surrender on the best terms which the besiegers were disposed to grant. On the 17th he wrote to Washington, proposing the appointment of commissioners to treat for the surrender of the two posts of Yorktown and Gloucester. After some delay the terms of capitulation were agreed upon, and were signed on the 19th. They were the same which had been granted to General Lincoln at Charleston the year before; and it was to that officer Lord Cornwallis surrendered his sword.

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of this victory, — the last great event of the war. Its results were immediate and apparent. "The enemy," says Hamilton, who had served with great credit during the siege, "were divested of their acquisitions in South Carolina and Georgia, with a rapidity which, if not ascertained, would scarcely be credible. In the short space of two months, all their posts in the interior of the country were reduced." Everywhere was rejoicing; Congress voted special thanks to the French and American commanders and to the two armies; the American representatives abroad congratulated one another and the French government on the success of the expedition. In England the feeling was equally strong, although not of so agreeable a character. Horace Walpole records in his Last Journals, that when Colonel Robert Conway arrived in England, express from Lord Cornwallis, "to represent the desperate posture of affairs," he told his father that England "had not a friend left in America." And when the news of the surrender actually came, we are told,—

> "The news threw the Court and Administration into great confusion and distress. It came on the Sunday, and Parliament was to open on Tuesday, 27th. They had little time to prepare or alter the speech, and so it appeared; for though it affected great firmness and resolution of carrying on the war, it ridiculously passed, after one short paragraph on the new disgrace, to the East Indies, whence there was no new account, but where it pretended we had great success. It reminded men of the famous speech at the time of the remonstrances, which talked of the disease amongst the horned cattle."

Immediately after the capitulation, Lord Cornwallis proceeded under parole to New York, and thence sailed for England, where he arrived early in January, 1782.

In this rapid sketch of Lord Cornwallis's career in this country we have attempted little more than to indicate the principal events by which it was marked, and the general character of his services. During the first part of the time, he had held only a subordinate command here; but he had exhibited considerable energy and a sincere devotion to the British cause, and had acquired the reputation of being an able officer. His Southern campaign, on the contrary, in which he possessed an independent command, was a series of defeats, or of victories scarcely to be distinguished in their effects from defeats, and had terminated with the total loss of his army. From this blow the British cause never recovered; and if Lord Cornwallis had died soon after his return to England, he would have filled a very different place in history from that which he now occupies. His true fame rests on what he did in India and Ireland, rather than on anything that he accomplished in America. In this country he left a well-merited reputation for harshness, and even cruelty; and the disastrous termination of his military career here was not likely to make him very popular in England. It must be conceded, however, that his subsequent conduct in the two most important periods of his life was marked by a humane and generous spirit, and that the failure of his military operations in the Southern Colonies must be attributed in no small degree to the want of harmony between Sir Henry Clinton and himself. If Lord Cornwallis had been properly supported, and fully informed in regard to Sir Henry's plans, there is reason to fear that the military capacity of Greene and Morgan, and the activity of Marion and Sumpter, would have availed little for the recovery of the Carolinas. Nor is it probable that the crowning victory of Yorktown would have been achieved, if Sir Henry Clinton had sent forward reinforcements on receiving the first intelligence of the dangerous position in which the Southern army was placed.

Lord Cornwallis did not resume his seat in Parliament until the June after his return; and about the same time the appointment of Governor-General of India was tendered to him by Lord Shelburne. This office he declined, from considerations of delicacy growing out of the fact that he had not yet been fully released from his parole. When the Coalition came into power, in April, 1783, he was disposed to resign his place as Constable of the Tower, on political grounds; but this intention was not carried out, and he continued to hold the office, as we have already remarked, until February, 1784. In the discussions on Mr. Fox's East India bill, he took no part; but after the king had authorized Lord Temple to make use of his name to defeat the Administration, Lord Cornwallis came up to town, and voted against the bill. He seems, however, to have felt that he was engaged in a rather disreputable business. Immediately after the ministers were turned out, he wrote to his friend Ross: "My situation of having been sent for up to vote, and keeping my place, sat heavy on my mind, and before I knew of the change I had determined to resign." It was not difficult, however, to quiet his mind, and he soon convinced himself that he ought not to resign at once.

During this tempestuous period of party politics, when, as he says in one of his letters, "political animosities were at such a height, as to make it almost impossible to associate with those of the opposite party," Lord Cornwallis participated but little in public affairs. Yet he was a firm supporter of Mr. Pitt; and at one time he thought there was a possibility of his being offered the government of Ireland. The offer does not appear to have been made; and we next find him considering proposals to go to India, which were declined, chiefly, as we suppose, from an unwillingness to assume the responsibility of governing that remote empire unless the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief could be united. A few weeks later, his regard for the ministry was much shaken, by their failure to appoint him to any of the offices vacated by the death of Lord Waldegrave. So great, indeed, was his vexation, that he began a letter narrating the circumstances by declaring: "I never before, my dear Ross, sat down with regret to write to you. It grieves me to think of the concern this letter will give you, but you must hear the story." He then goes on to speak of the promises which he had received, and of his expectation of being sent for on the death of Lord Waldegrave. The first blow to this expectation was the announcement in the Gazette that Lord George Lennox had received one of the most desirable appointments. On this, he thought it time to go up to town, where he saw a second announcement that the next best appointment had been given to Lord Percy. The following morning he waited on Lord Sydney, one of the Secretaries of State, to represent his grievances, and to see what reparation he could obtain. The result of the interview was not satisfactory, and towards the close of the letter he exclaims, "I have now done for ever with kings and ministers." But three days afterward he was willing to have another interview with the minister. This interview was equally unsatisfactory, and terminated by Lord Cornwallis's leaving the room in a fit of passion; and again he poured out his griefs to Colonel Ross. "I did not feel quite easy," he says, "at having had no communication with any person but Lord Sydney." At the same time he enclosed a letter which he had written to Mr. Pitt, complaining of Lord Sydney's conduct towards him, and giving expression to his vexation with Mr. Pitt for "agreeing to expose me to the world as an object of contempt and ridicule." "I have now, Sir," he says, at the close of his letter to the premier, "only to say, that I still admire your character, — that I have still hopes that your abilities and integrity will preserve this distressed country; I will not be base enough, from a sense of personal injury, to join faction, and endeavor, right or wrong, to obstruct the measures of government; but I must add, and with heartfelt grief I do it, that private confidence cannot easily be restored." The result of this missive was an interview with Mr. Pitt, in which the prime minister skilfully smoothed his Lordship's ruffled feelings, by offering him his former appointment of Constable of the Tower; and they parted with "much civil language." The same day, Lord Cornwallis expressed his gratitude to Mr. Pitt in a short and characteristic note. "The fairness and candor of your behavior to me," he writes, "and your obliging expressions of friendship, have determined me never to turn my eyes back to whatever fatality occasioned the disagreeable subject of our conversation. I shall most thankfully accept the Tower from you, and I shall erase from my mind every idea that I could ever have been slighted by Mr. Pitt." A similar note was despatched to Lord Sydney, — "and so," he writes to his friend, "this disagreeable affair has ended better than we could have expected."

In the early part of 1785, he was again offered the appointment of Governor-General of India, "to prevent some disagreement in the Cabinet." But after considering the subject for twenty-four hours, he declined the proffered honor. In the summer of the same year he was intrusted with his first diplomatic mission, which was designed to open a more direct and confidential intercourse between the courts of Prussia and of England. This duty he discharged in a very satisfactory manner, though it was not productive of any immediate results. Early in the following year the offer of the Governor-Generalship was again pressed upon him, with the addition of the appointment of Commander-in-Chief in India. This offer he accepted on the 23d of February, 1786, with the intention of returning to England in five years; and on the 6th of May he set sail for India.

He arrived at Calcutta early in the following September, and entered at once upon the discharge of his new duties. To this task he doubtless brought those general views of Indian policy which afterwards guided him in the management of affairs. Still his position was not likely to prove easy. A year and a half before, Warren Hastings, after many delays, had finally obeyed the commands of the Court of Directors, and had sailed for England, there to undergo a trial of unexampled length, at the bar of the House of Lords, upon the impeachment of the Commons of England. His successor, Sir John Macpherson, was not a man of high character or of marked ability, and had already been engaged in some disreputable pecuniary transactions in India. His short administration only increased the difficulties with which Lord Cornwallis had to contend. Under all the innumerable disadvantages arising from a long course of previous misgovernment, the new Governor-General was to restore peace to the country, regulate the finances of the Company, and, in general, inaugurate a new system. He had never been in India before; he was ignorant of the language, manners, and customs of the people whom he was to govern; and he had no acquaintance with the details of that complex system by which Indian politics were managed, and a revenue raised from the depressed people of India. It is true that his authority extended over a territory very inconsiderable when compared with that immense empire which is now under the sway of England. But the threatening aspect of affairs at home, the great danger of the speedy breaking out of a general European war, and the actual existence of war among the native princes in India, all added to the difficulty and insecurity of his position, and fully compensated for any advantages arising from the comparative narrowness of his territories.

The first matter which engaged his attention was the abrogation of certain treaties entered into by Sir John Macpherson with several of the native princes. These treaties had been disapproved by the Court of Directors; and it is a striking illustration of the quickness with which the new Governor-General's mind acted, that his plan for their abrogation was settled, and announced to the different princes, in a few weeks after he first stepped foot in India. Besides settling this important question, he also turned his attention to the financial reform of the government, and to a rigid examination of the numerous jobs by which colossal fortunes had been built up under former administrations, and the natives had been cruelly oppressed. One of the most important of these reforms, since it related to what is to the East Indian a prime necessary of life, was the reform in the management of the salt monopoly. The mode of collecting the revenue from this article had varied in different years. At one time, licenses to manufacture salt were sold, and a transit duty was added upon the removal of any salt so produced. Other systems were then adopted with various degrees of success; and finally, in 1772, it was provided, that all the salt manufactured in India should in the first instance be sold to the agents of the Company at a price fixed by them, and then resold to the wholesale dealers at an advanced price, to be once more sold to the consumer at a still higher price. This cumbrous, and, we may venture to add, nefarious system, was in existence when Lord Cornwallis arrived in India. He saw its evils, and determined to put a stop to them. Accordingly he decided that "the salt should be put up to public auction, and sold without partiality or favor, to the fairest bidder." The immediate result was satisfactory, and advantageous to the revenue of the Company. "By exposing it in small lots," he wrote to the Court of Directors, on the 18th of August, 1787, "natives of the most moderate fortunes have had it in their power to become purchasers, and I have the satisfaction to inform you, that, between what has hitherto been called the Company's price and the price for which it was actually sold, the public, upon the quantity already disposed of, has gained upwards of five lacs of rupees." Subsequently the system was again changed; and in 1836, the Company reverted to the method which Lord Cornwallis had abolished.

Other administrative and financial reforms likewise occupied his mind, and were carried out with a greater or less degree of success; and in December, 1787, he was able to write to the Chairman of the East India Company: "I can truly say, that, ever since I landed in Bengal, I have paid the most unremitted attention to every part of the Company's interest in this country. I have been a most rigid economist, in all cases where I thought rigid economy was true economy. I abolished sinecure places, put a stop to jobbing agencies and contracts, prevented large sums from being voted away in council for trumped-up charges, and have been unwearied in hunting out fraud and abuse in every department." In the same letter he indicates his views in regard to the compensation which the servants of the Company ought to receive. "I shall never think it a wise measure in this country," he says, "to place men in great and responsible situations, where the prosperity of our affairs must depend on their exertions as well as integrity, without giving them the means, in a certain number of years, of acquiring, honestly and openly, a moderate fortune." The same wise and just principle is announced in other letters, and upon it his Lordship uniformly acted in settling the salaries over which he had control.

The only important cession of territory obtained during this first part of Lord Cornwallis's administration was that of the Guntoor Circar, which was surrendered in 1788 by the Nizam, one of the most powerful of the Mahometan rulers in India. The English claim, which originally dated from the treaty concluded with the Nizam in 1768, had ceased to be dormant in 1782, upon the death of his brother Bazalet Jung, to whom the territory had been conditionally granted in 1761. According to the terms of this treaty, the Guntoor Circar was to be given up to the Company upon the death of the reigning prince; but when that event occurred, it was not deemed advisable by the English authorities to insist upon a cession which the Nizam exhibited some reluctance to make. When Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the Governor-Generalship, and before he sailed from England, he received specific instructions to procure the surrender of this territory. The apprehensions of war, by which the first years of his administration were disturbed, induced him to delay making a formal demand upon the Nizam for the fulfilment of the treaty stipulations. Finally, in the summer of 1788, active measures were taken to secure the desired object; and after a short negotiation the matter was satisfactorily settled, and the fact was announced by his Lordship in a despatch dated November 4, 1788. At the same time the Nizam's claim for the peshcush, or tribute, due from the Company under the same treaty, and their counter-claim for the revenues of the Circar collected since the death of Bazalet, were amicably adjusted.

During this period of uninterrupted peace his Lordship had experienced little difficulty in devoting himself almost exclusively to the daily routine of official life, and to the maturing of his plans for administrative and financial reform. "I can send you no news from hence that can either amuse or interest you," he says in a letter to his son, dated January 11, 1789; "my life at Calcutta is perfect clockwork; I get on horseback just as the dawn of day begins to appear, ride on the same road and the same distance, pass the whole forenoon, after my return from riding, in doing business, and almost exactly the same portion of time every day at table, drive out in a phaeton a little before sunset, then write, or read over letters or papers of business for two hours, sit down at nine with two or three officers of my family to some fruit and a biscuit, and go to bed soon after the clock strikes ten." But this regularity of life which marked the first part of his residence in India was not long afterward exchanged for the bustle of the camp. Apprehensions had been for some time felt that the warlike preparations of Tippoo Saib, the most powerful of all the princes in India, were designed for an attack on the Rajah of Travancore, one of the chief allies of the Company. These apprehensions proved to be well founded; and at the close of the year 1789, Tippoo made an attack on the lines of the Rajah, with the knowledge that this act would be regarded by the English as equivalent to a declaration of war upon them.*

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* The reasons for this step put forward by Tippoo were, — "1st. That the Rajah had given protection to the Rajahs of Calicut, Cootingherry, &c., who were indebted to Tippoo's Circar. 2d. That he had purchased Cranganore from the Dutch. 3d. That he had erected lines on a part of Cochin dependent on Calicut." To this

Hostilities immediately commenced, and by the middle of June, 1790, the campaign may be said to have fairly opened. No very important events marked the first months of the war, though several places were besieged, and some slight engagements took place. On the 12th of December, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras, for the purpose of assuming the command of the army in person, and superseding General Medows, who had hitherto conducted the war.

On the 29th of the following month, his Lordship took the command of the army. A few days later, he began his march towards the territories of Tippoo; and by a judicious manœuvre he ascended the Eastern Ghauts, and encamped on the table-land of Mysore without opposition. This successful opening of the campaign was actively followed up by the siege of Bangalore, an important place about two hundred miles west of Madras, which was carried by storm on the 21st of April. Immediately after this victory he again pushed forward, and on the 13th of May he reached Arikera, about nine miles from Seringapatam. Here his position was by no means secure; and he soon saw that there was but little chance of effecting the reduction of Seringapatam before the commencement of the rainy season. His troops were much weakened by their long and rapid march, and by the great deficiency of provisions and forage; the armies which were to be furnished by the Nizam and the Peshwa, in accordance with the terms of two treaties concluded with them in the preceding July, had been very dilatory in their movements, and only a small number of the Nizam's cavalry had yet joined his standard; the river had already begun to rise, and would soon be at such a height as to render it impossible for him to form a junction

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the Rajah of Travancore replied, that Tippoo's debtors should be ordered to depart from his dominions; that the Dutch had an indisputable right to sell; and that the lines on Cochin had been erected twenty-five years, and before its Rajah had begun to pay tribute to Tippoo. The lines of the Rajah of Travancore extended from the sea to the mountains, a distance of twenty-eight or thirty miles, and formed the northern barrier of his possessions. They consisted of "a ditch about sixteen feet broad and twenty deep, a slight parapet and thick rampart, and bastions flanking each other from one end to the other." They were attacked by Tippoo in person on the 29th of December; but after obtaining possession of a part of the works, he was compelled to retire with considerable loss.

with General Abercomby, who was advancing from Bombay; and the season was rapidly approaching when it would be impossible to carry on operations in the field. Undismayed by these formidable obstacles, his Lordship determined to attack Tippoo at once. The battle was fought on the 15th, and resulted in a complete victory over Tippoo, who lost a considerable number in killed and wounded, and four pieces of brass cannon. This victory, however, was productive of but little advantage; and finding it impossible to cross the river, Lord Cornwallis destroyed his heavy baggage and his battering train on the 22d, and transmitted orders to General Abercromby to put his army into cantonments on the Malabar coast until the rainy season was over. On the 26th, he commenced his own retreat towards Bangalore; but scarcely had the army begun to move, when the long-expected army of the Peshwa made its appearance. Its arrival, however, was too late to prevent the postponement of the attack on Seringapatam; and though its appearance a few days before would probably have changed the entire aspect of things, his Lordship did not deem it advisable to retrace the steps which he had taken. Accordingly, after a brief delay for the purpose of covering the large convoys which accompanied the Mahratta army, the march was resumed.

In the mean time some unimportant operations had been carried on by the troops of the Nizam and the Peshwa, the most considerable of which were the capture of Capool and Darwar, after protracted sieges. The only other military events of the year deserving of notice were the reduction of the numerous hill forts scattered over the territory of Mysore, which rendered communication between the different armies extremely difficult, and in many cases altogether impossible. The most formidable of these rocky fortresses were Nundydroog, Savendroog, or the Hill of Death, and Ootradroog; but notwithstanding their great strength, they all surrendered after severe and sometimes protracted sieges. In a short time nearly every fort between Seringapatam and the Coromandel coast was in the hands of the English. The campaign had not indeed been attended with all the success which had been hoped for; but on the whole the results were very favorable to the English arms. And it must be regarded as furnishing strong evidence of Lord Cornwallis's skill and energy as a military commander.

With the opening of the new year, he took prompt and efficient measures for bringing the war to a speedy termination. On the 25th of January, he began his march from Savendroog, in the vicinity of which place he had collected his various forces, and in ten days he was within sight of Seringapatam. A short time was spent in reconnoitring and in preparing for an assault; and at eight o'clock on the evening of the 6th of February, the army, to the number of nine thousand men, moved forward to the attack. It was a bright moonlight night, and no previons cannonade had weakened the enemy's works. Yet the success of the attack was complete. All of Tippoo's works on the north bank of the river were carried, and his loss in killed, wounded, and missing is said to have amounted to more than twenty-three thousand men. The firing had commenced at eleven o'clock on the night of the 6th, and was kept up without cessation until five o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th. At that hour the English remained in full possession of all they had gained; and during the night Tippoo withdrew all his troops to the south side of the river, leaving behind him seventy-seven pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the victors. This advantage was followed up so rapidly, that by the 22d it was certain that the batteries could begin to play on the 1st of March, and with a strong probability that they would soon effect a breach. Alarmed at the dangers which threatened him, Tippoo made overtures for peace; and on the 23d, he communicated to a large assembly of his principal officers the preliminary articles agreed upon the day before. By these articles it was provided that one half of the dominions in possession of Tippoo at the commencement of the war should be ceded to the allies, agreeably to their selection from the territories adjacent to their own boundaries; that three crores and thirty lacs of Sicca rupees, or rather more than sixteen million dollars, should be paid to the allies, one half immediately, and the remainder in three instalments; that all the prisoners taken from the time of Hyder Ali to the close of the present war should be given up; and that two of the three eldest sons of Tippoo should be surrendered as hostages for the faithful performance of these articles. Notwithstanding the severity of these terms, Tippoo's advisers were unanimous in favor of their acceptance, as the only means of preserving his power from entire destruction; and they were accordingly embodied in the definitive treaty of peace and perpetual friendship subsequently concluded.*

The third Mysore war was one of the two great events in the history of Lord Cornwallis's Indian administration; and its speedy and successful termination afforded him much satisfaction. "No termination of the war," he writes to his brother, on the 4th of May, "could in my opinion have been attended with more solid advantages to our interest, and the deference which was paid to us on the occasion, both by friends and enemies, has placed the British name and consequence in a light never before known in India." Throughout its whole course, he had exhibited characteristic forethought and energy. Not only did he take the field in person at the earliest moment, and breathe his own active and enterprising spirit into all who were under his command; but at the very outset he took measures to secure the co-operation of two of the most powerful of the native princes. The same promptness and decision marked his subsequent acts; and though he was compelled in the first instance to desist from his proposed attack on Seringapatam, the failure of the attempt cannot be ascribed to any oversight or neglect upon his part. Added to this, the terms dictated to Tippoo were in the highest degree conducive to the interest of the Company. By the treaty of peace they obtained large acquisitions of revenue and territory, and sensibly weakened the power of a very dangerous neighbor. Upon the side of the Carnatic they obtained a new frontier, which added much to the security of that important province; and the revenues of the ceded provinces formed a very welcome, and at that time much needed accession to their treasury.

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* Mr. Thornton, who is in general unfriendly to the policy of Lord Cornwallis, condemns this peace, in his History of the British Empire in India, because the terms were "so favorable." "Perhaps," he says, "no more injudicious course could have been taken than that pursued by Lord Cornwallis. The humiliation and loss to which the Sultan was subjected would naturally influence his previous feelings of enmity, and he was left with the means of gratifying those feelings." But looking at this matter without any partisan bias, we may venture to express the opinion that Lord Cornwallis adopted the only course which he could take consistently with the known views of the Court of Directors and with his own well-assured convictions on the subject. It met the approbation of the home government; and the fortunate commander was rewarded for his brilliant successes by being raised to a marquisate, — apparently without solicitation on his part.

Upon the close of the war, his Lordship was enabled once more to turn his attention to the internal affairs of his government. The first and greatest question which claimed his attention related to the assessment and collection of the land revenue in the districts of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, comprising the territory under the direct supervision of the Governor-General. The subject was surrounded with great difficulties, and had been under his consideration for a long time,— even before he left England, it is said. Considerable progress had been made in the settlement of the principles and details of the new system, when the breaking out of the Mysore war compelled him to postpone the immediate execution of his plan. He now returned to its discussion, and after careful examination, and with the approval of the Court of Directors, he inaugurated the system known as the Zemindar or Permanent Settlement. The justice and expediency of this arrangement have been often called in question, and not without good reason. It is, indeed, one of the uncounted anomalies of the Indian government. But we are not aware that the purity and integrity of Lord Cornwallis's motives have been assailed by any writer, however much he may have condemned the system.

This settlement was, of course, based in the first instance on the theory, almost universally recognized in India, that the ultimate title to the soil was vested in the sovereign, and that from him the territory was held, subject to such conditions as he might see fit to impose. But when Lord Cornwallis and the Council at Calcutta approached the next point, which related to the present proprietorship of the soil, they became involved in many doubts and difficulties, arising from the uncertainty and variety of the laws and usages prevalent in different provinces. Their investigations, which are admitted to have been thorough and minute, led them to adopt the supposition that the existing proprietary rights were vested in the zemindars, or landholders, and that the ryots, or peasants, stood to them in the relation of tenants. The correctness of this supposition has been often denied, and the real facts of the case are by no means clear; but it is the corner-stone of the Zemindar Settlement. These two points arranged, it only remained to determine the amount of the assessment, and the length of time for which it should be made. In regard to the first point, there does not appear to have been much difference of opinion; and it was decided, with little difficulty, that the assessment should be calculated as far as was practicable on the average income received by the government in previous years. In regard to the next question, however, there was a great and irreconcilable difference between the views of Lord Cornwallis and those of Mr. Shore, his principal and most influential adviser. On the one side Mr. Shore was firm in the opinion that the settlement should be made for only ten years, in order to afford an opportunity for its revision, if experience should suggest any improvements. He contended, with much reason, that, notwithstanding their laborious investigations, "many questions had been decided on imperfect grounds; that, in some cases, injustice might have been done, by ignoring rights which had not been fully explained; and that in others the government might have suffered through concealment or fraud." On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis was equally firm in the opinion that the settlement ought to be made permanent, prognosticating great evils if the system should be left subject to a revision, by which the whole question should be reopened, at the end of ten years. Their views were set forth at great length in two voluminous Minutes, drawn up respectively by Mr. Shore and Lord Cornwallis. The Court of Directors gave their sanction to his Lordship's views; and accordingly the settlement was made permanent. The regulations for carrying it out were announced on the 22d of March, 1793.

> "By these," to adopt Mr. Ross's brief statement of their provisions, "it was declared, that the settlements were to be perpetual and irrevocable; and that all Zemindars, independent Talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, and their heirs and lawful successors, were

to hold their estates subject only to the fixed amount of tax then settled. To this there were but two exceptions. Uncultivated land, when brought into cultivation, was to become subject to a charge then to be fixed, and if any Zemindary was sold or forfeited for non-payment of rent, the government were not to be bound by the previously existing arrangement. If it was escheated by the failure of issue of a Zemindar, the government held the land only on the same terms as the last possessor."

About the same time two other important reforms were effected, in regard to the composition and jurisdiction of the courts, and in regard to the police regulations, by which a marked improvement was produced in the administration of justice. But it is not necessary for us at the present time to enter into any examination of the changes introduced in the judicial system and the police arrangements. They belong more properly to the general history of India, since numerous additional changes have been since introduced, and others must inevitably follow. They were among the last subjects which engaged his Lordship's attention; and having already remained in India much longer than he intended, he sailed for England in October, 1793. He was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship by his friend and former adviser, Sir John Shore, afterwards created Lord Teignmouth.

Notwithstanding the diversity of opinion in regard to some of the measures of Lord Cornwallis's first Indian administration, it has in general received the cordial approbation of historians. Nor does this praise seem ill-deserved. His government was economical; its policy was pacific; its dealings with the natives were just and humane. Abuses which his predecessors had sanctioned or encouraged, were corrected; reforms were introduced, to the great advantage of the Company's finances; and new regulations were framed for the benefit of the oppressed inhabitants. His own conduct was firm, upright, and energetic; and probably no man ever left India with hands less sullied by unlawful gains. On two occasions his admirable qualifications for the government of a great empire were especially conspicuous. When Tippoo attacked the Rajah of Travancore, Lord Cornwallis did not hesitate for a moment in regard to the policy to be adopted;

and by his prudence and energy he soon brought the war to a successful termination. In settling the revenue question he exhibited unwearied industry in investigating details, and considerable acuteness in detecting general principles. In dealing with less important questions, he exhibited the same characteristics; and on the whole, it must be conceded that his administration was honorable to himself, advantageous to the Company, and beneficial to India.

He landed in England early in the following February; and after a very brief period of rest, he again entered into public affairs with his accustomed zeal and activity. The condition of the country and the general aspect of foreign and domestic politics had greatly changed since he sailed for India, nearly eight years before. Mr. Pitt's administration had been in office for more than ten years, and had successfully resisted every attempt to drive it from power; the impeachment of Warren Hastings had been carried in the House of Commons; his trial before the House of Lords had commenced and been in progress for nearly six years; the great Whig party had been broken up; France had begun her stormy revolutionary period, and the first coalition against her had been formed. This period had indeed been one of the most memorable in English history; and upon his arrival Lord Cornwallis found a condition of things which promised him speedy employment. In a little more than three months he was sent to the Continent to ascertain the condition of affairs in the Low Countries, where the allies had several armies in the field, and to endeavor to bring about greater harmony of arrangement, with a view to a more efficient prosecution of the war against France. In this mission he was only partially successful; but subsequently an intimation was conveyed from the Austrian Court to the English Cabinet, that, if the local rank of Field-Marshal in Flanders should be conferred on Lord Cornwallis, it was probable that all the armies would be placed under his command.

This step was involved in difficulties and embarrassments, since the first effect of the proposed appointment would be to supersede the Duke of York, who was then at the head of the English troops on the Continent. Nevertheless, the incapacity of the Duke was so apparent, and the advantages to be anticipated from adopting the proposed plan were so great, that the ministry determined to ask the royal permission to carry it into effect. A Cabinet Minute was accordingly drawn up and laid before his Majesty, exhibiting the reasons for proposing this step, and "declaring that, in the opinion of the Cabinet, it was the only step which afforded any chance of repairing the calamities sustained by the allies." The king returned the paper the same day, with a characteristic note to Mr. Pitt, intimating that, if he were in his son's place, he should beg to be allowed to return home, if superseded by Lord Cornwallis, but at the same time expressing his willingness to assent to the proposed appointment. In consequence, however, of various obstacles, the scheme was soon relinquished.

Lord Cornwallis does not appear to have taken any improper share in this transaction; and it is certain that he did not lose the king's favor in consequence of his connection with it. Before the close of the year, propositions were made to him to enter the Cabinet, which were readily accepted; and in February, 1795, he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Cabinet, in place of the Duke of Richmond. He held this office until June, 1801, and discharged its duties with the same energy which he had shown during his Indian administration. The country was placed in a state of defence, and active preparations were made to repel a threatened invasion by the French. Early in 1797, he was again sworn in as Governor-General of India, in consequence of the alarm universally felt in England at the attitude assumed by the officers of the Bengal army in opposition to the new regulations for uniting the king's troops and the Company's troops in India. Their discontent had risen to such a dangerous height, that it was feared Sir John Shore did not possess sufficient firmness and decision to cope with the threatened mutiny. Accordingly his Lordship was appointed to succeed the Governor-General, and was sworn into office on the 1st of February, but without relinquishing his place in the Cabinet. His departure for India was delayed partly by the mutiny in the fleet at Portsmouth and at the Nore, and partly by other reasons; and ultimately such concessions were made to the discontented officers, that he did not think it necessary or advisable to proceed on his voyage. On the 2d of August he resigned his appointment, and was succeeded by Lord Mornington, better known as the Marquis Wellesley.

With the resignation of his second appointment as Governor-General of India, we enter upon the third great period in Lord Cornwallis's life, — that which includes his government of Ireland. As early as the preceding May, intimations had been thrown out that it was not improbable the command of the army in Ireland would be conferred upon him. Various delays, however, occurred in arranging the matter; and it was not until June in the following year that he received and accepted the double appointment of Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland. He arrived in Dublin on the 20th, and immediately assumed the management of affairs, but without any very pleasant anticipations. He had not been in Ireland a fortnight when he wrote to the Duke of Portland, "The life of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland comes up to my idea of perfect misery; but if I can accomplish the great object of consolidating the British empire, I shall be sufficiently repaid." Certainly the prospect before him was by no means pleasing, whilst the actual condition of things was such as to make his position one of much difficulty and anxiety. "Of all the situations which I ever held," he wrote to General Ross on the 9th of July, "the present is, by far, the most intolerable to me, and I have often within this last fortnight wished myself back in Bengal." A powerful and widely-extended organization, known as the United Irishmen, had been formed for the purpose of overturning the English authority; the hostile factions regarded each other with the most intense animosity, and gave themselves up to acts of the utmost barbarity; murders and pillagings succeeded one another with a frightful rapidity, which only too plainly showed that all the accumulated hatred of previous generations had now found expression; a considerable part of the island was in a state of open rebellion; and it was evident that the most energetic measures could alone preserve the existing connection of England and Ireland, and the authority of the Englishry over the aboriginal inhabitants. To meet this condition of things was no easy matter; and the new Lord Lieutenant had therefore been intrusted with the most extensive powers, and had been authorized to exercise a large discretion in their use.

The capture of Wexford by General Moore, on the 21st of June, and the total dispersion of the rebels at Vinegar Hill on the same day, removed some of his difficulties; and his first embarrassment arose from uncertainty as to the best manner of dealing with the state prisoners who had fallen into his hands in consequence of these successes and by previous arrests. But on the 22d of August a body of French troops, under General Humbert, landed in Killala Bay, in the province of Connaught, and a few days later totally routed a much larger detachment of the English army, under General Lake, at Castlebar. On receiving intelligence of this unfortunate affair, Lord Cornwallis prepared at once to take the field in person. The result was, the surrender of the whole French army to General Lake, who was again in command of a division of the English forces, on the 8th of September, at Ballynamuck, a little village in the very heart of the island. This victory terminated all fears of an invasion by the French; and his Lordship was not again called into the field while he remained in Ireland. He was thus enabled, at a very early period, to turn his whole attention to the pacification of the country and the punishment of the leaders in the rebellion. In discharging this duty he offended both parties, — one by his leniency, the other by his severity. As early as the 29th of July, he had written to General Ross: "My conduct hitherto has got me abused by both sides, as might naturally be expected, — being too coercive for the one, and too lenient for the other; I trust, however, it will terminate advantageously for the country, and consequently with satisfaction to myself." Placed between two races who hated each other with an hereditary hatred which had lost none of its ancient venom, Lord Cornwallis saw, with a clearer eye than did the statesmen around him, the absolute necessity of conciliating the subject race by a humane and liberal course, and of moderating the rancor and bloodthirstiness of the adherents of the government. "The principal personages here," he says, in a secret and confidential letter to the Duke of Portland, dated September 16, "who have long been in the habit of directing the councils of the Lords Lieutenant, are perfectly well-intentioned and entirely attached and devoted to the British connection; but they are blinded by their passions and prejudices, talk of nothing but strong measures, and arrogate to themselves the exclusive knowledge of a country, of which, from their mode of governing it, they have, in my opinion, proved themselves totally ignorant." And in the same letter he tells his Grace, that he has made no further progress in solving the question, "How this country can be governed and preserved, and rendered a source of strength and power, instead of remaining an useless and almost intolerable burden to Great Britain," than to satisfy himself "that a perseverance in the system which has hitherto been pursued, can only lead us from bad to worse, and, after exhausting the resources of Britain, must end in the total separation of the two countries."

Upon this view he acted; and it will be readily admitted that his policy was wise and merciful, affording an honorable contrast to his conduct in the American war. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and some others were attainted by an act of the Irish Parliament; the priest O'Coigley, the brothers Sheares, Cornelius Grogan, Bagenal Beauchamp Harvey, and a few more of the prominent leaders in the rebellion, were executed; Wolfe Tone escaped the same penalty by committing suicide; and others were banished or made their escape to foreign lands, where they entered the military service of their adopted country, or, like Emmet, rose to distinction at the bar. The whole number of arrests was very large; but the number of executions was comparatively small, owing partly to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence to convict the prisoners, and partly to Lord Cornwallis's disinclination to a harsh policy. Nevertheless, between the landing of the French in the summer of 1798, and the following February, three hundred and eighty persons were tried under martial law, of whom one hundred and thirty-one were capitally convicted, and ninety were executed. Nearly as many more were conditionally pardoned. Such was the end of the rebellion of 1798, which for a time caused the greatest alarm both in England and Ireland. Like every previous and every subsequent uprising of the aboriginal Irish, it terminated disastrously for those engaged in it.

It led, however, to the adoption of one of the most important, and, as we believe, one of the most beneficial measures, since the first subjugation of Ireland by the English. The history of the means by which the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland was finally effected, and the various steps which marked the progress of the measure, are detailed at great length in Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence, and much light is thrown upon them. The first mention of the proposed Union occurs soon after the suppression of the rebellion. The principal heads of the measure, as agreed upon by the ministry in England, were communicated to Lord Cornwallis by the Duke of Portland, at that time Secretary of State for the Home Department, in a letter dated November 12, 1798. His Lordship at once began to ascertain the sentiments of the principal personages in regard to it; and, a week after receiving the Duke of Portland's letter, he wrote to General Ross: "I have no great doubts of being able to carry the measure here, but I have great apprehensions of the inefficacy of it after it is carried, and I do not think it would have been much more difficult to have included the Catholics." Four days later he was enabled to communicate to the Duke of Portland the first impressions of many influential persons. There was, however, a strong opposition to this measure in various quarters, and especially among the members of the bar. On both sides the effect of bribery and corruption was tried; and on the 23d of November, Lord Castlereagh, at that time Chief Secretary for Ireland, wrote to Mr. Wickham, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department: "The principal provincial newspapers have been secured, and every attention will be paid to the press generally." A few weeks later, Lord Castlereagh wrote to the same correspondent: "Already we feel the want, and indeed the absolute necessity, of the *primum mobile*. We cannot give that activity to the press which is requisite. We have good materials amongst the young barristers, but we cannot expect them to waste their time and starve into the bargain. I know the difficulties, and shall respect them as much as possible, in the extent of our expenditure; but notwithstanding every difficulty, I cannot help most earnestly requesting to receive £5,000 in bank-notes by the first messenger." The money was sent, and its receipt was acknowledged in a short and very cautiously worded note. "The *contents* of the messenger's despatches," so the note runs, "are very interesting. Arrangements with a view to further communications of the same nature will be highly advantageous, and the Duke of Portland may depend on their being carefully applied."

Intimidation was also used to influence votes; and on the 21st of December the Lord Lieutenant was officially informed that the king's government were determined to press the measure, "as essential to the well-being of both countries, and particularly to the security and peace of Ireland, as dependent on its connection with Great Britain"; that the object would be urged to the utmost, and if it failed at that time, it would be renewed until it proved successful; and that the conduct of individuals on this subject would be considered as "the test of their disposition to support the King's government." It was in this condition of affairs that the subject came before the Irish Parliament in January, 1799, in the debate on the Address in answer to the King's Speech at the opening of the session. In the House of Lords the discussion did not last long, and the division was favorable to the plan of Union. But the sitting of the House of Commons was of extraordinary length, and continued without intermission from four o'clock on Tuesday afternoon until one o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. In the division on the Amendment to the Address, moved by the opponents of a legislative Union, 105 voted in favor of the Amendment, and 106 against it. In a second division, 107 voted in favor of the original Address, and 105 against it. This result was entirely unexpected by the government; and a few days afterward, Lord Castlereagh, who had the chief management of the Parliamentary intrigues, transmitted an analysis of the vote to the Duke of Portland, in which he states that 22 members had voted against the Address who were expected to vote in favor of it, "most of them having distinctly promised support." Of the opponents of Union, he thought that twenty "might be bought off." Nevertheless, both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh entertained strong doubts whether, under the circumstances, the plan of a Union of Great Britain and Ireland could be brought forward in that session with any chance of success; and they determined not to press the matter any further. The question was accordingly suffered to drop, and both parties began to prepare for an animated struggle the next year.

During the summer, Lord Cornwallis made a tour through several of the Irish counties, for the purpose of confirming the wavering, conciliating the discontented, and smoothing the way for the great Parliamentary battle of the next winter. Meetings were held for the purpose of voting addresses in favor of Union; money was freely asked for from England; and many persons were removed from office as a punishment for their opposition or lukewarm support. For this petty intriguing Lord Cornwallis had a profound aversion; yet he entered into it with spirit, as the only means by which the Union could be carried in a country so addicted to jobbing.

> "The political jobbing of this country gets the better of me," he wrote to General Ross on the 20th of May; "it has ever been the wish of my life to avoid all this dirty business, and I am now involved in it beyond all bearing, and am consequently more wretched than ever. I trust that I shall live to get out of this most cursed of all situations, and most repugnant to my feelings. How I long to kick those whom my public duty obliges me to court! If I did not hope to get out of this country, I should most earnestly pray for immediate death. No man, I am sure, ever experienced a more wretched existence; and after all, I doubt whether it is possible to save the country."

Nor were the Opposition less industrious or more scrupulous. On their side meetings were also held, at which inflammatory speeches were made and addresses were adopted; petitions and remonstrances were widely circulated and numerously signed; and a fund was raised for the purchase of votes and other corrupt purposes. After the great debate of the 5th of February, 1800, Lord Castlereagh wrote to the Duke of Portland in reference to the division: "Sir R. Butler, Mahon, and Featherstone were taken off by county cabals during the recess, and Whaley absolutely bought by the Opposition stock-purse. He received, I understand, £ 2,000 down, and is to receive as much more after the service is performed. We have undoubted proofs," Lord Castlereagh adds, "though not such as we can disclose, that they are enabled to offer as high as £ 5,000 for an individual vote; and I lament to state that there are individuals remaining amongst us that are likely to yield to this temptation." At the same time Lord Cornwallis wrote to his brother, the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry: "The enemy, to my certain knowledge, offer £ 5,000 ready money for a vote." Such was the state of public morality in Ireland at the time of the Union; and by such means and against such opposition was the measure finally carried.

Having spent the summer and fall in these dirty intrigues, both parties were ready for the contest on the opening of Parliament in January, 1800. The principal leaders on the side of the government were Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the side of the Opposition were Mr. Grattan, Mr. George Ponsonby, afterward leader of the Opposition in the Imperial House of Commons, Sir John Parnell, late Chancellor, Mr. Foster, Speaker of the House, Sir Lawrence Parsons, and others. In the debate on the Address in answer to the King's Speech at the opening of the session, government had the decided advantage; and the principle of Union was supported in the House of Commons by a vote of 138 to 96. A few weeks later a second division took place, on the question of taking into consideration the King's message relative to a legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, in which government again triumphed by a vote of 158 against 115, — the largest division ever known in the Irish House of Commons. In the House of Lords, on a test question, the principle of Union was likewise affirmed by a vote of 75 to 26. In the subsequent divisions the majorities in the two Houses were not materially changed, though the struggle was conducted on both sides with great bitterness, resulting in one case in a duel. In the debate on the preliminary resolution to the Articles of Union, Mr. Grattan replied with much warmth to Mr. Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had attacked him on a former occasion. Mr. Corry retorted with equal spirit, accusing Mr. Grattan "of living in familiarity with rebels, and being a conniver at their plans to overthrow the country." To this speech Mr. Grattan replied on the same evening with still greater bitterness. As soon as Mr. Grattan sat down, Mr. Corry sent a message to him by a military friend; and at daybreak, while the committee was still in session, they left the House to seek satisfaction in another place. Mr. Corry was wounded in the arm at the first fire; but notwithstanding this result, both parties fired a second time, though without effect. "An immense mob," we are told, "had assembled, and so great was the frenzy of the people, that, had Mr. Grattan fallen, Mr. Corry would probably not have left the ground alive. The sheriff, who was present, would not interfere officially, but endeavored to effect an amicable arrangement."

In England, the Union was carried by very great majorities, though not without opposition on the part of the Whigs; and on the 12th of May Lord Cornwallis sent a message to the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, communicating the resolutions adopted by the British Parliament.* Nine days afterward, Lord Castlereagh moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and leave was accordingly granted, by a vote of 160 to 100. The bill was at once introduced, and was speedily carried through both Houses, by considerable majorities; and on the 1st of August Lord Cornwallis gave the royal assent to the Act of Union. Meanwhile, it had become necessary to arrange the promotions to the peerage, and the other rewards to the principal advocates of the measure. Accordingly, early in June the Lord Lieutenant transmitted to England two letters, embracing the names of those who had received encouragement that they would be raised to the British peerage, or that they would have Irish titles conferred on them. The list is long and curious, as showing the extent to which the influence of the crown had been exerted; and it appears to have taken the ministry somewhat by surprise. On the 12th and 13th of June, the Duke of Portland wrote to Lord Cornwallis, pretty clearly intimating that little or nothing could be done in the proposed way, and that his Lordship must try to find some other mode of satisfying the supporters of the Union. Both Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh were naturally indignant at this wholesale repudiation of their engagements. On the 17th, the former wrote a long "secret and confidential" letter, full of grief and indignation, to the Duke of Portland, restating the claims of some of the persons in his list, and intimating his intention of resigning unless he could perform his part of the bargain. His Majesty, he writes, "will, I am persuaded, see the necessity of my having entered into embarrassing engagements according to the various circumstances which occurred during the long and arduous contest, and if any of them should appear so strongly to merit his disapprobation as to induce him to withhold his consent to their being carried into effect, he will be pleased to allow me to retire from a station which I could no longer hold with honor to myself, or with any prospect of advantage to his service." The Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh affords abundant evidence of his indignation. "If the Irish government," he says in a letter to Lord Camden, the late Lord Lieutenant, "is not enabled to keep faith with the various individuals who have acted upon a principle of confidence in their honor, it is morally impossible that either Lord Cornwallis or myself can remain in our present situations; it will remain a breach of faith as injurious to the character of government as to our own, having given an assurance which we were not enabled to fulfil." These representations had the desired effect; the ministry yielded; and, with a few exceptions, the desired honors were conferred according to Lord Cornwallis's plan.

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* In consequence of the secession of Mr. Fox and the extreme weakness of the Whig party, the opposition to the Union in the British Parliament was much less formidable than it was in Ireland. Lord Holland and Mr. Grey spoke against the measure; but they were supported by very small minorities.

Little now remained to be done except to perfect the arrangements rendered necessary by the new order of things; and no event of much importance marked the few remaining months of his Lordship's government. With a view of affording greater security to the island in the event of an invasion, he recommended that two or three fortresses should be constructed in advantageous positions, to serve as a basis of operations for repelling such an attack, and for collecting troops for the defence of the country. The plan was not carried out, however, and a similar recommendation was afterward brought forward by the Duke of Wellington, when Chief Secretary for Ireland. Another measure of even greater importance for the peace and security of Ireland was also frequently and strongly recommended to the ministry by Lord Cornwallis; but it was equally without success, though from a very different cause. At a very early period he had become convinced that the full benefit to be anticipated from the Union of England and Ireland could be obtained only by granting some concessions to the Catholics; and he appears to have given them encouragement that some concessions would be made. For this course Mr. Pitt and several of his principal associates in the administration were fully prepared; but in the bigotry of George III. an insuperable obstacle existed. The slightest reference to Catholic Emancipation was sufficient to unsettle his feeble and tottering intellect; and an attack of his malady at this time is commonly ascribed to the excitement occasioned by opening the Catholic Question. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Pitt and most of his more immediate supporters resigned, in the early part of 1801, and Mr. Addington, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons, became Prime Minister.

The reasons which induced Mr. Pitt's resignation, though often discussed, have never been satisfactorily ascertained; and probably it will always remain doubtful whether he resigned from an unwillingness to remain in office after he found that he could not grant the desired concessions to the Catholics, or from some other motive of a less honorable character.* The letters and other documents printed in the

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* In the admirable sketch of the younger Pitt which Lord Macaulay has contributed to the new edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, he bestows high praise on Pitt's policy in regard to the Union and the Catholics; but he says nothing upon the subject of Pitt's resignation. It is true, indeed, that near the end of this account the great historian says: "The toast of Protestant ascendency was drunk on Pitt's birthday by a set of Pittites, who could not but be aware that Pitt had resigned his office because he could not carry Catholic Emancipation." But probably nothing more is meant by this expression than would be involved in the statement, that Pitt made the king's refusal to grant the Catholic claims the pretext for his resignation. There can be no doubt that Mr. Pitt and his friends were

Cornwallis Correspondence furnish some additional evidence in regard to one point which was not at all doubtful before, — that Mr. Pitt was strongly in favor of granting relief to the Catholics; but beyond this the whole subject must still remain an open question. Nevertheless, the inability of the ministers to obtain the king's permission to bring forward any measure of the proposed character, was the reason assigned for their resignation. Their withdrawal from office on this ground afforded Lord Cornwallis the long-desired opportunity to return to England. So long as Ireland was in an unsettled state, he had been unwilling to expose government and the people to the dangers which he anticipated from any change of policy by his successor. But now that the Union had been carried, and was generally acquiesced in by both parties in Ireland, and his political friends were no longer at the head of affairs in England, he became anxious to relinquish a position which had always been extremely distasteful to him. At length his resignation was accepted, and Lord Hardwicke was appointed his successor. The new Lord Lieutenant did not arrive until the 25th of May, when he was immediately sworn into office, and Lord Cornwallis at once returned to England.

Thus terminated one of the ablest and most successful administrations which Ireland had known for centuries. By the wisdom and moderation of his policy, Lord Cornwallis had restored tranquillity to that distracted country. He had crushed a dangerous rebellion, and had given peace and security to the terrified inhabitants; he had carried the legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland against all oppo-

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very desirous that this should be regarded as the true reason for their resignation. "The motives I and my colleagues have assigned for our resignation, drawn from the Popery Question," said Dundas to Sir James Mackintosh, "no historian will believe; and if any mentions it, he will treat it as a mere pretext to cover the real motive; and he will support his representation by very plausible arguments; yet nothing can be more true than that the reason we assigned was the real one." Yet the reasons for entertaining a different opinion are so strong, that one may well be pardoned for a little incredulity. If it is true that Pitt resigned on this account, his subsequent offer to continue in the Cabinet without pressing the question, and without communicating with his colleagues, was in the highest degree discreditable. The whole subject, however, is beset with difficulties; and in either view, Mr. Pitt's course is deserving of censure.

sition, though by means which would have better become the age of Sir Robert Walpole; and he had laid a firm foundation for a better state of things. He had not, however, accomplished all that he desired, or all that he deemed essential for the future well-being of Ireland. The bigotry of George III. had prevented him from giving relief to the Catholic population; and without a relaxation of the laws under which they groaned, he felt that his work was but half done. He had accomplished much, and for this he deserves to be held in lasting honor. But a great work still remained to be accomplished under happier auspices; and it was natural that he should desire to seek repose at the close of an administration so crowded with memorable events.

But a new duty was before him. He had acted the first part in one of the most memorable transactions of Mr. Pitt's administration. He was now to act the first part in the most memorable transaction of Mr. Addington's administration. In the latter part of the year he was appointed the British plenipotentiary to negotiate the definitive treaty of peace with France, in accordance with the preliminary articles already arranged. Amiens was selected as the place of meeting; and on the 3d of November he sailed from Dover, and immediately on reaching Calais he hastened at once to Paris. Here he was received with much honor, and spent between three and four weeks, during which time he had several interviews with the First Consul, but without entering into any direct negotiations. On the 30th he proceeded to Amiens to meet Joseph Bonaparte, who had been intrusted with the management of the negotiations on the part of France. The negotiations were steadily carried on; but so numerous were the difficulties and delays, that it was not until the 27th of March, 1802, that the treaty was signed. The terms of this peace were much criticised in England at the time, and votes of censure were moved in Parliament by Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham; but the popular feeling was strongly on the side of the treaty, and it was supported by most of the friends of both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, as well as by the adherents of Mr. Addington. In the conduct of the negotiations Lord Cornwallis had exhibited much caution, and considerable clearness and force of understanding; but beyond this very moderate degree of praise it is impossible to go. He had had no diplomatic training, and if he had not had frequent recourse to the home government, or if he had been obliged to deal with a more accomplished and abler man in the person of the French plenipotentiary, he would probably have made a much less creditable figure. As it was, he loses nothing by a comparison with the French envoy; and it must be conceded that the interests of his country suffered no injury from any neglect or want of foresight on his part.

Immediately on the conclusion of the peace he returned to England; and for the next three years he lived in comparative retirement, spending most of his time at Culford. In the Parliamentary business of the period, and in the intrigues which led to the overthrow of the feeble administration of Mr. Addington, he appears to have taken little or no part. A life of inaction was, however, far from congenial to him; and though he was advanced in years, and his health was much broken, he readily accepted the appointment of Governor-General of India to replace Lord Wellesley, whose policy had been equally distasteful to the East India Company and to the ministry.* Departing from the pacific policy of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, Lord Wellesley had entered into various subsidiary treaties, as they were called, which could scarcely fail to involve the Company in expensive wars growing out of the disputes of the native princes. At the same time he had indicated a determination to bring all the independent powers in India under British influence, and both by conquest and negotiation to extend the authority of the British name. Neither the Court of Directors, nor the Board of Control, then under the Presidency of Lord Castlereagh, was prepared to sanction this line of conduct; and early in 1805, as we have said, Lord Cornwallis was appointed Governor-General of India for the third time.

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* Mr. Horner tells us in his Journal, that in June, 1804, he received an application from the East India Company to write a pamphlet explanatory "of the views now entertained in Leadenhall Street, with respect to the extension of their Eastern dominions, and an examination of the Governor-General's conduct in the late or present war against the Mahrattas." To this proposal he signified his assent, and he appears to have entered warmly into their views; but it is believed that the design was afterwards relinquished.

During the voyage out, his health gradually failed; and when he arrived in Calcutta, on the 29th of July, his condition afforded little reason to hope that he would accomplish the duty he had undertaken. Yet his mental activity was unabated, and on the following day he was sworn into office. His first step was to adopt efficient measures for the restoration of peace; and on the very day on which he took the oaths of office he wrote to Lord Lake, who was in command of the army acting against Holkar: "It is my earnest desire, if it should be possible, to put an end to this most unprofitable and ruinous warfare; and as the actual season of the rains must necessarily suspend any material military operations, I should wish that you would not engage in any act of aggression, unless it might appear to be necessary in order to secure your own army from *serious* danger, until I come to you, or you can have further communication with me." These directions were repeated on the 4th of August; and on the 8th, he left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces, in order to be nearer the scene of operations, and to take advantage of any favorable circumstances which might arise. During his voyage up the Ganges he declined in strength, though it was hoped by his friends and attendants that he might revive on reaching a cooler climate. But before reaching Ghazipore, in the province of Benares, where he arrived on the 27th of September, all hope of his recovery or amendment had vanished. There he died on the 5th of October, 1805, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and a little more than two months after his arrival in India.

The death of Lord Cornwallis occasioned a deep and nearly universal sense of loss throughout India. In Calcutta a public meeting was at once held, and a subscription was raised to defray the expense of erecting a mausoleum to his memory at Ghazipore. To this object the citizens of Bombay likewise contributed, and they also determined to procure a statue for a conspicuous place in their own city, as a further tribute of their admiration.* A statue had been erected in Madras some years before, and there it was decided to give expression to the public feelings by building a cenotaph to his memory. In England, Lord Castlereagh moved in the House of Commons that a commemorative statue should be placed in St. Paul's Cathedral; and in accordance with this proposition a monument was subsequently erected there, which has been greatly admired on account of the beauty of some of its allegorical representations. In addition to these various tributes of sincere respect for Lord Cornwallis's administrative capacity, and his fidelity in the discharge of every duty, the East India Company voted a grant of £40,000 to his family. During his life honors and emoluments had been freely granted to him; and a cordial recognition of his claims to the gratitude of his countrymen marked the close of his long and patriotic career.

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* Sir James Mackintosh was one of the committee appointed to carry out this intention. The letter which he wrote to Mr. Flaxman in regard to the proposed statue is printed at length in the first volume of the Life of Mackintosh by his son,

He was not, it is true, a man of great original capacity. Nor were his powers much cultivated by early education. Yet he possessed considerable intellectual force, and great tenacity of purpose. Though he was often appointed to difficult and responsible positions, he seldom failed to exhibit the necessary ability for the prompt and efficient performance of his various duties. His character was pure and upright; and his integrity was unquestioned. His political opinions were moderate; his temper was pacific, though he was trained to a military career; and in general he was humane and liberal in his treatment of other men. His life was rich in opportunities for rendering great public services; and his name is inseparably connected with some of the most important events in English history.

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and contains some judicious observations on the character of the late Marquis. "I need not tell you," he says, "that the character of Marquis Cornwallis was more respectable than dazzling. . . . . . Prudence, moderation, integrity, pacific spirit, clemency, were very remarkable qualities in Marquis Cornwallis's character." Referring to the Zemindar Settlement, he adds, "It was a noble measure of paternal legislation, though I know not whether it could be represented in marble." It is also stated in the Life of Mackintosh, that Sir James wrote the sermon preached at Bombay after the death of Lord Cornwallis, and subsequently printed under the name of the Senior Chaplain. We presume that the Character of Lord Cornwallis in Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works is taken from this discourse.

ART. V. — 1. *The British and Foreign Medical Review.* Vols. XXI. and XXII. 1846.

2. *Nature and Disease, illustrated in various Discourses and Essays. To which are added Miscellaneous Writings, chiefly on Medical Subjects.* By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D., Physician and Lecturer on Clinical Medicine in the Massachusetts General Hospital, Professor of Materia Medica in Harvard University, President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, &c., &c. Boston. 1854. Second Edition, enlarged. 1859.

3. *Of Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease.* By SIR JOHN FORBES, M. D., D. C. L. (Oxon.), F. R. S., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Physician to the Queen's Household, etc., etc. London. 1857.

4. *Rational Therapeutics: a Prize Essay.* By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M. D. Publications of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Vol. I. No. II. Boston. 1857.

5. *Brief Expositions of Rational Medicine: to which is prefixed, The Paradise of Doctors, a Fable.* By JACOB BIGELOW, M. D. Boston. 1858.

"NOUS avons changé tout cela, et nous faisons maintenant la médecine d'une méthode toute nouvelle." Thus replies the *Médecin Malgré Lui* to the objection, that he has located the heart upon the right, and the liver upon the left side of the body of his patient. Scarcely more reasonable to the world at large seem the explanations of many of the changes in modern medicine. The bitter satire of Molière on the faculty, which may be traced through most of his comedies, though particularly prominent in *L'Amour Médecin*, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, and the play above quoted, while it follows the coarser wit of the clyster-school of Rabelais, and the Sangrado theories of Le Sage and Cervantes, unfortunately still possesses enough of verisimilitude to render it readily recognized and relished by the non-professional reader of to-day. For though the bold heroism of the older schools, who, two centuries ago, reposed most confidence in the simple *ordonnance*, "saigner et faire boire de l'eau chaude," which constituted the medical knowledge, principle, and practice of Gil Blas's preceptor, has yielded to a mild and sometimes weak expectancy, enough of wavering judgment, uncertain results, and contradictory theories remains to render the weakness of the medical art apparent to any one, in the course of the ordinary vicissitudes of life.

Medicine can never be an exact science, since it deals with the vital principle, — a principle in itself changeable, self-supporting, and self-regulating. Vital force, though a convenient refuge for the idle theorist, is the great perturbative element which renders the results attained by the faithful student of nature approximate rather than precise. The calm test of experiment and the pure logic of analysis in organic chemistry are rendered uncertain, through an imperfect knowledge of its laws. Chemical processes, which duly carried out under similar circumstances give always the same result in the laboratory, are often wholly and inexplicably changed in the living organism. Pharmaceutical combinations, whose just proportionment and harmonious qualities afford to the prescriber flattering promise of the best effects, may be altered to irritants, and even poisons, by the action of the animal fluids, to which they must be subjected for absorption into the human system. Hence, unlike the practical arts based on the exact sciences, where, as in mechanics, we can rely upon certain definite and unchangeable results from the application of certain positive laws, the art of medicine does not respond unerringly to the discoveries in medical science. And therefore we find, that, although anatomy and physiology, both natural and morbid, have made such immense progress, yet therapeutics is still far behind them; that the power of healing is much inferior to the capacity of knowing; the treatment, to the diagnosis of the disease.

That instinct of self-preservation, not only from bodily danger, but also from physical suffering, which is a common attribute of our humanity, must have rendered some knowledge of the care of the sick coeval with the earliest adult generation of men. The nurse was born with Eve; the art of medicine sprang from the first experiences of life. Whoever foresaw empirically the hurtful consequences of certain acts, and advised their avoidance, exercised the noblest — the preventive — branch of medicine. Whoever relieved empirically the consequences of the committed act, was the first curer or healer.

Yet we do not find the history of medicine as old as the art, for the most ancient records which we possess are those of the school at Cos, but a few centuries before the Christian era. There were but two sources to which medicine could be reasonably traced. The majority of the ancients gratefully ascribed it to the gods; but the philosophic mind of Pliny, and other observers of nature, referred much of the medical knowledge of their day to the instructive teachings of dumb animals. Thus the wild goats of Crete showed the use of vulneraries; dogs, when indisposed, sought the *Triticum repens*, and so introduced that pleasing demulcent to man; cattle with the dropsy anxiously looked for chalybeate waters; and the hippopotamus (*mirabile dictu!*) performed self-venesection to relieve his plethora. However begotten or born, the "divine art" had grown to very respectable proportions in the time of Hippocrates. The doctors were already numerous, and the profession very lucrative. Some class its progress with that in architecture and sculpture; and we may reasonably conclude that it reached an advancement in and through Hippocrates, which, in certain departments, succeeding centuries have hardly yet surpassed. That greatest of physicians originated the expectant theory of treatment; taught the uses of regiminal means; uttered aphorisms, which are still familiar in our mouths, and prescribed an oath to the medical graduate, which is even now administered in some universities, and whose obligations, if they could be made legally binding upon all sorts of practitioners, would remove one of the blackest and most wide-spread crimes of our land.* The exhumations at Pompeii show surgery to have been equally perfected with many other arts among the ancients, and reveal instruments the prototypes, in some instances entirely unchanged, of those which have made the professional fortunes of their modern inventors. The therapeutics of the school of Cos have no reason to blush beside those of London; while they are hardly distinguishable from some of the expectant methods now pursued in Germany and Paris.

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* The following are the chief provisions of the Hippocratic oath: "I swear by Apollo, the physician, by Æsculapius, by Hygeia, and Panaceia, and all the gods and goddesses, ... that I will prescribe such a course of regimen as may be best suited to the condition of my patient. . . . . . No inducement shall ever lead me to administer poison, nor will I ever be the author of such advice; neither will I contribute to an abortion. . . . . . I will maintain religiously the purity and integrity both of my conduct and of my art. . . . . . If during my attendance I happen to see or hear of any circumstances which should not be revealed, I will consider them a profound secret. . . . . . May I prosper [or the reverse] as I keep this obligation."

Yet such is the perverseness of man, or rather such the seemingly crab-like progression in all search for truth, that the voice of the great medical philosopher had hardly ceased to be heard by his pupils, ere the influence of his teachings began to wane. New and more perturbative theories supplanted his gentle laws, and "heroic medicine" began to curse the human race. Five centuries sufficed for the birth, active influence, and decay of an equal number of medical sects, — the Dogmatici, Empirici, Methodici, Pneumatici, and Eclectici. The names alone of two of these remain. Empirics and eclectics are appellations now confined to irregular practitioners; though all medical art is yet to some extent empirical, and every honest physician should be an eclectic, in the proper acceptation of the word. The leeches of the Middle Age, with their simples and charms, used probably more harmless modes of medication, and were not sufficiently bold theorists to attract public attention. Later, the Humorists and Solidists divided the medical world. The pharmacy of two centuries ago was fearful to contemplate. The value of a prescription was measured by its length. The noted *Antidotum Mithridatum*, a popular medicine, contained no less than seventy-two ingredients. The active principle was opium; and the other substances varied from simple bitters, astringents, and aromatics, to such disgusting, if harmless, preparations as the flesh of vipers. And it was hence well named *Electuarium opiatum polypharmacum*. The pharmacopœia was filled with the most singular remedies; but we recollect none which equalled in unpalatableness one advocated in England by "the apostle of Homœopathy," an infusion of the *pediculus capitis*, — we presume the domestic variety.

In spite of the influence of such minds and discoveries as those of Harvey, Jenner, Hunter, and Bichât, therapeutics continued a prey to the most violent internecine feuds. Treatment oscillated between such extremes as the antimonial course of Rasori, and the bleeding *coup sur coup* of Bouillaud. Etiology, in the hands of the most opposite characters, was content to trace all maladies to a single cause; which *materies morbi* Broussais located in the alimentary canal, but Hahnemann upon the skin. A tendency to return to the neglected rules of Hippocrates was fostered by Sydenham, Stahl, Boerhaave, and his pupil Van Swieten. Stahl wrote a work on the expectant method of treatment, and Sydenham followed its dictates, with those of common sense, in practice. Cullen, on the other hand, though he purged the pharmacopœia of many useless combinations, and deserves the merit of giving to certain valuable drugs their due prominence, denounced the mild resources of the expectant method, and advocated active medication. In this course he was followed farthest by the celebrated Dr. Rush in this country, who reposed so much faith in drugs, that he is reported to have said in the lecture-room, "As to nature, I would treat it in the sick-chamber as I would a squalling cat, — open the door, and drive it out."

These fluctuating theories are much to be regretted, not only as having lowered the profession in the public esteem, but still more for their confusing effect upon physicians themselves. For though the science of the nineteenth century has thrown a flood of light upon our path, in anatomy, physiology, chemistry, and pathology, it cannot be denied that much uncertainty still remains. Two chief sources of doubt and distrust annoy the medical student and the young practitioner. He cannot help vacillating among the opposite doctrines which he hears even now expounded; and he discovers very soon in his practice the superiority of medical science to medical art. He probably heard, while an undergraduate, that, if the study of medicine was delightful, its practice was the reverse. The petty annoyances attendant on any pursuit in life, and the tedium of the long probation of "expectancy," which he must endure before he gains the public attention and confidence, are evils which the buoyancy of youth and the examples of the past enable him to bear with fortitude, if not with patience. But when he finds that years of preparation, and the conscientious pursuit of every collateral science which could illustrate his main subject, have brought him to the conviction that all his knowledge will often fail to cure the diseases which he has investigated so long, it is not surprising that he should faint with weariness, and totter in doubt as to the worth of all he has acquired. A perusal of the volumes the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article, in this frame of mind, may strengthen the appalling conclusion that his work has been indeed in vain. They will teach him a bitter, but a very wholesome lesson. At any price, we demand the truth. Let us see if we cannot derive from them grounds for encouragement, rather than despondency.

> "What more melancholy fact," says a correspondent of Sir John Forbes, writing from Germany, "can be presented to the mere prescriber when he first enters upon the duties of his benevolent profession, with the enthusiasm of unsoured philanthropy, than the continual assurance of the Nestors of the profession, that the greater our experience, the more positive the conviction that we can *do* nothing? But, sir, thanks to you, and to men like Combe, Chadwick, Clark, the young generation see the radiancy of a new light, that warms the heart while it illumines the intellect; and though their path still continues beset with dangers, they feel a firm footing, and the slough of despond is passed."

The thoughts that strike us most, after the first feeling of surprise is over on examining the titles and contents of these books, are their philosophic spirit, their modesty, and the probability of their truth. They are all written by old practitioners; men who, if their past lives did not give ample testimony to their honor, could have nothing to gain by their publication. Their reputation is made, their position established, and they have no theories to maintain. They must be sincere to venture so rude a shock on professional and popular prejudices; they must know the truth of what they assert by long experience. The quiet simplicity of their style is the very opposite of exaggeration, or loose assertion. They are well aware of the opposition they must encounter from conventionalism, — and of this Sir John Forbes speaks: —

> "In medicine, the great majority of practitioners retain the same doctrines and pursue the same practice which they learned in the schools; or, if changing both doctrine and practice, as time and fashion dictate, hold fast, at least, the great fundamental doctrine, impressed upon the very core of their professional heart, namely, that the interference of Art is essential in all cases, and therefore never to be foregone." — p. 164.

His modesty and the object of the work are both well expressed in an extract from Elias Camerarius, on the title-page: "Quibusdam saltem profutura Tironibus; . . . . hos docere, his scribere, animus erat, non Eruditis non Doctoribus: quî enim tam sim vanus, ut erudire eruditos ipse minime eruditus præsumam?"

The same idea is again presented, as follows: —

> "Having been now actively engaged in the practice of medicine for the long period of fifty years, and having derived therefrom much of the prosperity and happiness that have been my fortunate lot in life, I feel that my profession has claims on me for much more than I have hitherto been able to give it; and as, at my time of life, and in my present state of health, I have no right to look forward to the acquisition of further knowledge in the same field, it is incumbent on me to communicate now any information I may possess, if I am to communicate it at all. In doing so, I cannot help being impressed with the feeling of solemnity which naturally accompanies any act that is to be the last of its kind. And in this mood, I would fain regard the present work in the light of *A Legacy to my Younger Brethren.*" — p. 3.

In this article we propose to follow the same order of subjects with Dr. Forbes, simply because his work is the most extended of those named as the text for our comments. But we wish to solicit attention to the fact, of which we should be proud, that it was here, in Boston, that the profession was first recalled from the study of the perturbative theories of the preceding fifty years to the natural history of disease, and to the old Hippocratic dogma that Nature deserves the credit of a large share of all cures. As early as 1835, Dr. Jacob Bigelow read an Essay on Self-Limited Diseases before the Massachusetts Medical Society. It expounded nearly the whole subject; and its quiet and well-chosen arguments and examples carried conviction of its truth. Dr. Forbes's first startling article on "Homœopathy, Allopathy, and 'Young Physic,'" in which the autocracy of Nature was broached by him, was not published until 1846. His later and more elaborate work on "Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease" did not appear till 1857; while in 1854 Dr. Bigelow published his "Nature in Disease," which was followed by his "Brief Expositions of Rational Medicine," in 1858.

While pursuing, as nearly as may be convenient, the order of subjects of the author of "Nature and Art in the Cure of Disease," it is obvious that we can find space only for those portions of the other works which have a direct bearing upon this matter. We must therefore reluctantly pass over many parts of Dr. Hooker's Prize Essay on Rational Therapeutics, — though from it we shall derive some Golden Rules, — and the papers of Dr. Bigelow on miscellaneous subjects, as well as his kindly satire of "The Paradise of Doctors," devoting our attention mainly to his Essays on "Self-Limited Diseases," and "The Treatment of Disease," and his views on "Rational Medicine."

Among the errors inseparable from all subjects which are incapable of demonstration, and which must be settled by finite reasoning and opinion, are the different impressions which the same set of phenomena will make on different individuals. Thus is to be explained the fact, that no two men ever get precisely the same ideas of a given case of disease, either as to diagnosis or treatment. So too the influence of temperament and age, quite as much as that of experience, affects the practice of the physician.

> "The conviction of the great autocracy of Nature in the cure of diseases, derived from this source [that of personal experience], is much more widely spread among the senior members of the profession, than is at all believed by the great body of practitioners. It is this conviction influencing their proceedings, that so often makes the practice of these men obnoxious to the charge of inertness from their younger brethren. They are accused of being as inactive as 'old women,' and are indeed accounted as such by the whole band of heroes fresh from the schools, as well as by those of maturer age, whom experience has never taught to doubt respecting the conventionalisms of their early training. It is as an old member of this inert

fraternity, and as the expositor of doctrines sanctioned by their opinions and practice, that I have ventured to take upon myself my present task; and I feel assured that, if I were allowed to adduce the many eminent names who join with me in opinion, whether from the ranks of living or dead physicians, the doctrines I venture to promulgate would meet with much readier acceptance from the profession and the public, than they are likely to do under the authority of any individual." — *Forbes*, p. 166.

Sir John Forbes's work may be pretty evenly divided into two distinct parts. The first treats of the Natural History of Disease, and the powers of Nature in its cure; the second discusses the true nature and powers of the Medical Art.

The first two chapters are mainly introductory; giving the author's reasons for writing this work, and treating of the prevailing ignorance respecting the power of Nature to cure disease. The constant changes in medical theories we are to regard as the indication of a lively zeal among physicians to improve their art; and this again must arise from their consciousness of its imperfections. We are told that an ignorance of the *Natural History of Diseases* is the most fruitful source of false views both in pathology and practice; and that in the knowledge of the natural course and issue of diseases much less progress has been made, than in their morbid anatomy. One reason for this is that diseases are largely interfered with and modified by art; and another, that they *seem* to be thus modified to a still greater degree. The author aims also to convince the public generally, who are even more prejudiced than the profession, that Nature has a conservative power; and to set just bounds to their appreciation of the powers of the medical art. For this ignorance of the public reacts injuriously upon the profession, interfering with their judgment, modifying their treatment, and often forcing them to make use of active measures, which might better have been left alone. This ignorance, too, engenders a lack of confidence in mild though judicious practitioners, and leads the public to employ heroic dosers, to trust in the idle promises of charlatans, and to run after the professors of Mesmerism, Spiritualism, and other useless delusions. Dr. Forbes is desirous that the reader should start with the understanding, that the great object of his work is to establish the fact, that Nature possesses vastly greater powers than Art in curing diseases. Though it is not meant that the matter in question should be prejudged unfairly, it is also necessary that the reader should be aware, that the derogation of Art is the particular result of the second part of this volume.

It is not perhaps surprising that the public, after witnessing the severity of acute disease gradually give way to convalescence, contemporaneously with the employment of palpable and violent remedial measures, should fall into the error, still so common among the faculty, of mistaking sequences for consequences, nor even that, in lingering chronic maladies, they should laud an art which could so long hold its ground against so obstinate an affection. Even when the disease proves fatal, it is not doubted that life has been prolonged and suffering mitigated by the same measures. Or if they lose confidence, it is not in the powers of the medical art, but in the knowledge of its professor; it is not that the means failed, but that the doctor lacked ability to apply those means aright. Since, as we confidently believe, no body of men possess more justly the public esteem, as conscientious, honorable, and laboring members of the community, than the regular physicians, so it is rarely, except from the lowest and most degraded classes of society, that we hear improper motives imputed to them. It is from such only that we expect that unworthy argument, which we have seen applied by the poor to our great charitable hospitals, and which is as old as the time of Pliny: "Discunt periculis nostris et per experimenta mortes agunt."

If we are not surprised, all things considered, that extreme ignorance of the comparative powers of Nature and Art in curing disease should prevail among the public at large, how shall we explain its existence to such an extent among the faculty? A true estimate of the powers of Nature is interfered with through the officiousness of Art. Were diseases left to themselves, the subject would not be too complex for elucidation by any observer with good common sense. The finding a proper field for such observation is by no means so easy as it might at first appear. In no form of medical practice are the agencies termed Regiminal altogether absent.

These are comparatively unimportant disturbing causes. But nine tenths of all diseases are subjected to active treatment, which must at once vitiate the result. The difficulties in the way of the young practitioner in obtaining an accurate knowledge of the power of Art in curing disease are somewhat different in kind, but vastly greater in degree. The grand fundamental obstacle arises from the ignorance of the natural history of diseases, and this is fostered by there being no distinct chair for instruction in this subject in medical schools, and no open field for it in hospitals and dispensaries. The practitioner's own conscientious scruples against leaving any cases to the unassisted care of Nature, from the fear, magnified by his previous teaching, that he might be injuring his patients, the non-perception of the utility of the knowledge to be so acquired, and the dread of being exposed to the charge of malpractice, all operate against his chances of acquiring such knowledge. Since the great increase of charitable medical institutions, it is not easy to meet with cases, even among the poorest classes, entirely left to Nature. We must also take into consideration the inability of practitioners, from prejudices of education, to see the results of the spontaneous operations of Nature, in such cases as they treat themselves. It is a very common error of theirs to attribute solely to drugs results which really flow from other concomitant influences, as rest, diet, air, season, faith in the medical adviser, or change of scene. The great variations in common sporadic diseases, or in prevalent epidemics, at different periods of the year, or in different years, is another source of error so commonly disregarded, that we are apt to sneer at such treatment of diseases in former times as the influences of those periods may have rendered the most judicious. Idiosyncrasy, or the modifying influence of individual constitution or temperament, gives other grounds of doubt. Again, since medicine is not an exact science, but all conclusions respecting it must be reached through the balance of probability, the attainment of truth is here met by the same difficulty as in all the other non-demonstrable branches of knowledge. What wonder, then, that the comparative powers of Nature and Art should be undecided, when the respective influence of either is so difficult to appreciate? Dr. Forbes has placed them in a clearer light by the following happy comparisons: —

> "However favorably we may look on remedies, and although we may admit their validity in many cases, they can at most be regarded, in relation to the case of most diseases, only as the voice, hand, whip, or spur of the rider are to the progression and course of the horse: they may stimulate or excite the natural faculties to do the work which they themselves have no power to do; they may possibly, also, regulate or direct the course of action of the natural faculties (as the rider guides his horse) so as to force them to a speedier or even to a different issue; but the essential agency in both cases is exclusively in the individual organism, not in the extraneous spur, — the muscles of the horse in the one, the *vis medicatrix* in the other. . . . . . It must be obvious, therefore, that to overlook this inherent curative power, in any attempt to estimate the value of Art in curing diseases, would be to overlook, to say the least of it, a most important agent. . . . . . As a rower in a boat on a river, who, in estimating the cause of progress between its banks, should make no allowance for the motive force of the current, but attribute the whole of his advance to his own exertions at the oar." — pp. 35 – 37.

A most important element in the natural history of disease is the exact proportional mortality of diseases generally, when left to their natural course. This is the sole kind of knowledge which could enable the physician to speak with certainty as to the power of the medical art to cure diseases that would otherwise prove fatal, or the amount of this power if it exists. The author believes that this knowledge will finally be accumulated and tabulated on a grand scale, as the tendencies of the medical art shall indicate, and its necessities require. Dr. Laycock, in the British and Foreign Medical Review, judiciously suggests that such a natural history would require a system of observation, and a system of classification; the first based on physiology, the second on structure rather than on function.

Chapters III., IV., and V. treat respectively of Diseases; their Causes and Nature; and their Course and Progress. Of the contents of the third chapter we shall say no more, than that it defines Health and Disease; describes the aggregation of certain bundles of phenomena, or symptoms, into distinct diseases, of which the divisions and the nosologies are necessarily somewhat arbitrary; distinguishes, as distinctly as can be reasonably done, the differences between structural and functional diseases, and refers to the old lines, often overstepped on either side, of acute and chronic maladies. The author makes the important remark, that the latter have no distinct course, — inception, continuance, and end, — and that they are very difficult of classification.

We may find in the fourth chapter, on the Causes, Mode of Production, and Nature of Diseases, much worthy of contemplation. Disease is a variation from health; its theatre of action, the human frame. It is not probable that the ordinary exposures, changes, and varieties of any form of social life can be at all times consistent with perfect, unbroken health. They who ascribe to certain fabulous and primitive states of existence the attribute of eternal youth and freedom from sickness, are led away by a too discursive imagination. For even if we cultivate the physical at the expense of the mental faculties, and are successful in avoiding the bruising teeth of care and want, we are none the less exposed to miasmata and contagion, and we are assured that it is appointed to all men once to die. The most expert physician succumbs at last to one of the very diseases he has been investigating; and, confident to cure, Laennec and Corvisart fell victims to those affections of the chest which they had peculiarly illustrated by their discoveries. "Heal thyself" is, and will always remain, a truthful satire on human knowledge.

> "In a machine so marvellously complex as the living animal body, consisting of such an infinity of parts of extreme delicacy, all more or less depending on one another, and performing such a multitude of operations of the most elaborate and refined nature, it would seem but reasonable to expect that it should sometimes vary from its normal or perfect state, through some alteration in its material structure or some deviation from the regularity or harmony of its course; and this expectation must be greatly strengthened, when it is further considered that all this machinery, composed of the frailest and least durable materials, is self-created, self-sustained, self-acting, every instant varying and changing in the intimate composition of its parts, and, above all, constantly dependent on conditions and influences external and

entirely foreign to itself, and which are in themselves perpetually varying. The marvel indeed is, — and truly it is one of the greatest of marvels, — that, under such circumstances, a state of harmonious or perfect action (in other words, a state of health) should not be rather the exception than the rule." — *Forbes*, pp. 66, 67.

Diseases may be congenital, hereditary, the result of a naturally feeble constitution, or, as in the vast majority of instances, produced by external causes. These causes may be simple and single; more frequently they are numerous and combined. Among the most evident are those inducing constitutional feebleness, as insufficient nourishment and exercise, impure air, and want of sleep; atmospheric influences, as cold, heat, and moisture; errors of diet; mental causes of every variety; mechanical and chemical agencies; poisons, whether mineral, as that of lead, animal, as that of a dissecting wound, vegetable, as miasmata, producing very various affections, or morbid, so called, as that of small-pox or scarlatina; also the poisons of animal secretions, as hydrophobia, and ova, producing parasitic diseases; what are called functional variations, as over-action; and finally, traumatic lesions. The precise manner in which these causes operate to produce particular diseases is in a few cases known; in a larger proportion, partially known; in the majority, unknown. A most important distinction is now to be made. We must try to shake off certain old but false ideas of disease, which have long rested like an incubus on the theory-ridden shoulders of the medical world.

Few articles in the physician's creed have given rise to so many blunders in treatment, as that which supposes diseases to be something distinct from ourselves and the processes of our lives; which assigns to them a separate existence, and regards them as real, extraneous entities, to be attacked, conquered, and expelled. Dr. Forbes can best explain his own views: —

"What we term causes of diseases are not real or efficient causes, or indeed, properly speaking, causes at all; they merely constitute, as it were, the *occasions*, on the existence or presence of which, or, so to speak, on the *prompting* of which, the natural or vital functions of the living body set about forming the diseases themselves, and do form them. In this point of view, then, it is obvious that what we term diseases are not things different from, and extraneous to, the living body, but rather particular conditions of this; new phases, as it were, of its vital manifestations. They are essentially vital, that is, processes of a living organism, whether they come under the head of dynamic or functional, or of material or structural conditions, or states. . . . . . All morbid action is but a modification or perversion of some natural or normal action or function; and all the physical results constituting morbid structural alterations are mere perversions or modifications of natural or normal textures, or, at most, analogous textures fabricated from the same materials by like processes. . . . . . Neither is disease, as others believe, a distinct *imperium in imperio*, independent of, and setting at defiance, the legitimate laws of the organism in which it is developed, and acting in accordance with laws of its own. It is rather, if we may carry on this analogy, like a constitutional Opposition in a free government, organized in accordance with the existing laws, and still submitting — reluctantly, it may be — to their sway. . . . . . Attention to this fact is the more important, because it constitutes one of the strongest *à priori* grounds for admitting the reasonableness and probability of the natural cure of diseases, hereafter to be shown as a matter of fact. If Nature, without any extraneous aid, either dynamical or material, can build up diseases, there would seem no substantial reason why she should not be equally able to effect their removal." — pp. 75 – 78.

These opinions are well illustrated by examples derived from all the larger classes of diseases. Nervous affections are but variations in the natural actions of the affected organs; the redness, pain, heat, and swelling of inflammation are only an exaltation of the normal processes of circulation and nervous influence; the phenomena of fever are mere modifications of the regular vital actions, though the cause of these modifications may be a poison from without; hemorrhages and dropsies consist simply in a perversion of the common functions of secretion, excretion, and absorption; morbid deposits and extraneous growths are varieties of healthy, or examples of perverted nutrition; and so with the rest.

Having shown disease in its nature to be only a changed mode of vital action, Dr. Forbes next undertakes to demonstrate, in Chapter V., on the "Course or Progress of Diseases," that it has a natural rise, increase, intermittence, climax, decline, and limit. Having been already told, that, "Although thus neither individual entities superadded to the body, nor yet perfectly novel and original conditions of the structures or functions of the body, but merely alterations, modifications, or perversions of the conditions existing in the state of health, diseases may and do have special laws of their own, governing the manifestations of their general phenomena and course,"— we are now the better prepared to admit, not only that the elements of disease must necessarily participate in the same natural variations as the processes of health, but that every disease has a course or progress peculiar to itself. This course may commence mildly or violently, may increase slowly or with rapidity, but in either case reaches a certain acme, and then either extinguishes life or declines. While we may allow, then, that accidental complications, or the interference of Art, may often interrupt and even change its natural course, it would seem probable from theory, and is proved by experience, that many diseases are essentially *self-limited.* This is the great truth which Dr. Bigelow first unfolded to the profession twenty-four years ago.

> "By a self-limited disease, I would be understood to express one which receives limits from its own nature, and not from foreign influences; one which, after it has obtained foothold in the system, cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be eradicated or abridged by Art, — but to which there is due a certain succession of processes, to be completed in a certain time; which time and processes may vary with the constitution and condition of the patient, and may tend to death, or to recovery, but are not known to be shortened or greatly changed by medical treatment." — *Nature in Disease*, p. 4.

Such terms as "a settled disease," and "the run of a disease," imply the existence of a belief in this theory among the public. We are told by the same authority, that, although it is difficult to select a perfectly satisfactory or convincing example of a self-limited disease from among the graver morbid affections, on account of the universal employment of remedies, yet we can find abundant instances among the milder maladies, — as the vaccine disease, or the chicken-pox. It is not easy to say why one disease has necessary limits, while another is without them. Sometimes the law of the disease may be traced to the nature of the exciting cause. Thus the morbid poison of measles or of small-pox produces a self-limited disease, while that of syphilis does not. Simple, paroxysmal, and metastatic diseases represent three classes which are self-limited; and of these, hooping-cough, epilepsy, and acute rheumatism are respectively typical instances. In investigating this subject, we may reasonably suspect those diseases to be self-limited, from which those who make use of no treatment, and those who submit to empirical or nugatory modes of medication, equally recover; those for which the most opposite modes of treatment are recommended; and those of which enlightened physicians themselves die. Besides erysipelas and most of the eruptive and continued fevers, many other diseases are now regarded as self-limited which were not included in that class when Dr. Bigelow's essay was written. We think that this matter is placed in a still more simple and clear light in the "Expositions of Rational Medicine," by the same author.

> "Medical assumption may well feel humbled by the most insignificant diseases of the human body. Take, for example, a common furunculus or boil. No physician can, by any internal treatment, produce it where it does not exist. No physician can, by any science, explain it, and say why it came on one limb and not upon another. No physician can, by any art, cure it after it has arrived at a certain height. No physician can, by any art, delay or retain it after it has passed the climax assigned to it by nature. And what is true in regard to a boil is equally true of common pneumonia, of typhoid fever, of acute rheumatism, of cholera, and many other diseases."

There follows the sad corollary, that certain diseases, of which the number is not very great, are curable by medicinal means; that certain others, more numerous, are curable by regiminal means; that another class of diseases are self-limited; and, finally, that a large class are incurable. In an introductory lecture before the medical class of 1852, on "The Treatment of Disease," the author just quoted, in view of these facts, says, that if he were asked what makes a great physician, he would answer, "*He is a great physician who, above other men, understands diagnosis.*" In the same vein, the venerated Dr. Elisha Bartlett, in his "Philosophy of Medicine," says: "Diagnosis will be in advance of therapeutics; and this for two reasons. In the first place, the elements of the former are fewer, and less complex in their relationships, than those of the latter; and in the second place, diagnosis is an *essential prerequisite* of therapeutics."

To return to the main subject. After tracing the nature of diseases, and proving them to be a part of the common actions of the human system, — demonstrating that they have a regular course or progress, and are, many of them, self-limited, — the next great step is to look at their natural terminations, and to show that they sometimes end in health, and are not all essentially destructive. This brings us to Chapter VI. of Dr. Forbes's work.

When we look at the great scheme of Providence for peopling the world with living beings, it is obvious that some means must be adopted to remove the surplus population, and that in all finite existence there must be deaths as well as births. How often death succeeds disease, we are all but too well aware. Old age, accident, and disease are the three fatal means employed by Nature to terminate human life. Fewer deaths occur in age from natural decay than from formal disease; the fatal accidents which happen to mankind are not very numerous in the aggregate; and we therefore have a large balance of mortality to be settled by disease. We should naturally expect, therefore, that in a great proportion of cases sickness would terminate in death. And yet we have, in partial opposition to this assumption, the fact of the essential conservatism of organic existence throughout nature, as shown in the many ills which, though threatening, are eventually recovered from. It is much easier to prove that Nature causes death, than that she also causes health to ensue as a normal and not infrequent consequence of disease.

Still no one will doubt the curative tendencies and powers of Nature in certain organic and structural diseases; as in absorbing dropsical effusions, removing the extravasated products of inflammation, or plugging a bleeding vessel. Yet, on the other hand, it is certainly no less apparent, that, in other cases, the ultimate result is the very reverse of curative. Thus, the morbific influence of acute rheumatism may stiffen, with bead-like excrescences, the pliable valves of the heart, — the very gates of life. Nature endeavors to compensate for the increasing difficulty of driving the blood through the narrowed orifices, by adding to the muscular power of the propelling organ. But the result is hypertrophy of the heart, with all its attendant evils. Although, therefore, all must admit that many sicknesses end in recovery, compared with the smaller number that terminate in death, yet Nature is not always kind. This is well expressed by a correspondent of Dr. Forbes, in the British and Foreign Medical Review.

> "The existence of such forces in nature as a *vis vitiatrix* and *vis necatrix*, as well as a *vis medicatrix*, is apt to be forgotten by physicians, who, from the influence of the old Hippocratic doctrines, got into the habit of representing Nature as all beneficent, — as if she had no poisons, generated no diseases, and allowed nobody to die if she could help it. Much of the practice in the ordinary system of medicine is a strict imitation of salutary processes in nature, and its object is to make such processes supersede the *baneful practice* of Nature, who, though she knits up wounds with her adhesive inflammation, by the very same method glues the intestines into fatal entanglements, shackles the heart, and chokes up the windpipe." — Vol. XXII. pp. 558, 559.

Enough evidence can be easily adduced, however, to show the power of Nature to remove the causes of disease, and even the exact manner in which she proceeds to effect her object. Of this, the expulsion of noxious solids or fluids by vomiting or purging, the resistance to the entrance of poisonous gases into the lungs by coughing, and the washing away of foreign bodies from the eyes or nostrils by increased secretion, are familiar instances. We only wish to consider fairly both sides of the question, and to show that the natural efforts *sometimes* fail, or are misdirected. No one doubts that the febrile movement of scarlet-fever is the rebellion of Nature against the deadly influence of the poison of that disease. Yet, though often sanative, and even curative, this reaction may be so excessive as to lead to death, *per se*. Vomiting a poison may be requisite to continued life, but may end in the rupture of a vessel in the brain, or in fatal intestinal hernia. If we have often recognized and admired the curative influence of Nature in mild diseases, we have also often seen the beneficial aid of very simple measures in other cases. It more than once happened to us, while attached to a large charity hospital, to witness the marvellous change produced in some squalid, chilled, and delirious wretch, taken from the lowest depths of poverty and vice, by a warm bath, a quiet bed, rest, and soothing though nutritious food.

If, by this slight sketch of both sides of the question, we have now reached a sufficiently impartial position for deciding as to the natural termination of diseases in health or in death, we shall be prepared to form a just appreciation of the general evidence in favor of the curability of diseases by Nature, which Dr. Forbes adduces and displays at length in his seventh chapter.

He endeavors to derive his evidence from the purest sources; that is to say, from those cases least interfered with by art. He speaks first of the great field presented by the pathology of the inferior animals. Wounds of the most desperate character heal in wild beasts; murrains and other epidemics spare many of those attacked among the domestic animals. Though the analogy is strong between both the health and the sickness of the inferior animals and man, the author admits that it would not be strictly logical to infer that the autocratic power of healing belong to both in an equal degree. Animals are free from the *psychical* element, which has so important an influence in modifying human disease. We may safely infer that there is a *similar* curative power existing in both, but no more.

The second proof is deduced from the medical history of savage and uncivilized nations. It is very true that they often recover from disease; and also that, although instinct may lead them to seek relief in such rude medical art as they can invent, this is rarely of a very perturbative nature, and could not much influence the general result. Their medical resources are either charms, spells, and talismans, or indigenous herbs. Most of the latter must be inert; for if we admitted the curative powers of the plants culled and vaunted by every people, we must include in the pharmacopœia nearly all the vegetable productions of the globe. We object only, that the normal life led by savages renders them less liable to the severer diseases. Among the imperfectly civilized nations of antiquity, and even among the Greeks and Romans, the treatment of diseases was left mainly to the priests, and the order of physicians has left no traces of its existence in a considerable portion of ancient history. Yet we do not learn that the mortality was very great. "Many, no doubt, died; but many also recovered; just as we witness in modern times." Sailors in vessels too small to carry surgeons, and isolated bodies of men, shipwrecked, or otherwise cut off from medical aid, have been known to survive very severe fevers, under the most unpromising circumstances. Cases treated in every community by the expectant method, afford another proof of the extent of Nature's power to cure disease. Under this head we may class potions and ptisans; vegetable alteratives, as sarsaparilla, — recently proved by experiment to be wholly inert; the grape-cure, the milk-cure, vegetable diet, and sea-voyages. The numerous recoveries under the use of nostrums of the most violent kind, prove the power of Nature, which can overcome the baneful effects both of the disease and of the remedy. The amount of patent medicines swallowed is almost incredible, and can be estimated only by the extent and consequent cost of their advertisements. The two potent drugs, aloes and opium, are the basis of most quack medicines; the former in pills of every name, the latter in the various pulmonic sirups. Yet people consume these in incredible quantities, and survive. Medical literature, ancient and modern, as well as the unwritten testimony of medical men, unwittingly furnishes us with much proof of the autocracy of Nature in curing disease. These records and this experience demonstrate, to any one sufficiently above prejudice to judge them fairly, that many cures, under the most opposite modes of treatment, can be ascribed only to the power of Nature. Still stronger evidence of the same kind is furnished by the different epidemics which, at various times, have scourged the human race. The results, on a large scale, whether in typhus, scarlatina, or cholera, appear unaltered in any appreciable degree by the very various interferences of medical art. Dr. West, a recent and careful observer, says: "In spite of the increase of medical knowledge during the past fifty years, the proportion of small-pox cases that terminate fatally has been estimated by the best authority to be as great now as it was half a century ago." The histories of all pestilences and plagues, from the simple narrative of Thucydides, and Boccacio's "*mortifera pestilenza*," to De Foe's graphic tale of the "Plague in London," and Sue's dramatic episode of the reign of the cholera king at Paris, agree, not only in the main features of their hideous descriptions, but in the sad results of their wide mortality. The Norfolk epidemic spared only a portion of the noble souls who went from the medical ranks, in the hope of carrying efficient aid to the sufferers; and the statistics of the yellow-fever at New Orleans, the past summer, are as startling as in any previous year. If, therefore, we accuse Nature of causing many deaths, we must also give her the credit of those recoveries where medical art has shown itself of no avail.

Another argument for the autocracy of Nature is based on the records of Homœopathy, considered as a system of pure expectancy; but we reserve this for future discussion.

Finally, this historical evidence acquires great additional force and vivacity, if sustained by the personal testimony of living physicians. Such testimony we have already shown, by quotations, to lie ready at hand in the experience of every old practitioner. Though the prejudices of education, the force of conservative habits, and prudential motives may keep much of it concealed, enough has been elicited from the several works we have cited, and in the various correspondence they have aroused, to prove the curability of many diseases by Nature alone.

> "The one great result obtained from the study of these various authorities is this,—that the power of Nature to cure diseases is infinitely greater than is generally believed by the great body of medical practitioners, and by the public generally. So great, indeed, is this power, and so universally operative, that it is a simple statement of the facts to say, that of all diseases that are curable and cured, the vast majority are cured by Nature independently of Art; and of the number of diseases that, according to our present mode of viewing things, may be fairly said to be curable by Art, the far larger proportion may be justly set down as cured by Nature and Art conjointly. The number of diseases cured entirely by Art (of course I omit in all these statements *surgical*

art) and in spite of Nature, — in other words, the number of cases that recover, and would have died, had Art not interfered, — is extremely small. We shall see, in the remaining chapters of this work, which treat of the Medical Art, that the statement just made is far from being tantamount to saying that this art is powerless and useless. It will be there shown that the Medical Art has a noble and most beneficial part to play, in its true character of a handmaid and helper of Nature; although it may seem shorn of some of the heroic attributes with which ignorance and early superstition may have falsely decked it." — *Forbes*, pp. 170, 171.

We come now to the second portion of our subject, and the concluding half of Dr. Forbes's volume, which treats of the Nature and Powers of the Medical Art. The five remaining chapters discuss the Existence and Nature, the Instruments, the Mode of Action, Specific and Vicarious, and the Real and True Powers of Medical Art.

The existence of a medical art, even among the rudest nations, is a matter of history. From its foundation in the wants and sufferings of mankind, it was not likely to be neglected. Though we have made infinite progress in new views and remedies, yet the results of our practice, placed side by side with those of Hippocrates, are not so very flattering. And yet the medical art has much to boast of. It is second in importance only to those arts which minister directly to the support and maintenance of human life. All its objects may be classed under two heads: the Prevention of Diseases, and the Mitigation or Cure of Diseases. Although the first, the preventive branch, is infinitely the superior, it has hitherto always happened that the second, the Cure of Disease, has received the most attention, because man is always less solicitous about prospective evils, than about those actually present. If more extended observation shall only lessen the faith in therapeutics, it cannot be doubted that hygiene will be proportionately developed and valued. The advancement of the preventive part of medicine has been one of the objects of our author in writing this volume. Though but little has been done in hygiene, that little has already been productive of immense results. Mr. Buckle asserts that, owing to the increased facilities of intercommunication and transportation, a famine is now next to impossible in Europe, and that, if hygiene continues to advance, pestilence will soon become impossible also. It is certain, at least, that not only have the severity and extent of epidemics, such as cholera, been checked by public hygienic measures, but also, that, in the localities most advanced in hygiene, the rate of annual mortality has steadily decreased. The author of "Self-Limited Diseases" and "Rational Medicine" also, in various parts of his writings, declares prevention and palliation to be the two most important branches of medicine, — palliation, as well as prevention; since in all diseases it is necessary and useful, and in many is the only resource.

Preventive medicine is either public, when it assumes the management of the life of the community; domestic, when it directs the sanitary department of the household; or personal, when it regulates the habits of the individual. "If the attention of society were once given to these points," says Dr. Forbes, "the saving of life would be such as would not only modify our tables of mortality, but affect the fortunes of nations." Curative medicine, on the other hand, has been over-cultivated and over-esteemed. Our author does not deny that medicine can accomplish some cures. In the British and Foreign Medical Review, he says, in answer to attacks on his first article in that journal: —

> "It was never contended for by the author of the article, that the treatment of diseases should or could be exclusively left, in all cases, to a hygienic system of management; or that we were not possessed of many drugs of the noblest powers. . . . . It would seem hardly less irrational for a physician of any experience to deny the efficacy of such general means as venesection, emetics, and purgatives, or the individual power of such drugs as opium, mercury, iodine, iron, &c., than for the soldier to denounce as useless the very weapons which had enabled him to vanquish." — Vol. XXI. p. 504.

On this point, Dr. Bigelow, in like manner, writes: "Were there no other trophy for the medical profession to boast, it is sufficient to know, that the diseases of small-pox and syphilis alone would have entailed misery and extermination on a large portion of our species, had not medical science discovered the prevention of the one, and the successful management of the other." Of the latter disease, numerous cases are too fresh in our memory, with their inevitable tendency downward, by regular and almost mathematical laws, and their return to health under the use of what we may call specifics, to leave any doubt of the curative powers of Art.

There is one department of medicine to which the weary practitioner always looks up, in his blind gropings after truth, with hope, confidence, and pride; we mean the noble art of surgery. Here we have something tangible and practical in its remedial results. To secure a bleeding vessel, replace a dislocated limb, adjust a fractured bone, or remove a mortifying extremity or a foreign growth, thereby restoring life, function, and usefulness, is surely an act of which we should be proud. From the ruder apparatus of Hippocrates, and the time when Ambrose Paré taught union by the first intention, to the ingenious mechanism of the artificial limb, and the improved conservative operations of to-day, surgery has constantly advanced. While anæsthesia has robbed it of half its terrors, science has shown it, by excisions and resections, how to save the otherwise crippled member. It is its boast to learn how to avoid mutilating operations, as it should be the glory of medicine to learn to dispense with drugs.

The instruments of the medical art, though they may include almost everything on the globe, and though they have embraced many inert substances, may be conveniently divided into three classes, — Regiminal, Physical, and Pharmaceutical. The first is a very important — we had almost said the most important — division. Though often regarded as belonging rather to preventive medicine, we now know that it produces very powerful curative effects. Among regiminal means are all mental sanative agencies of a sanative character no less than means chiefly external, such as air, temperature, moisture, climate, ventilation, diet, clothing, sleep, exercise, and occupation. The class of physical means is not large, but many of them are very potent. Such are venesection, leeching, and cupping; baths of vapor or water, hot and cold; inhalation of vapors; electricity, hydropathy, and kinesipathy. The pharmaceutical means comprehend all that enormous mass of substances termed drugs or medicaments. They have usurped the place of almost all other remedies in ordinary medical practice. Popular prejudices demand, and routine continues to administer them, far more than they are needed. Many of them are of very uncertain effect. Among the most positive are evacuants, narcotics, tonics, stimulants, and hæmatics. The lists of astringents, alteratives, and refrigerants contain many valuable articles, though their mode of operation is more uncertain. At the head of this entire class we should place opium, without which Sydenham said he would not practise medicine, and which Oppolzer of Vienna values the highest in his list, at the present time.

In proportion as medical knowledge has advanced, the belief in specific remedies has declined. Formerly, "the name sufficed to indicate the remedy, and the application of the remedy was expected to be followed by the cure of the disease." Some specifics still remain; but their number is small. There are a few diseases directly curable, by the immediate contact of the remedy. Most of these are surgical. Among those that are medical are poisons, curable by antidotes; local irritation, by refrigerants; constipation, by purgatives; parasites, by anthelmintics. Certain local affections can be reached by medicines which have a peculiar tendency to the organs affected. Such tendencies are shown for the kidneys by diuretics, for the heart by digitalis, and for the blood by iron.

Certain diseases remain, which are generally considered curable by specifics, acting in some unknown manner. Yet in these the remedy is uncertain. Such are intermittent fever, curable by quinine and by arsenic; syphilis, by mercury; scurvy, by lemon-juice; periosteal swellings, by the iodide of potassium; hemicrania, by quinine; and some others, which are quite doubtful. There is some reason to hope that the attention which pathologists are now devoting to the minute morbid anatomy of the fluids and tissues may result in the increase of specific remedies, though it must be confessed that chemistry and the microscope have not had any very marked practical effect as yet. Too many diseases are still treated empirically, — that is, upon the basis of *experience*, though this basis is often very unstable. *Pseudo-*

specific is the proper term to be applied to this form of medical practice.

We come now to the other, and the almost universal method of treating disease, that by medicaments having an indirect or vicarious action. Though it cannot be called strictly curative, since the remedies produce the same results in the sick as they would in the healthy body, and can influence diseases only by subserving the provisions inherent in the system for their natural decline, yet this mode of treatment is the main feature and characteristic distinction of the medical art. The *indications* followed in the indirect method may be classed under four heads, as follows: extinguishing treatment, active treatment, pure expectancy, rational expectancy. The author of "Rational Medicine" gives a very similar classification, namely, the artificial method, the expectant method, the homœopathic method, the exclusive method, the rational method. We shall consider them in the order first named.

The indication governing the extinguishing or abortive treatment is to cut short or break up disease. If the views formerly expressed as to the nature and course of diseases be correct, it follows that this method must often fail, and entail needless suffering. Mild and ephemeral maladies do not require it; in severe and self-limited diseases, it will generally be without avail. It is a practice but little followed at the present day.

The really active or *heroic* treatment is also less followed than formerly, but has higher claims to consideration. Though we do not know that bleeding is curative in pneumonia, for instance, yet, judiciously practised in proper cases, it certainly relieves urgent dyspnœa and pain. This method seeks to modify or reduce morbid action, but not to cut short disease. If it does not do good, it does harm; and it is to be adopted by the follower of a rational expectancy only in a modified form.

Pure expectancy, a negative or totally inert treatment, was so named by Stahl, in contradistinction to his own method of rational expectancy. "It being known that most curable diseases are cured by Nature and time, it follows that the chief scope and intention of the expectation physician is the gaining of time, and to elude the patient from time to time, until Nature hath conquered the disease." In all the times of physic it has been more or less adopted, though seldom met with now, except under other names. Its principles were seldom fully carried out in practice. The real "wait and do nothing" school — *nuda et otiosa* — ordinarily fell into the heresy of some one active remedy.

The practice of homœopathy is the most perfect, as well as the greatest, example of pure expectancy that ever existed in the medical world. For this reason, as well as on account of its present popularity in this country, it deserves a separate consideration. The distinguishing dogmas of this system, as propounded by its founder, were two in number: the asserted law of therapeutics, that medicines have a specific curative effect on those diseases whose symptoms they produce, when taken into the body in health; the asserted discovery in pharmacy, that the medicinal power of drugs increases in proportion to the diminution of the quantity employed. The first is called, for brevity, "like is cured by like," — *similia similibus curantur;* the second, the doctrine of "infinitesimal doses." To the second was added the corollary, that the effects of such doses continued to manifest themselves during periods varying from a few hours to several weeks after their administration, and therefore that medicines should be given singly, and at considerable intervals; to the first was appended the theory, that a large proportion of all diseases, and the majority of chronic diseases, had their origin and cause in *psora*, or itch. A final modification of the second, made by Hahnemann, was that medicines affected the system as powerfully by the nose, as in the stomach; when only smelt of, as when swallowed.

We shall take the liberty of reversing the above order, and of examining first the doctrine of "infinitesimal doses." Ordinary prescribers had always been in the habit of administering drugs in palpable amounts; and though the heroic teaspoonful doses of calomel, said to have been once in use in the Mississippi Valley, had been long abandoned, and chemistry had furnished us with the active principles of many of the coarser articles of the Materia Medica, so that a few grains represented the powers of an ounce, yet the doses of the most potent alkaloids rarely descended below the fifth to the twentieth of a grain, — quantities minute to be sure, but still appreciable by the senses. The founder of the new system at once freed himself from these old trammels of conservatism; he reduced his doses successively from small to smaller, and thence to infinitesimal quantities, so minute as to defy the most delicate tests of the chemist and the most powerful lens of the microscope. We venture to believe that few persons have any just conception of the amazing littleness of the higher, or even moderate attenuations of the homœopath. Statements and comparisons of them are usually regarded as good-natured exaggerations, or wilful falsifications. We therefore subjoin a few of the more striking computations from Dr. Simpson's work on "Homœopathy and its Tendencies," with the simple asseveration as to their truth, that they have been verified and vouched for by a high mathematical authority, and that we are not aware that they have been denied by the parties interested in the homœopathic theories. The successive reductions of the drug are called attenuations when conducted in the solid, dilutions when conducted in the fluid state. One grain of any medicine is mixed in a mortar with ninety-nine grains of sugar of milk, or other inert substance. Each grain of the compound, when well mixed, contains one hundredth of a grain of the drug. So far all is plain and reasonable; and this is the *first* attenuation. One grain of this is next mixed with ninety-nine grains of sugar of milk. Each grain of the resulting compound, well mixed, contains one hundredth of one hundredth of a grain, or one ten-thousandth of a grain of the original drug or medicine. This is the *second* attenuation. The *third* attenuation, similarly conducted, gives for each grain of the resulting compound one hundredth of one ten-thousandth, or one millionth of a grain of the original medicine. In the same way, each grain of the *sixth* attenuation contains one billionth of a grain of the original drug. All these are called the lower potencies or preparations. The middle potencies range from the sixth to the thirtieth attenuation; the higher, from the thirtieth to the two-hundredth attenuation; and the highest, indefinitely beyond. The thirtieth is as high as we shall care to go. Each grain of the thirtieth attenuation contains one decillionth of a grain of the medicine originally taken, — a quantity expressed by a unit preceded by sixty ciphers, which, out of regard for the printer, we will omit. As Dr. Forbes well remarks: —

> "The *hundredth* of a grain is intelligible enough; the *ten-thousandth* is comprehensible, but begins to waver; while the *millionth* part of a grain puts our powers of comprehension on the rack. . . . . . We fancy we grasp the reality, and then it instantly vanishes as a phantom, even beyond the sphere of imagination. Having got so far, the additional subdivisions scarcely add to our difficulties. The mind is occupied by a word more than a thing, and whether the word be a millionth, billionth, or decillionth, the power of comprehension remains the same."

Such calculations can be best illustrated by comparisons. Were all the products of each preceding attenuation kept and reduced to the *fifteenth* potency, the quantity of sugar required for the reduction of a grain of any drug to this attenuation would be a mass sixty-one times the size of the earth. The proportion of any drug in the *thirtieth* dilution, or *decillionth* globules, is to the sugar contained in the globules as one grain is to sixty-one quintillions of spheres of sugar, each of these spheres being of the dimensions of the earth. The dilutions are equally startling. The *twelfth* dilution represents one grain dissolved in a quantity of fluid six times the size of the Mediterranean Sea. The *thirtieth* dilution consists of a minute globule of sugar, moistened by being simply dipped in a drop out of an ocean of fluid one hundred and forty billion times as large as our whole planetary system, which enormous ocean has been medicated by having dissolved in and mixed through it *one single grain* of the appropriate drug. Yet Hahnemann says that the best dose of all drugs, for chronic or acute diseases, is always the very smallest one in the high dynamization, or *thirtieth* dilution. The homœopathic healing art develops the immaterial (dynamic) virtues of medicinal substances by trituration, or shaking, at each step of the process of attenuation.

"In order to have a determinate rule for the moderate development of power of the fluid medicines, multiplied experience and observation have led me to retain two shakes for every vial, in preference to a greater number, which had previously been used, but which developed the energy in too great a degree." — *Hahnemann's Organon*, p. 200.

Dr. Forbes, in the British and Foreign Medical Review, calls attention to the circumstance, that each attenuation is effected by means of six triturations of six minutes each, and six scrapings of four minutes each, the whole period of preparation occupying exactly *one hour*. Let us recollect, also, that it is not only drugs usually esteemed potent, but such comparatively inert substances as charcoal and oyster-shell, that are rendered powerfully medicinal by these processes. Such substances occupy a prominent place in the homœopathic pharmacopœia, and we are continually assured that their medicinal effects last from a week to fifty days before a repetition of the remedy is required. Another difficulty consists in the homœopathic theory, that the effect of their preparations is rendered nugatory by the presence of other drugs (meaning thereby many simple substances), while we are all conscious of introducing into our bodies by accident or design, in food, drink, or air, many grains of even the lower attenuations of charcoal, or lime, during every day of our lives.

Although the public is hardly competent to judge of the merits of medical theories without a special training, it is capable of understanding arithmetic; and many common minds will probably agree with a recent homœopathic axiom from Punch, that "Infinitesimal quantities produce infinitesimal effects." The result of the carrying out of these dilutions has been, that many homœopathic practitioners have openly renounced the doctrine of infinitesimal doses; while we have reason to think, from daily experience, that many more have secretly abandoned them in practice. By whatever arguments his disciples may justify their deflection from one of the laws of Hahnemann, they still adhere to his other dogma, and maintain the truth of the "*Similia similibus curantur*," or "Like cures like." This *dictum* then, as the basis of their therapeutics, next offers itself for our notice. We would merely remark in passing, that as soon as the infinitesimal doses are given up, and a return is made to the old forms of medication, homœopathy passes at once out of the class of purely expectant methods of treatment, and enters the great body of the pseudo-specific, or empirical schools.

We pass now to the consideration of that theory of homœopathy, whence it derived its name, that drugs will cure those maladies whose symptoms they cause in the healthy system. In the first place, we deny that many medicines, said to be capable of exciting artificial diseases in the healthy body, possess that power. We may instance the very medicine with which Hahnemann first experimented. Knowing cinchona to be a specific for fever and ague, he took some while in health, to learn how it acted. He thought it produced symptoms of this disease; but others have failed to observe any such effects. On the other hand, some medicines are capable of curing morbid conditions, which are incapable of exciting any such condition in the healthy body. We need only mention iron, which was never known to cause anæmia, though it certainly cures it. Very different results have been obtained recently by Doctors Böcker and Lehmann, in Germany, who, experimenting on the more correct physiological law, that drugs produce the same effects in the healthy as in the diseased body, — instead of curing in the diseased the effects which they produce in the healthy body, — have proved that water and mercury hasten, and alcohol, coffee, and tea retard, the metamorphosis of tissue.

Secondly, we believe that a large proportion of the experiments perfomed by Hahnemann and his disciples are altogether fallacious; that the symptoms produced by certain drugs were sequences only, and not consequences; that these symptoms were the effect of an expectant imagination; and that, as many of the later experiments were conducted with infinitesimal doses of the drugs experimented on, we may conclude, from the apostasy of their own followers, and from every law of reason, that in these cases the medicines produced no effects at all. Before we can be called on to admit the recorded phenomena as *consequences* of the medicines, we have a right to call for a parallel series of healthy persons, set down to record all their sensations for days, after taking *no* medicines. In these experiments it seems to be assumed that every sensation, every action, which occurred subsequently to the medicine's being taken, was *caused* by the medicine. The very number of the symptoms said to be produced suffices to show the absurdity of the conclusions drawn. Thus 1090 symptoms are recorded as the effects of oyster-shells, and 590 as produced by plumbago. The constant overstepping of the limits of one another's lines of symptoms by the several remedies, is sufficiently shown in such works as Jahr's Manual. We can hardly conclude, consistently with our consciousness of periods of happiness and peace of mind, that certain substances, which daily enter and abide in our bodies in minute quantities, can have those peculiar *psychical* effects which are ascribed to them by the homœopathist. Finally, even if we admitted the above-cited assertions as to the effect of infinitesimal doses, it is obvious that it would be impossible for any one man, even in a long life, to have gone through enough *provings* to settle absolutely which particular attenuation was most potent in each disease.

Thirdly, even where positive effects are produced on the healthy body by medicines in sensible doses, these effects bear a very imperfect resemblance to any *one* natural malady, or even to the aggregated symptoms of any malady. Many diseases also are acknowledged to be latent, and the fitting remedy could not be selected for such cases on the principle of " *Similia similibus curantur*."

We are led, by the course of these remarks, to speak of two other objections to homœopathy. One is, that it deals too exclusively in symptoms; the other, that it relies on the very unstable basis of specifics. It attaches too much importance to secondary phenomena as indicative of treatment, and views each symptom separately, or singly, as something to be met by a specific. The rational understanding and treatment of disease can be advanced only by aggregating symptoms into groups and classes, on the one hand, and by searching into the intimate nature and causes of such groups, on the other. Since homœopathy gives remedies, singly and at intervals, to obviate each symptom as it arises, it is clearly open to the danger of treating very opposite morbid conditions by the same drug, and often improperly. This is the mistake of the rudest empiricism of the earliest ages of physic. A certain attenuation of a certain drug, when swallowed by a person in health, produces headache, or abdominal pain; it is therefore selected as the remedy for those symptoms. Yet headache may be symptomatic of an overloaded stomach, a nervous affection, encephalic inflammation, or simple mental exhaustion. Abdominal pain may indicate flatulence, colic, hernia, or peritonitis. We do not ascribe to the practitioners of this school the fault of any grosser mistakes than may be and have been committed by other physicians. We wish simply to indicate the tendency of such a theory to weaken diagnosis, degrade science, and jeopard the well-being of the patient.

Since it has been shown in the history of medicine for two thousand years, that mankind has been constantly searching for specifics with very little success, we have no reason to suppose that homœopathy, proceeding on a false law of therapeutics, has been any more successful. We have yet to learn that its disciples have firmly established by experience any specific, based on a reasonable theory, like that of fresh vegetable food and organic acids for scurvy, or iron for the impoverished blood of chlorosis.

We think it can be fairly deduced from the preceding pages, that the efficacy of infinitesimal doses is unproved and contrary to reason, as well as often abandoned by the homœopathists themselves; and that the law of "Like cures like" is also entirely baseless and a figment of the imagination. The asserted facts of the long-continued action of a minute quantity of any drug, and of its equal power when smelled of as when swallowed, fall with the doctrine of infinitesimal doses. The theory that many diseases are caused by itch hardly needs refutation, since the cause of that disease has been traced to a microscopic insect in the skin, and the cure of it has been also discovered in such unctuous substances as will clog up the creature's *trachea* and stop its breath.

All this refutation of the theories of homœopathy is of very little account, however, if *facts* can be brought to sustain them. The advocates of homœopathy, while admitting the novelty and seeming improbability of their theories, profess to repose their confidence and belief only on real experience and practical results. It is like the rallying-cry of the Spiritualists, — "We know what we do see; come and see for yourselves!"

We must next answer, then, these two inquiries: Has homœopathy absolute power to cure diseases? How great is that power relatively to that of *allopathy*, — a name which has been improperly applied to the old school of medicine, and is not recognized by regular physicians? No evidence exists as to the absolute power of homœopathy to cure diseases. The only way to prove the existence of such a power would be by an experiment on a grand scale, of two sets of parallel cases of disease, the one treated homœopathically, the other treated *apparently* in the same manner, but with fictitious globules in lieu of the real globules of homœopathy, — thus placing the patients under the same influences of regimen and faith. Such partial experiments as have been made, in hospitals and private practice, as far as they went, were unfavorable to homœopathy. The most extensive experiment was one instituted among a large number of children by the Prussian government, to determine the powers of belladonna as a prophylactic from scarlet-fever. This power had been much insisted on by homœopathists; but the result showed it to be of no avail.

With regard to the second question, the argument of the homœopathist has been based on the results of their mode of treatment in the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity in Vienna, opened in 1832, and given to the professional charge of Dr. Fleischmann, a homœopathic physician, in 1835. We have before us the reports of that institution, giving a tabular view of the cases treated during eight years, — in all, 6,551 patients; and also a statement by a regular physician, Dr. Balfour, who visited its wards daily for near five months, and who assures us that he has tried to preserve a conscientious impartiality. The latter gentlemen says, that the situation, arrangement, and ventilation of the hospital, the freedom from the frequent visits of medical classes, the religious sympathy with the sick, — the nurses being spiritual comforters and the patients Roman Catholics, — as well as the youth of the latter, one half being under twenty-five years of age, were all conducive to their recovery; while the fact of the admission and discharge, the diagnosis and report on all cases, being under the absolute control of one man, gave opportunity for the influence of such unconscious partiality as a specialist would be liable to feel in establishing the results of his theory. Cold water externally, and clysters, were used; the diagnosis was rarely written on the card at the head of the bed, unless in marked cases, and the previous history of the patients it was difficult to obtain. The other hospitals of the city report having received from this several unrelieved cases of effusion in the pleural cavity, which recovered under the use of purgatives and other active means.

We regret being unable, from want of space, to go into an examination of these tables at length. We must avail ourselves of a brief *résumé* of their results. We find, first of all, that the mortality of severe, incurable diseases was unchanged; we mean of such cases as are usually called hopeless. All the cases of abscess of the brain, all the cases of cancer, and all of phthisis, are registered "died," or "dismissed uncured"; and of 819 cases of typhus, there are 140 deaths. The number of cures is set down at 5,980, and the mortality at 6.4 per cent. This is claimed as a triumph over the old method. The average mortality of the largest London hospitals is 8.4 per cent.; but of thirty provincial hospitals, 4.4 per cent.; and of military hospitals, 2 per cent. But we must compare the character of the diseases treated in each. It has been found, by wide statistics, that the percentage of hospital mortality depends upon the number of cases with the following diseases: pulmonary consumption, organic disease of the heart, kidneys, or stomach, and aneurisms of the great vessels. Comparing Fleischmann's 6,000 cases with 6,000 in the Edinburgh hospital, we find, of these five diseases, 120 cases in the former, against 548 in the latter; and of mild diseases, at Vienna, 301 cases of sore throat, at Edinburgh, 34; 110 cases of chicken-pox at the one, 2 at the other; 61 cases of headache at the former, against 37 at the latter; 52 cases of influenza at Vienna, and none at Edinburgh; at the former, 52 cases of injuries, at the latter, 641 cases, of which 150 were capital operations. Cases admitted moribund were registered at Edinburgh, but not counted at Vienna. It hardly need be computed what the difference would be between a regular and a homœopathic hospital, with exactly the same diseases in their wards, when the mortality varies so little from the average of the former under circumstances so very favorable to the latter. Still the fact remains, that many mild, and some severe diseases, recovered perfectly, though not so quickly, under homœopathic treatment. As we have found the infinitesimal system of medication nugatory, and as it was adhered to in these instances, we are driven to the conclusion that the cures were due to regimen and to some third power. That power must have been Nature. As a system of pure expectancy, then, homœopathy furnishes us with one of the largest proofs and strongest arguments for the extensive autocracy of Nature in the cure of disease.

Since "Expectation" is as old as Hippocrates, the assertion that homœopathy had a direct and original influence in modifying the heroic practice of the older school of medicine cannot be fully sustained. The theories of Broussais had some influence on the practice of this country, and they were broached before those of Hahnemann. Common sense and observation had been gradually modifying the treatment to meet the changed and feebler type of American diseases; and the medication of the Northeastern States is, and has long been, less heroic than that of England. Homœopathy has been successively modified by tacitly resigning the psoric origin of disease, and the high attenuations; giving medicines often, and in quick succession, or even alternating them at brief intervals; and using aperients, leeches, and baths. There remains only the baseless law of therapeutics, "*Similia similibus curantur*"; and thus the original system of Hahnemann has ended in the practice of unproved specific (pseudo-specific) medicine. Last year, at Paris, Doctors Latour and Gallard, editor of and contributor to *L' Union Medicale*, were sued for damages, laid at 50,000 francs, by twenty homœopathic physicians, for libel, in calling them "ignoramus, juggler, and charlatan." The *Tribunal de la Seine* gave judgment for the defendants. M.

Andral, son of the *savant*, counsel for the defence, said that the doctrine of *Similia similibus*, etc. had been declared false by all the scientific bodies of Europe, and all but one in America (the Pennsylvania Homœopathic College); when it had been tested before regular physicians, it had always failed; and he exhibited prescriptions of one of the *plaintiffs*, Dr. Love, which consisted of large doses of allopathic remedies. He closed with the noble saying of Pascal: "If it is wicked to have no respect for truth, it is just as wicked to have no contempt for falsehood."

We have now reached the last method of employing the indirect or vicarious action of medicine in the treatment of disease, which is called the auxiliary or mild treatment,—Rational Expectancy. Disregarding the extinguishing mode as obsolete, and the specific, as being as yet inapplicable to most maladies, this method seeks to follow the just and middle course between active and purely expectant treatment. This form of practice, though based on the two great facts of the great power of Nature to cure acute diseases, and the comparatively small power of Art, is far from ignoring the existence or value of the medical art. It aims only at aiding Nature, or where it cannot aid, is careful not to thwart her. Dr. Forbes regards it as the most philosophical, the safest, the surest, and the most successful of all modes of practice. He defines its indications as follows:—

> "1st. To place the diseased body in the most favorable circumstances for the development and exercise of its own conservative powers, by the institution of a proper regimen, in the most comprehensive sense of that term. 2d. To endeavor thereby, or through the use of medicaments, to remove such obstacles to the favorable action of the conservative and restorative powers, as may be removable without the risk of checking or injuriously perverting them. 3d. . . . . . Not to attempt, by any vigorous measures, to alter the course of the morbid processes so long as they seem to keep within the limit of safety, and when they transgress or threaten to transgress this limit, only then to endeavor to modify them by such mild measures as, if they fail in doing good, cannot do much harm. 4th. To be on the watch against possible contingencies, which may demand the employment of measures of exceptional activity, whether in the form of regimen or medicine; and, when required, to apply such measures with the necessary vigor. This last

indication refers to such contingencies as great irritation or pain, exhaustion, sleeplessness, diarrhœa, ... which often admit of great mitigation by drugs, dietetic stimulants, &c." — pp. 239, 240.

In a similar way, Dr. Bigelow defines his idea of the true position and practice of the medical art; while deprecating heroic treatment, yet advocating the necessity of moderate means of interference.

"The man must be somewhat of a stoic who can look upon a case of severe colic, or of the multiform distresses which result from overtasked organs of digestion, and quiet his conscience with administering inappreciable globules, instead of remedies. . . . . It is the part of rational medicine to alleviate the sufferings of the sick. And for this end alone, were there no other, physicians would be necessary as a profession. . . . . The power of the medical art to palliate diseases is shown in a multitude of ways, — active, cautious, and expectant. The pain of acute pleurisy is relieved by venesection; that of pleurodynia, by anodynes and external applications. The pain of acute rheumatism is postponed by opium; that of gout, by colchicum. Synovitis is favorably affected by rest; chronic rheumatism more frequently by exercise. . . . . . Cathartics, laxatives, emetics, leeches, counter-irritants, cupping, hot and cold applications, etc. are of benefit in various local and general maladies. Yet these remedies, especially the more energetic of them, are often employed when not necessary." — *Expositions of Rational Medicine*, pp. 43, 52, 53.

Rational Expectancy, says Sir John Forbes, "occupies the happy medium between doing too little and doing too much. Without seeking to encumber Nature with help, where help is not needed, it proffers aid in all cases where it is required and can be applied; and though the aid may not be great, it is positive, and weakened by no counteracting force. The other physiological modes of treatment, on the other hand, if they sometimes do more good, also often do more harm; and on attempting to estimate their positive value generally, it is not easy to say on which side the balance lies." — p. 243.

The concluding chapter of his volume gives a General Estimate of the Powers of the Medical Art. Sydenham, who may be justly ranked with Hippocrates and Hunter, as one of the three greatest practical healers, disgusted with its quarrels and conflicting theories, stigmatized medicine as "*Ars garrulandi potius quam sanandi*." The illustrious Boerhaave ordered all his library to be burned after his death, save one volume, entitled

"The Whole Art of Healing." When this was eagerly opened by his pupils, it was found a perfect blank, with the exception of the following short sentence written on the fly-leaf: "Head cool, feet warm, and bowels open, will make doctors poor." Celsus had a keen appreciation of the short-comings of the medical art when he said of it, with Latin brevity, "*Sanitatem ægris promittit.*" Its failures to redeem its promises have been subjects of jest and satire ever since. At first esteemed a divine art, clothed with some unknown mysterious power to strangle disease, we have seen it gradually despoiled of many of its positive attributes. Since diseases have been found to be no longer distinct entities, — enemies because foreigners, — but to have a natural progress and laws of their own, — to be, many of them, self-limited, — to terminate, in acute cases, almost as spontaneously in health as in death, though when tending in the fatal path to be frequently incurable, — the medical art has proportionately declined in arrogance, and been reduced from its false assumptions as a controller, to its more humble, but true position, as a handmaid and helper of Nature. Dr. James Jackson long since drew attention to the proper definition of the word *cure*, by comparing it with its Latin origin, — saying, that it does not mean to cure, but to take care of, — that is, it implies the safe-conduct of the sick. As the good curate watches his flock, and guides them aright, so should the physician strive only to guide and conduct the diseases of his patient.

> "In the vast majority of diseases the medical art can, in strict language, even when exerting its powers most successfully, hardly be said to *cure* diseases at all. All that it [now] professes to do, and all that it does, is to influence diseases in an indirect and partial or imperfect manner, by modifying, to a greater or less extent, the functions of certain organs, with the view and in the hope of thus modifying the processes in which the malady consists; that is to say, modifying them in such wise as to render them less dangerous to the integrity of the animal system, and more controllable by its inherent conservative and reparative processes." — *Forbes*, p. 256.

A young physician once asked the late Dr. Twitchell of Keene, who by his practical good sense had acquired a wide reputation, what his principles of practice were, expecting to hear some very profound remarks on the subject. But the sagacious old man replied, "My principles are very simple. If the patient is hot, I cool him; if he is cold, I warm him; if there is pain or restlessness, I relieve it; if there are irritating matters, I evacuate them; if any secretion is scanty, I try to make it free. These are some of my most important principles."

But with all these drawbacks, Dr. Forbes justly says, —

> "According to the lowest estimate that can be properly formed of the Medical Art, it must still hold its pre-eminence as one of the greatest boons that human intellect has ever elaborated for the benefit of man's estate. With all its feebleness and all its uncertainties, it possesses, and ever must possess, a sufficiency of solid truth and solid power to make it worthy of the study of the noblest intellects and the tenderest hearts." — pp. 261, 262.

We cannot take leave of Sir John Forbes, without calling attention to the vast number of commendatory correspondents whom his first article on these subjects, in 1846, called into the field. We fancy we recognize the hand of the Nestor of our profession here, in one of the earliest letters; the author of "Rational Medicine" heartily commends his views to the American public, and he is ably seconded in a long article by Andrew Combe, on the "Observation of Nature in the Treatment of Disease."

We should hardly be doing justice to a very able writer in bringing this long article to a close without some further notice of Dr. Hooker's Prize Essay on "Rational Therapeutics." Our space will limit us to a few of his general laws. Chomel first promulgated the Golden Rule of therapeutics, when he uttered the maxim, "Do good, or, at least, no harm." Our author adds three other laws. The first — in opposition to the old maxim, *Melius anceps remedium quam nullum* — is, that "no active medicine should be used in any case, unless the evidence is clear that it will effect good." The second is, that "the practice in each case should be based mostly upon what we *know* of the *modus operandi* of remedies." The third inculcates that "we should be governed in our treatment of disease by the actual effects which we see our remedies produce."

The autocracy of Nature — that long-sought *tertium quid* in therapeutics — having been at last found, it only remains for us to notice briefly, in conclusion, the means for improvement, the grounds for hope, and the sources of danger for the practitioner; and to indicate the true position and path of progress for medical art.

Though we may agree with the author of "Letters to a Young Physician," that "no one man knows all that is known about medicine," yet the young man will find quite as much, in the recorded evidence of his predecessors, to mislead, as to guide him rightly. "The practitioner must possess, first, sufficient knowledge to diagnosticate the disease; and, secondly, sufficient sense, as well as knowledge, to make up a correct judgment on the course to be pursued." These two requisites, then, the cultivation of the powers of observation and the possession of common sense, are the way of progress for the physician. Other means of improvement, as well as grounds for hope, lie open through the three following paths: first, the careful and extended study of the natural history of disease; secondly, the systematic proving of drugs experimentally, on the physiological law, that the effects of drugs in disease can be judged by their effects in health; thirdly, the study of physiology and pathology, including all the aids which chemistry and the microscope can furnish.

The sources of danger and error are numerous. Most common of all is loose reasoning, such as fills the tomes of Hahnemann and Jahr, as well as many writings of the older schools. We mean the mistaking of sequences for consequences: *post hoc, ergo propter hoc!* "that everlasting stumbling-block of common minds." Although Dr. Hooker well remarks that we need "minute, recorded, impartial observation," yet the numerical method is open to fallacies. Says Dr. Laycock, in the British and Foreign Medical Review: "The result of my experience in vital statistics is, that the numerical method is one not as yet *generally* applicable to medical observations; or, if generally applicable, only in simple points of detail. I consider it a truly scientific method; but, knowing the difficulty of minute diagnosis, I think a corps of trained observers is needed, — trained in the same school, — so that they may observe alike; then their observations, whether right or wrong, will be alike right and wrong." Dr. Bigelow in like manner writes: "The numerical method so advantageously applied by Louis to determine approximately the pathological character of diseases, cannot be well applied to the more complex subject of medical treatment. It is worthy of notice, that questions of relief are more promptly settled than questions of duration and safety. Bleeding will relieve the breathing in pleurisy, but the length and safety of the disease, under such treatment, is not yet determined."

Specialists, also, are particularly prone to error. The advantages to medical knowledge of so many minute observers, each investigating a single subject, is more than counterbalanced by their unconscious tendency to distort facts to suit their theories. Besides these errors in reasoning, there are graver ones in practice. Among them is the following out new scientific theories too far, to the exclusion of empirical methods justified by experience. The truly sensible practitioner will seek to reconcile correct diagnosis and successful treatment with the most advanced views of modern physiology and pathology.

> "Without a rational basis, the physician is only a bungler; and without a thorough knowledge of the empirical part of science, he deprives himself of many useful weapons for combating disease. The wise physician will always try to adopt for his practice methods which are at once scientific and successful, basing all his treatment upon the sound foundation of rational medicine; he will ever eagerly hail all that is *true*, even though it may wear the dress of novelty; but, at the same time, he will never lose sight of the 'good old paths,' or forget that practical knowledge which has been gained by the accumulated experience of the wise and good men of the past." — *Edinburgh Med. Journal, September*, 1858.

A vast amount of this practical knowledge is scattered among the older country practitioners. There is danger, also, lest the walker of hospitals lose sight of the man in the patient, and, in his ardor for science, forget the sacredness of human suffering and of human life.

The true office of medical art, as the humble helper of Nature, is, as expressed by Dr. Bigelow, in the few curable diseases, to use active or specific treatment; in the many self-limited diseases, to follow an expectant plan; and in the many incurable diseases, to content itself with palliation.

"Very dignified is the stand sometimes taken by the discriminating physician, when, after a careful survey of all the circumstances of a case, he comes to the conclusion that the patient will have a better chance for recovery if he for the most part be let alone, than if his case be actively treated. The disease may be violent in its character, seeming to the common observer to call for the most active interference of Art, and the importunities of the friends of the patient for such an interference may be exceedingly urgent; and yet he remains firm to his purpose, using only such palliatives as may assist Nature in weathering the storm. It is truly a 'masterly inactivity,' of which a frivolous and undiscriminating mind is wholly incapable." — *Dr. Hooker's Prize Essay.*

The path of progress for the medical art is so well indicated at the conclusion of the above article, that we are unwilling to add anything more.

"If the principles I have developed in this Essay be correct, the field of investigation offered by therapeutics is a more inviting one than has commonly been supposed. The achievements that may be realized here may even vie with those brilliant results which have of late attended researches in diagnosis and pathological anatomy. Our Art, it is true, will never cease to be a conjectural one; but it may be redeemed from the unnecessary confusion and uncertainty which false principles of observation have brought upon it, and be made vastly more definite in its aims than it is at present. To attain this, severe and patient labor will be required. . . . . . This is the great work which is now demanded of the profession. . . . . . To such a work as this, the eminently practical character of the American mind is particularly suited. The French excel us in the researches of pathological anatomy, and perhaps in diagnosis; the English surpass us in the literature of medicine; but in therapeutics we are superior to both, especially to the French. In the grand movement which I have described as going on in practical medicine, the American school has been thus far in the advance, whether we regard the general movement itself, or the particular improvements which have contributed to it. Let us, then, enter heartily upon this work, and do what we can to rid our Art of its encumbrances and defects, and introduce fully the reign of a truly RATIONAL THERAPEUTICS."

ART. VI. — 1. *Œuvres posthumes de* LAMENNAIS. Publiées par M. E. FORGUES.
2. *Correspondance du* COMTE JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Edited by M. ALBERT BLANC.
3. *L'Amour.* Par MICHELET. Paris: Hachette.
4. *La Dernière Bohémienne. Faustine.* Par MME. CHARLES REYBAUD. In 2 vols. Paris: Hachette.
5. *Dalila, et Le Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre.* Dramas by OCTAVE FEUILLET. Paris: Michel Levy.
6. *Une Année dans le Sahel. Journal d'un Absent.* Par M. EUGÈNE FROMENTIN.

No matter to what religious persuasion one may belong, — though he be a Protestant Christian, a Jew, or a Turk, — it is impossible to deny the extreme importance of the French clergy in an intellectual point of view. Whether to Gallican or Ultramontane, Jesuit or Jansenist, the French language owes some of its very finest productions to the Catholic divines, especially within the last two centuries and a half. From Bossuet and Fénelon down to Monseigneur de Frayssinous and the present Bishop of Orleans (Monsieur Dupanloup), French literature stands indebted for many of its very best pages — setting aside even those that seek to perpetuate the impression of the pulpit — to the wearers of the *soutane.* We believe that, except the Dominican, Father Lacordaire, few of the clerical celebrities of the present day in France have found their renown acknowledged, or their merits known, by the general public of other countries. This results in part from an illiberality that is not in keeping with the progress of our times. All the ecclesiastical writers of our day do not write to preach, or to proselytize, — nor do they occupy themselves exclusively with matters of faith. Of the Père Lacordaire, for instance, there are many remarkable pieces of purely literary criticism; and indubitably, in the works of the Oratorian, Abbé Gratry, there is much that would do honor to the mathematician, the physiologist, the moralist, or the poetic lover of the arts. Few things more excellent were ever published by any one, than the long and comprehensive discourse delivered by the Bishop of Orleans, in 1854, on his reception by the *Académie Française;* and a bolder, more uncompromising protest than this in favor of antiquity, of all classical studies, and of learning in general, never bore the signature of Villemain, Cousin, or any of those whose names are identified with the teaching of the University.

It is not, however, our present purpose to discuss a clerical author whose works are other than clerical; for the works of Lamennais derive their chief interest from the passionate way in which they enter into the very heart of ecclesiastical questions, and take part with, or against, the Papacy. The man's whole life was in this struggle, and no love-tragedy ever contained more dramatic passages than those by which Lamennais's existence as a churchman, and simply with regard to his creed, was marked. From very early days there has been a double tendency in the Church of France, — a retrograde and progressive, absolutist and liberal, — a desire, on the one hand, to bend every head under the yoke of mere authority, because that authority was, and an opposite wish to enlarge the basis of belief, so as to make it reasonable to submit. In later years, this contest is appreciable under the names of the two contending parties, Jansenist and Jesuit. The latter take part with an extreme and absurd and ill-advised interpretation of Rome's infallibility, and the attempt is actually made to declare Rome infallible in the statement of facts. By common accord, it is admitted by every Catholic that such and such propositions (touching grace) are to be condemned, but it is not true that the propositions are in the accused book written by Jansenius. Hence the quarrel. The Jansenists say: "We should condemn the propositions as you do, did they exist, but they do not exist." And the Jesuits answer: "Rome has declared the propositions to be in Jansenius's book, *ergo*, they are there." On this point the double tendency showed itself more violently than ever, and equal vehemence broke out on both sides; but Louis XIV. took up the Jansenist view of the matter, the Jesuits were beaten, and certain articles consented to by Rome, about which Rome has never been easy since, and which have been the source of all the greatness of the Gallican Church in modern times. The question, apparently set at rest in the days of *Le Grand Roi*, has never ceased to be discussed since that period, and no ecclesiastic exists in France who is not forced by some circumstance or other to choose between the Ultramontanists and the Gallicans, and who does not, for the most part, end by being violent and aggressive in his way of supporting his doctrines. The Abbé de Frayssinous, celebrated under the Restoration under the title of Bishop of Hermopolis, has left what, in contemporary history, is the code of the liberal French Catholics, in a volume entitled *Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, in which the following formula expresses the profession of faith of the French Christian, as far as the Papist element is concerned: "The Holy See is for us the centre towards which all converges, *but is not the source whence all is derived*."

Early in this century of ours, a young priest of colossal talent as a writer commenced his career in France by supporting the authority of the Church with passionate warmth. He was either seven hundred years behind his time, or two centuries before it. Those will come, doubtless, who will sympathize with him, and such a genius as Saint Bernard would have understood him. In his own epoch the clergy of his own country stood aghast, and wondered who was the madman who thus took to heart that whereof they — nine tenths of them at least — made a mere trade. They were good, honest men, nearly all of them, even pious, and sincerely convinced; but they did not want to be troubled in their quiet lives, and they kept aloof from this terrible brother of theirs, who sought from them more than they could give. He dreamed, for years, of the greatness of the supremacy of the Church, of the bold and steady action of the Papacy for the advancement and the good of all mankind. He, like Bossuet, like Leibnitz, like all truly enthusiastic souls, believed in the possible accordance of Reason and Faith, and he wanted the Church to take the initiative of the whole, and the Pope to preach the new era. Lamennais went through many modifications, but for long years his vision was of everything sublime and glorious to be achieved by him whom he held to be Christ's Vicar upon earth. He wrote and preached these doctrines, and poured forth floods of such eloquence as Bossuet never equalled, in support of his opinions, while the bishops looked upon him as "dangerous," and none would take ground with him. But then Lamennais turned round and said, "I'll go to Rome," and to Rome he went, strong in faith, in hope, in genius, and in resolution. Months passed, and Gregory XVI. would not even receive the French pilgrim. At last, an audience was vouchsafed him, and one day Lamennais stood in the Papal presence, in a small, dark room at the end of interminable dark corridors in the Vatican. The Pope asked the wondering priest to take snuff, talked to him of pictures, pressed upon him a small statue of Michel Angelo, assured him of his affection, and sent him away stifling under the pressure of all the grave unuttered words he had come so far, and had waited so long, to utter. Lamennais was of an ardent nature, and had led the really austere life of a priest. All his feelings had a fearfully concentrated force. His whole being was shaken, convulsed, by this reception. Disappointment, to be converted into hatred, absorbed his whole soul, and usurped the place of every gentler sentiment. Nothing in the French tongue can surpass, and few things have ever equalled, Lamennais's own account of this downfall of all his hopes. Any translation must seem weak, but here is the sense of his words: —

> "I will fly from France, — I will go, God knows whither, — I will wander, first here, then there, until I find the last resting-place which is to be found anywhere. 'All lands,' says an ancient, 'are a country to the strong'; I belong not to the strong, — far otherwise. But I have ceased to care for aught that passes in the world. There is no longer now a place for the honest man! I equally detest all the parties that divide France. Everywhere folly, — everywhere corruption. Catholicism was my life, because it is that of humanity. I would have defended it. I wanted to save it from destruction. Nothing was easier to achieve. The bishops held that that did not suit them. Rome still remained; I went thither, and I found the most infamous cesspool (*le plus infame cloaque*) that ever offended the human eye. The gigantic sewer of the Tarquins would be too small to carry off so huge a stream of filth. There is one only god, — self-interest. There, they would barter nations for gold, they would sell all human nature, they would sell the three Divine persons of the Holy Trinity, one after the other, or all three at once, for a rood of ground, or for a few piasters! I saw all this, and I said to myself, this evil is beyond the capacities of man, and I looked away in terror and in disgust."

Of course, to a clerical or to a Catholic reader, there are sources of interest in the posthumous works of Lamennais, which lie in the mere subject-matter of the book; but there is no reader who will not be captivated by its pages, on account of the intense passion which animates every line. It is the story of the ardent love, and of the despair unto death, of one of the greatest souls ever clothed by the Almighty in a human form.

The new volume of the Correspondence of Count Joseph de Maistre owes its interest to precisely the same order of ideas as those that animate the posthumous works of Lamennais. That the interest was a powerful one, and that subjects so serious are still capable of awakening such an interest in the French public, is proved by the fact of two editions having been exhausted, in three or four months, of a work by an author utterly unknown in the literary world, and at a price far beyond what Frenchmen are used now to pay for a book. When we say that the "author" of the work before us was unknown, we mean that the editor of the new documents collected concerning Joseph de Maistre, M. Albert Blanc, was a stranger to the French reading world, in country as in fame. This new edition of the Correspondence of Joseph de Maistre is by no means what the first was (four or five years ago), simply a collection of letters and diplomatic notes, one coming in succession after the other without any explanation or commentary whatsoever. On the contrary, M. Albert Blanc has, as it were, introduced every fragment of Count de Maistre to the reader, and not a passage is given without its sense and importance being previously explained. The book has made a kind of revolution, for it reveals a part of M. de Maistre's character which the general public never suspected till now. Those who were intimate with him find him whole and entire, and as they knew him, in his recently published documents; but between the *traditional* De Maistre and the one just newly exhibited there is a gulf, and the metamorphosis is as complete as can well be imagined. The De Maistre with whom all the world is familiar is the implacable promulgator of absolutist theories, the author of the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*, of *Le Pape*, and of so many other world-famous works, — the man who declared the executioner to be the "corner-stone of the social edifice," and whose authority was invoked by all who contemplated a return to the times of despotic monarchy, or to the days of the Inquisition. The most violent of the followers of M. Veuillot in the *Univers*, and M. Veuillot himself, invariably took as their patron Count Joseph de Maistre, and it had grown into a habit in France (especially since 1848) to look upon him as the upholder of Ultramontanism in religion, and, politically speaking, of *authority*. When the collection of his letters was published a few years ago, certain passages created a considerable sensation, and the hard, dogmatic, absolutist idol was modified, though not overthrown. People were much astonished at the charm of M. de Maistre's private letters, at the grace and playfulness of their style; but they merely took all this as a proof that, in his own interior, with his daughters and female friends, he put off his harshness and austerity, and only "roared like a sucking dove." In the face of this new volume, however, the former worshippers of the Piedmontese diplomatist are obliged to confess that the object of their veneration has disappeared altogether, and made way for an adversary than whom Voltaire himself was scarcely more terrible. The case is a perplexing one, and it has been a matter of no small embarrassment to know how, in some instances, to deal with the book. Of course, the Papal See has, with its usual tact and judgment, laid M. Blanc's work under interdict, and accused the author of having given to the world a De Maistre that "did not in reality exist," forgetful that every document contained in the volume just published is open to the inspection of any Cardinal or *Monsignor* who may desire to examine them, in the archives of the Foreign Office of Turin. The epigraph which M. Albert Blanc has chosen out of Count de Maistre's Correspondence, and placed in the frontispiece of his book, really does contain the spirit of the documents now made public for the first time: "*Il faut prêcher sans cesse aux peuples les bien faits de l'autorité, et aux Rois les bien faits de la Liberté!*" It must be admitted that, for nearly half a century, the notion conceived of M. de Maistre had been purely one-sided, and the part of his literary labors with which the public of Europe were familiar was exclusively the part in and by which he sought to "preach to the peoples the advantages of authority." M. Blanc, in his Preface, very justly observes that the "second half of the sentence" — that relating to the vindication of liberty in the face of kings — "is the principle which animates throughout the private correspondence of Count de Maistre," and that "other half" of his hero's character, as a writer, a diplomatist, and a thinker, is the point to develop which the editor has undertaken his present work.

We confess that, to our mind, Joseph de Maistre is less metamorphosed than the generality of readers fancy, by the new dress in which he appears before the public. Whoever has lived much in Paris among the persons who, thirty or thirty-five years ago, formed the intimate circle of M. de Maistre, has been accustomed to think of him very differently from those who believe him to have been the champion of absolutism and religious obscurantism, and there is consequently in France — in Paris particularly — a small public which in M. Albert Blanc's most interesting volume finds the perfect type of the De Maistre it has known by repute, for a considerable space of time. The great feature of Count de Maistre we take to have been an execration of foolishness, carried to such a height, that whatever is in any way commonplace drives him beyond bounds, and he takes up a treble-thonged whip to scourge it. Now he figured on the world's stage at a moment when exaggeration of the most mischievous sort found its supporters in a host of mediocrities, and when servile souls paid their court to the potentates of the earth equally by atheism and by despot-worship. De Maistre would always argue seriously with a "free-thinker" whose studies had been deep and conscientious upon matters of religion, but who had unhappily not been recompensed by faith; but he felt only the most withering contempt for the numerous tribe of men who disbelieved lightly, and whose incredulity was little save a form of affectation. With this class of infidels he became a fanatic, and would, in his anger, have welcomed all the violence of the Inquisition, while with the Christians of another tradition than his own, who were serious and sincere, he was the most tolerant of men. On the other hand, the monstrous silliness displayed by the champions of tyranny, whether monarchical or clerical, aroused in the same degree all his wrath, and the bitter sarcasms he vents upon these mediocrities of a contrary species are the very cause of the vexation felt at the present hour in certain absolutist centres in connection with the publication of his *Correspondance Diplomatique*. If you seek for the unity of Joseph de Maistre between two such apparently antagonistic productions as are, for instance, *Le Pape* and this last volume of documents, you can find it only in what an English politician once termed the *foolophobia* wherewith he is possessed. M. de Maistre's horror of a fool is something not to be described; he prefers an intelligent enemy to an adherent who is his inferior in intellect, and he turns round savagely upon what are in fact his own opinions, if he finds them supported by a fool. For instance, nothing is easier than to imagine the amount of silliness and servility combined which made Bonaparte's *traineurs de sabre* applaud the unworthy imprisonment of the Pope, producing a reaction of indignation in the mind of M. de Maistre, and prompting him to write the excessive apology for Ultramontanism entitled *Le Pape*. On the other hand, when he finds himself in presence of the foolishness and exaggeration of the opposite party, he loses sight of every other consideration in his desire to chastise the absurdities and weaknesses of the court of Rome, and those who surrounded it. We find under the date of February, 1804, the following letter: —

> "It seems that there is no small dissatisfaction at Paris. The Pope gives chaplets without end, and everything in France being a matter of fashion only as far as chaplets go, these are plenty, but that is all. Everybody has a chaplet, and women of the last and lowest description as to morals have them like the rest. The laugh seems, however, universally to go against the *good man*, who, to his glory be it said, is that, but that only. But it is a great and serious and public calamity to have a mere good man in a place and at an epoch when a *great man* is required."

If these words had been written in 1834 or 1854, instead of a quarter of a century earlier, they could not have expressed more thoroughly than they do the feeling of all intelligent Catholics of the present day towards Rome; and while still retaining his belief in Christianity, Lamennais would not have said more strongly what he regretted and what he hoped. M. de Maistre's anger is, to use M. de Montalembert's words, the "anger of love"; but it is anger, and that is too much for the ultras of our times, whose intellectual inferiority is everywhere on a par with their violent intolerance.

The astonishment that has been created by this altered aspect of M. de Maistre, is not comparable to that which the public has felt in the perusal of Michelet's new volume, entitled *L'Amour*. Every instinct of propriety has been offended, and, let us hasten to say, we do not mean in the ordinary acceptation of the word only, but in the artistic sense also. Here is a writer, whose trade has been history, seeking suddenly his inspiration where novelists mostly seek theirs; here is a man of between sixty and seventy, choosing for his theme that of which youths and maidens of eighteen or twenty usually conceive themselves to be the authorized professors. There could be no one possible *convenance*, to use the French term, observed in a dissertation upon *Love*, the author of which should be the "erudite artist" (as he styles himself), Michelet, — nor is any *convenance* observed. "'T is a mad" book, "my masters," is the only phrase thoroughly applicable to this extraordinary rhapsody. If, however, it were nothing but an extraordinary rhapsody, it would be a waste of time to speak of it. It is more than that, inasmuch as it contains, here and there, some of those curious and inspired pages, which perhaps no one but Michelet is capable of writing. In this respect he has judged his own faculties remarkably well, when he calls himself an "erudite artist." Michelet, as we have more than once taken occasion to say, is not merely an historical writer, — not, indeed, an historian of the same species as any other; for the quality that predominates in him is the quality that is least required by the mere historian, — imagination. Yet this faculty is not in him so absolute that it can suffice for the purposes of production, as it does, for instance, with Sir Walter Scott. No! Michelet's imagination requires to be provoked by some fact. He does not invent dramatic situations or characters; but when he meets them in history, he takes fire at once, and poetizes them. He is one of the most singular exemplifications of the possibility of "imagining what is known." When any passage of history has become so thoroughly fixed in his memory that it is, as it were, part of himself, he then employs a process of re-creation, and the forms that in reality are evoked by his knowledge have entirely the air of being evoked by his imagination. In a purely psychological point of view, Michelet is one of the most interesting organizations which it is possible to study. He is absolutely, and in every sense of the word, an "artist"; but an artist who does not provide the stuff on which he operates, but must have the raw material furnished ready to his hand. He is erudite beyond belief, and if he had not his artistic qualities, he might have been a Benedictine, — just as, if he had not his erudition, he might, perhaps, have been a Victor Hugo, or a Beethoven, had the ray of his thought happened to pass through the prism of music.

Into the reasons which have, all at once, determined Michelet to "imagine" the hackneyed subject of Love, we need not enter. *L'Amour* is, of course, a book which every man and woman in France (and indeed throughout the European continent) will read, and which will most likely go through an unlimited number of editions. Yet we are much mistaken if any Continental reader is otherwise than strangely disappointed with the volume, and, above all, if those for whom it is ostensibly written do not throw it aside in indignant disdain. The book purports to be written in order to vindicate the rights of Continental wives to be better treated by their husbands; yet so strangely is this undertaking carried out, that the woman would (according to Anglo-Saxon notions of female dignity) cover herself with shame, who should accept the kind of "protectorate" M. Michelet demands for her.

The book is so exclusively, so extravagantly French, that it is next to impossible to describe it for the readers of any other country; still, although mistaken in the manner in which he has executed his work, M. Michelet had an honest intention in writing it, and this we cannot avoid taking into account. We will give the words in which the author himself announces what he intends his book shall be. Addressing himself to the young men of all classes in Paris, he says: —

> "Think well over all this, my dear friend, whatever you are, whether a student in the schools, or an artisan, — your position is of no consequence. Begin already, in your days and hours of recreation, to reflect, to prepare, to settle what is to be the future portion of your life. Profit by these hours, and if this book reaches you by chance, read over some of its pages, and think of them. The book (amongst other defects) is a short one. Others will take up the subject and enlarge upon it, and say, better than I have done, what is to be said. When he who writes this volume shall be under the earth, and enjoying rest from all his labors, a cleverer man than he is will take the idea of his imperfect sketch, and write, perhaps, a great and immortal work. But as, after all, the element whereof it would be formed is the same in you and in me, and is simply the human heart and its affections, you may yourself, all alone, and upon my unconnected notes, compose beforehand the chronicle of your life. Think it all over on Sundays, when the Bacchanalian round of your giddy comrades pouring down the staircase halts a moment at your door, and says: 'What are you doing? — we wait for you, — we are off to the *Chaumière*, with Amanda and Jeanneton!' Answer them, 'I will come later, — I have still something to do.'
>
> "If you reply to them these words, I will answer for the performance of a miracle; I will answer for it, that between the two pale flowers that are planted before your window, struggling against the Parisian atmosphere, a third will spring to life, — a flower, and yet a woman, — the dim, sweet semblance of a future affianced bride!"

Now this justice we must render to M. Michelet. What he has done voluntarily and *de parti pris*, in this strange production, is full of morality; what is immoral, indecent, in every sense revolting and absolutely insane, is involuntary. His aim is to introduce into the conjugal practices of France somewhat of those habits and feelings that make marriage so blessed a tie in Anglo-Saxon countries. He is shocked at what he sees around him, and he feels that between husband and wife there ought to exist some bond more tender, more worthy, than that of mere pecuniary interest. He acknowledges to himself, that two beings who are to go through life, perhaps to encounter misfortune together, should be "matched" in other respects than in their "dot" alone. But the way in which he sets to work to remedy the evil is wrong, and increases a thousand-fold the debasement of the wife. His very system is founded on the inferiority, we might almost say, the degradation, of woman; for he represents her as so weak in health and organization, that all notion of her serving as a *helpmate* becomes impossible; and he apparently holds her virtue and good conduct as things so fragile, that he fancies, unless by lynx-like vigilance, no husband can ever make sure of his domestic honor and happiness. The worst of all this is, that a tolerably large portion of the feminine population of France will agree with M. Michelet, and actually be disposed to think that he treats women as they should be treated, and that his book is written in their favor. The thousand minute and — as they would seem to a woman of Anglo-Saxon race — humiliating attentions that M. Michelet's "model husband" pays to his wife, force upon you the conviction that the latter is physically and morally infirm; and up to a certain point, so are a large proportion of Parisian women, — the sickly hot-house products of the falsest civilization upon the face of the whole earth. In order to see how much truth there is in this, and how unhealthy a race of women M. Michelet has habitually had under the range of his observation, it would suffice to read the chapters of his work that are consecrated to the health of his heroine, the pages which he entitles *L'Hygiène*. It is enough to make one take a dislike to all Frenchwomen for evermore, for you cannot avoid seeing what miserable, *unfortified* creatures — bodily and mentally — they are. Study well what M. Michelet reckons the perfection of *régime* for a young woman, and you will see what the result must be. This chapter is interesting; for it explains a good deal of what French women are, and *why* they are so. Nothing is done to *strengthen* them. There is no good fat meat, no beef and mutton, no cold water, no out-of-door exercise, no fine racing gallops upon a generous horse and over broad, breezy downs, no muscular development aiding the development of that grand source of the superiority of English and American women, self-reliance, no true courage, no true sense of honor, no honesty, none of the higher qualities whereby his *wife* is a man's best friend, his companion, and his equal. M. Michelet's heroine, his "model wife," is incapable of assuming responsibility, — she is, we repeat it, *infirm;* yet let it not be forgotten, she is the type of at least half the Frenchwomen whom Frenchmen would call "charming."

We confess that, on turning the last page of M. Michelet's most unsatisfactory volume, we felt refreshed to find lying under it, upon our table, two recent tales by Madame Reybaud. This lady has, perhaps, been longer than she ought in achieving her now very great literary reputation, for the very reason that she has never in any one of her numerous works shocked a good feeling or broken a rule of decency. She is one of the very few writers in France all of whose books may be put into the hands of women of all ages and positions in life. We do not mean the least in the world to detract from Madame Sand's immense merit as a writer; but we do most unequivocally and most categorically assert, that, if Madame Sand had not, in the very first fictions she presented to the public, flown in the face of every social law, outraged every sentiment of morality, and set at naught every religious enactment, they would not have so instantly seized the public applause. *Indiana*, *Valentine*, *Jacques*, and two or three more of the same school, were taken up by the champions of disorder and impiety in France long before any one ever dreamed of their being remarkable productions as to mere style and diction. It was long after she was the idol of the whole school of sceptics in belief, and of scoffers at morality, that Madame Sand was discovered to write more purely, more simply, and better than nine tenths of her contemporaries. Had she written in the outset works such as not only a woman, but an honest man, could have avowed, she would probably have seen at least ten or a dozen years elapse before she would have acquired her present fame, or her present capability of turning prose into gold.

Madame Charles Reybaud's has been a very different career, and while the brilliant creations of Madame Sand have fallen back into the shade which, sooner or later, always enwraps those literary creations that too closely represent a particular period or a transient state of the public mind, Madame Reybaud's novels are likely to become, perhaps, those of all others in France that will most resemble what the English term their "standard" books. In the department of fiction, these do not exist in France; but if any Parisian publisher were to establish a Standard Library like those that have been set on foot by some of the principal publishers in London, he would hardly find any novels to put into his collection except those of Madame Reybaud. So perfectly fitting to his purpose he would certainly find none. One Paris publisher has tried up to a certain point the system of a Standard Library. But M. Hachette's collection is not quite of the same kind as those of the other side of the Channel, inasmuch as his is, strictly speaking, a Railway Library, and consequently demands books of a cheaper description and of a more mixed character. Madame Reybaud has solved one of the all but insoluble problems of French literature; she has had the art to make what is moral and proper amusing.

Besides the exceeding propriety and womanliness of whatever she writes, besides that charming evidence in every line of the authorship of a lady, of a real gentlewoman, Madame Reybaud has in her Southern nature a source of animation that is inexhaustible. She forces her reader to see with his own eyes all she describes, and you make acquaintance with every personage of her novels, as you would with living individuals, because you instinctively feel that the writer lives in their real and active intimacy. Madame Reybaud is in this respect one of the most entirely objective narrators in any literature of fiction. She never interferes with her creations, or puts herself in their place. She really creates, and the creatures of her fancy live and act for themselves. She is at the farthest remove possible from a *Realist*, yet nothing can can be truer or more real than all her productions.

Both *Faustine* and *La Dernière Bohémienne* are extremely simple in their plots. The former is the history of a girl of noble birth, who is brought up in a small country town, and who is forced by circumstances to marry a wholesale tradesman in Paris. The circumstances that force her to this are, in French civilization, original, and beautifully told.

Faustine de Gondreville is the daughter of a colonel of the Empire, who, in dying, left his only child to the care of his sister. The two ladies inhabit a large, handsome dwelling, called by their neighbors "*la maison du Colonel*," in a provincial town. They are presumed to be very rich, and Mademoiselle Victoire, the maiden aunt, has the reputation of being the veriest miser in petticoats that ever existed. The notion of Faustine's fortune, however, so thoroughly possesses the imaginations of all the small *bourgeois* of the little town, that a certain Madame de Giropey, whose son is a captain in an African regiment, decides upon a marriage between the latter and the orphan, with whose parents she had been intimate. Calculating, nevertheless, that, Faustine being richer than her son, she had better get love upon her side, the wise dowager De Giropey is for ever sending Gaston to execute some commission at *la maison du Colonel*, and the consequence is, that, in a marvellously short time, the two young people are in a state of mutual adoration. Upon this, Madame de Giropey sets out on her official expedition, formally asks the hand of her niece from Mademoiselle Victoire, and is refused. The truth comes out at last. Faustine has not one farthing. The pretended avarice was merely a *ruse de guerre*, and Mademoiselle Victoire is a kind of Caleb Balderston of a higher class. The Colonel's daughter is so utterly destitute, that she contributes to the maintenance of her aunt and herself, by selling embroidery anonymously to a great establishment at Marseilles. What is to be done? In the name of all the *convenances*, and all the prudent practices of the female heads of families in France, what shall this imprudent mother do now? She has brought all the mischief about by miscalculation, and what remedy is there for the evil? The worst of the matter is, that not only are both lovers inconsolable, but the mother-in-law elect, Madame de Giropey, is as unhappy as they are; for she had made up her mind to have Faustine for her daughter-in-law, and was sincerely attached to the girl. The scenes in which this little domestic drama is enacted are admirably told, and for the following few lines, we give Madame Reybaud especial credit; for, as stand the conventionalities of French society, few writers would have ventured to publish them. It is settled that Faustine shall marry a vulgar man of low station, who is madly in love with her.

> "The commonplace ugliness of M. Alexandre [the intended bridegroom] and the beauty of Mademoiselle de Gondreville, formed a terrible contrast. A thick, short-set man, with heavy features, greasy hair, and chubby, purple hands, on one side; and on the other, that handsome Faustine, who, with her majestic figure, her long bands of thick, fair hair, and her plain dress of brown woollen stuff, seemed some queen of ancient Gaul. For the first time in her life, Madame de Giropey was on the point of acting without reflection, and from a spontaneous and passionate impulse. She was carried out of herself, and at the bottom of her heart she asked herself whether she ought not to send for her son home, to marry these lovers, and trust in Providence to furnish them all the means of living. But it was nothing more than a sort of flash of lightning through her brain; and recalling her inexorable reason, she cast a glance at the portrait of her deceased friend, Madame de Gondreville, as though to bid her a mute farewell, and, taking hold of Faustine's hand, alluded to her approaching marriage with M. Alexandre."

This abominable union takes place. Mademoiselle de Gondreville becomes Madame Alexandre, and actually sits poring over account-books in a den of a back shop somewhere near the Rue des Lombards. Her husband's jealousy is perfectly ferocious, and the fair Faustine fades away, no one knows why, save herself and Madame de Giropey. The revolution of February, 1848, breaks out, however; the *épicier* proves to be a furious anti-Republican, posts himself in front of the barricades, is shot by an insurgent, and is brought home almost dead. With the life that is left him he begs his wife's pardon for all his harsh treatment of her, and leaves her the whole of his large fortune. A few years later we are allowed to guess that she marries the object of her first unforgotten love, and all ends for the best. The great charm of *Faustine* lies in the descriptions of intimate domestic details with which it abounds, especially in the entire picture of every-day existence in the wretched little town where Mademoiselle de Gondreville dwells with her aunt, — a place like many French provincial towns, *sans* poetry, *sans* life, *sans* cleanliness, *sans* everything.

La Dernière Bohémienne may perhaps be called more romantic by professed novel-readers, but it is not in reality of greater interest than *Faustine*. It is the often-told tale of a creature of uncivilized race who cannot be won over to civilization. Mimi, the *Bohémienne*, has this one great merit, that she is a *bona fide* Gypsy, and not copied from any of the pre-existent Gypsy heroines, such as Mignon, the Esmeralda, or Fenella. To only one affection does her strange heart seem to open; she loves Gaston de Renoyal, and would consent to settle down into the position of a wife and mother like other people (with a duchess's coronet into the bargain); but the young Duke is attached to his cousin, Irene de Kerbréjean, and when he marries her, Mimi disappears mysteriously, and with the last daughter of the Gypsy race conventional life has no more to do. *La Dernière Bohémienne* has, besides the interest of the events it narrates, a great source of attraction in its charming pictures of scenery and of country life in Brittany.

One of the reasons which produce the originality of Madame Reybaud's works, and render them admissible always among women of the most rigid morality, is the fact, so unusual in French literature, of her attributing to unmarried girls a certain degree of *substantiality*, — if the word may be allowed, — which altogether fails them in every other author of the last century and a half in France. Madame Reybaud's example, though so successful in her case, and leading her to such durable and honorable renown, has found few imitators. One of those who now and then trod in Madame Reybaud's steps is M. Octave Feuillet, and at this moment he probably owes one of his greatest successes to the introduction into the drama of *Le Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre* of the unusual element we have referred to. *Le Roman d'un Jeune Homme Pauvre* was first a tale in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which was thought well of, as being of a more moral and respectable nature than is common with French novels. Transported from the library to the stage, it has found the basis of its success entirely in the circumstance we point out. It is to the fact of French citizens being able to take their daughters, sisters, and nieces to the Vaudeville to see this new piece, that its popularity is due. There is in it a very moderate degree of talent of any kind; it has no originality whatever, and the language is of absolutely third or fourth rate quality, as to style; yet *Le Jeune Homme Pauvre* is an immense success, — a success, it must be avowed, confined exclusively to the secondary class of society, and ignored by those who lay claim to the slightest taste or discernment in literature, but which deserves emphatic notice because it characterizes certain tendencies and aptitudes of the *Bourgeoisie* in France.

From the moment M. Octave Feuillet appeared, the *Bourgeoisie* adopted him. His last two productions, *Dalila* and the *Jeune Homme Pauvre*, are as to their subjects as dissimilar as any two works by the same writer can well be; but the treatment of the subjects shows the identity of authorship, for they are treated by the same methods, and with the same want of truth and strength.

Dalila is the old story of an artist who is seduced and morally "made away with" by a great lady fifteen years or so older than himself, who by his desertion caused the death of a young girl to whom he is affianced. André Roswein, the presupposed "genius," is a young composer, whose first opera places him on the pinnacle of fame, and who is then and there immediately devoured by a certain Princess Leonora Falconière, the original type of which personage is now, in real flesh and blood presence, roaming through the world, from east to west, and from north to south. To begin at the beginning, the first fault of *Dalila* is its title. Dalila exists only when you presuppose Samson. One of the wittiest of Parisian critics, on the first representation of the piece, after asking where the hero is to be found, added, "I only see the jawbone of the ass, but not the hand that holds it, — *où est Samson?*" It is really too vulgar a mistake to be for ever prating about these "geniuses" who are destroyed by an unworthy love. If M. Feuillet were upon another level, intellectually speaking, he would know that they never existed. The so-called "artist" who is thus absorbed is no artist at all; he is a mere amateur, and we may be extremely sorry for the unhappy young man; but in losing him, the public loses nothing. There is, as far as *genius* goes, nothing in him to regret.

Dalila is altogether a mistake. It is the attempt at vice of a quiet, decorous, commonplace writer, who is desirous to see how he shall succeed in a line which is so profitable to many of his colleagues. It makes one think of some timid, consumptive, demure young gentleman, who, from being " mamma's darling " all his life, is suddenly fired with the wish to eclipse all the dandies of the fashionable world, and who plunges recklessly into pleasures and sins which as seen in him never fascinate, and against which his whole nature and aspect perpetually protest. However, the very foolishness of *Dalila* was the cause of its success. Grave fathers of families indulged for an hour or two in a peep at the abominable " great world," as they are pleased to denominate it, where Leonora Falconière is the presiding fairy, and felt at ease with an author who in the end concluded as they themselves would have done, and sent them away happy in the persuasion that beings so thoroughly of their own calibre in every respect as the hero might be ranked as " geniuses," and wept over as fallen stars.

Le Jeune Homme Pauvre aims, on the contrary, at being moral in the extreme, and is not in reality a whit more so than *Dalila*, because there is in it no more truth than in the latter. All the personages are little and false in the extreme, and, with vast pretence at sentimentality and romance, there is not among them all a heart that really beats, and not a drop of living blood in all their veins. The Marquis de Champcey is a ruined nobleman, — a sort of would-be Sir Charles Grandison, morally speaking, — but about as far from his model as a copy of the Transfiguration by a boarding-school young lady would be from Raphael's own immortal picture. M. de Champcey turns bailiff, or *intendant*, to a family of rich French Creoles, who are all of the feminine gender, the only man among them being a bed-ridden, paralytic grandfather, whose death forms a great feature in the drama. M. Laroque had, in his early days, exercised the respectable profession of a corsair, and in that capacity had been guilty of depriving the father of Maxime de Champcey of the greater portion of all he possessed. Hence the difficulties of the Champcey family. All this is found out on the death of old Laroque, whose will is placed by the ladies of the house in Maxime's hands. The said Maxime, on reading the papers before him, finds himself the legal possessor of the fortune of the Laroques, and burns the paper in which the repentant corsair has set this formula forth. He does this because he is in love with Marguerite Laroque, and will not disturb her peace of mind by proving to her that her father was a thief; but Maxime chooses to forget, in thus doing, that he is throwing away, as he has no right to do, the future subsistence of his young sister, for whose sake alone he has resigned himself to the acceptance of a subordinate, if not actually a menial position. Of course the whole ends by the union of Maxime and Marguerite; and a more mawkish and absurd courtship than that of these two most unreal individuals, it is barely possible to imagine. They attain to the singular combination of being wishy-washy and exaggerated at once. They whine and rant at the same time. *Le Jeune Homme Pauvre*, however, presents just that quantity of romanticism which the French *Bourgeoisie* is capable of absorbing, and it flocks even from the provinces to come and "assist" at a representation of M. Feuillet's piece.

Let us now turn from the discussion of such small, pale, imperfect *ephemera*, to what a much dreaded English critic used to term "a *real* book,"—one of those works that do honor to their writers and their age. In a former number we called attention to a small volume by M. Eugène Fromentin, entitled *Un Été dans le Sahara;* and while stating the deep impression it had made in France, we pointed out some of its numerous and striking beauties. Pictures like his regenerate the somewhat *blasé* world of letters in France, and make it young again by the virtue of admiration. *Une Année dans le Sahel* was written on this wise. One evening, as dusk is falling, our traveller meets a tribe of wandering Saharans, and the longing for the desert comes over him. Its unfathomable mystery tempts him, and he is irresistibly compelled to go forth. This it is which fascinates and compels the reader too. He is dragged beyond the bounds of all conventionalities, out of the narrow, noisy, meaningless life of every day, by a real genuine poet, in whom the poetic energy is such that it is impossible to resist him. Follow him you must. What he sees, you see, what he hears, you hear, and you live his life wherever he wanders, — in the tent, in the waste, in the *Douar*, in all the scenes of Arab existence, which are as evident to you as if you had perceived them by the aid of your own senses.

This inspiration by the desert is so strong in M. Fromentin, that between the portion of his new book which precedes his excursion to the Sahara, and that which follows it, there is an almost immeasurable distance. There are beautiful passages in the first half, but they might have been written by any other equally talented writer and equally observant traveller, — whereas the latter half, after the return from the desert, is so thoroughly original, so unlike anything we have read, that we should not know where to find its parallel. It makes you think of Rubens, — it reminds you of Byron; but, better than all, it copies no one. Every page seems to bear the impress of the desert aspects. There is the sharp, pure outline, the fierceness of color that is yet harmonious, the breadth, the intensity, the saturation by sight, if it may be thus expressed, the silence, the grandeur, — but, above all, there is the poetry, inseparable from the whole, yet attainable only by those whose own latent poetry of soul draws out magnetically the same element from whatsoever surrounds them.

The latter portion of *Une Année dans le Sahel* opens with the account of a negro *fête* upon the sea-shore, near Algiers; and assuredly no painter ever threw more splendid colors upon his canvas than M. Fromentin has thrown upon these pages. They are gorgeous and dazzle till they make the eye ache.

> "Every tint," says our author, "that Oriental dyes can assume, was there, in its most blinding glare, and the polychromic visions of the negro imagination were realized in their extremest gaudiness. Silks, woollen stuffs, striped linens, on which gold and silver embroidery was thrown by handfuls; long hanging sleeves sparkling with spangles, tight bodices flaming with thin shreds of metal and jewelled clasps, waving veils of every hue, clothing the female form as with a rainbow; trinkets, gold ornaments, pearls, beads, coral chains, necklaces of Guinea shells, anklets sounding musical at every step, — these were a few of

the sights that arrested the eye. Fancy, in addition to this, three or four ear-rings in each ear, small mirrors fixed in turbans, on sable arms bracelets that reached from wrist to elbow, on every finger a ring, flowers in profusion everywhere, and in every hand a white kerchief used as a fan, and giving one the notion of a legion of vast white-winged birds flying away."

Over all this glittering attire, it must be observed that a scarlet mantle is thrown, and that of the sable wearers of such mantles there are somewhere about one thousand present at the *fête*.

"These women were all wrapped, more or less, in their drapery of flame; and the drapery was of a red that no shade mitigated or modified, — a red, pure from all mixture, unsoftened, inexpressible to a painter, — inflamed, too, by the sun, and made still more violent by the contact of the other irritating colors. All the furious tints I speak of were spread out over a foreground of grass of a perfectly glaring emerald green, and against a background of the intensest, harshest blue, for the wind was high and the sea was ruffled."

The incidents, properly so called, of M. Fromentin's work, are insignificant; but every modification in the exterior aspect of the surrounding scenes, is reproduced with such vividness and such passion, that an Arab smoking his pipe at the entrance of a tent, or a camel standing in motionless stupor upon the sands, becomes an incident never to be forgotten. There is a shooting expedition to the Haloula Lake, which engraves itself on the reader's memory with the force of the most stirring romance, and the most adventurous hero or heroine of a novel scarcely leaves a deeper impression than is produced by a certain swan found dead at the bottom of one of the sportsman's boats. "At the farther end lay three large birds, — two ibises, of a dusky color, and one magnificent swan: — 'He has killed the Lake-King!' I exclaimed, as I saw before me the glorious bird, lying prone, hit right in the heart, where the purple of a wide-bleeding wound increased, as it were, the royalty of his beauty."

One incident there is, and a most dramatic one, which engages our attention from the beginning to the end of *Une Année dans le Sahel.* It is the episode of a Hadjoute woman, named Hâona, of whom we lose sight for several chapters, and who, when we least expect it, reappears to charm or to appall. This mysterious creature seems at first to belong only to the realm of sound, and the first announcement of her presence is made through the agency of a silvery laugh, that shakes drops of melody like fragrance through the air. When she appears, it is as a *masque*, whose perfect grace cannot be all hidden by the thick folds of white muslin. She stops at a stall to barter trinkets with a Moor, and her exquisite voice again lets its incomparable tones be heard, softened now by the snowy draperies that intervene between her lips and the air. Our traveller ends by making her acquaintance, but before he does so, Abdallah, the Moorish trinket-vender, has time to warn him against "the Kabyle woman." Poor Hâona's beauty is as touching as her voice. Who or what she is, is never very clearly told. She has been twice married, and it is rumored the last husband is still living, but he gives no sign of life. Hâona has strange manners for an Oriental; she unceremoniously admits to her home, even to her table, our Western wanderer and one of his friends, and she talks with them of certain particularities of Eastern education with a freedom that is not common in a daughter of Islam. But when fatigued with this effort of intellectuality, her pretty head droops upon its silken cushion, and with eyes half shut, and lips half open, she lapses into slumber like a child. Her foreign visitors glide noiselessly away, and their last glance at their fair hostess shows her lost in sleep, her long circling chains of fresh orange-blossoms escaping from her relaxing fingers.

Our travellers are bidden, by an Arab Kaïd, to a sort of fair, held after a grand cattle sale at Blidah. An exquisite *fantasia* follows some very remarkable horse-racing. Among others, a certain chief, called Amar-ben-Arif, a dark, sinister-looking warrior, surpasses all competitors, and is mounted on a steed which throws all others into the shade. The warlike games proceed, and still "the man of the sword," as his countrymen style him, bears off the supremacy everywhere. He mounts a fresh horse, and leaves his first courser free. After a few moments of equestrian preluding, he rides close up to the barriers, behind which are standing the lookers-on. Here he executes some of those extraordinary feats which are possible only to Arab horses and Arab riders. All at once, his steed leaps up high into the air, and comes down on the other side of the railing, in the middle of the crowd. A wild sharp cry rends the air, — a white form is seen writhing on the ground. "Seize the murderer!" is the loud order of the Kaïd, echoed by thousands of voices; but the murderer is already far away, — he has bounded through the ranks of the spectators, and, riding fleet as the wind towards the hills, you see the ever-diminishing outline of the Kabyle couched upon the neck of one steed, avoiding thus the bullets shot from a hundred guns, while his second horse keeps on at his side, nor ever flags in his desperate course. The white form is taken up. Blood flows in a torrent from the head that has been crushed by a blow from a steel-shod hoof, and all life is extinct! Poor Hâona! She, too, had come to the *fantasia*, and Amar-ben-Arif was the "second spouse" of whom report spoke mysteriously.

The last glance we take of the ill-fated Hadjoute, with her soft, luscious voice, reveals to us her dead body, laid out upon a couch. The fractured brow concealed, the face has all its old loveliness, — "the head slightly on one side, the arms stiffened, the eyelids quite shut in a sleep that was never more to end, she was like to what we had often seen her before, when she dropped off to sleep on her own silken couch; and she was now, as then, covered with her white orange-blossoms, but this time the flowers outlived her, not she them."

ART. VII. — *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons, Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, with Notices of some of his Contemporaries.* By his Son, THEOPHILUS PARSONS. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 476.

WE look with great complacency on the genealogical researches which have been pursued with so much zeal by American antiquaries of the present day. We have, indeed, no sympathy with the foolish ambition which seeks to connect the names of our ancestors with gentle blood in the times when the sword carved out estates and won titles for the semi-barbarous heroes that "came in with the Conqueror." The remoter radicles of our ancestral trees are by no means essential to their support. We would be content to cut off the roots that spread beyond our own soil. But in numerous Cis-atlantic lines of descent, we trace the transmission, for two centuries and more, of the most hardy and venerable traits of character, and find fresh confirmation of our firm belief, that God's patents of nobility are hereditary. Many are the New England names that have, in every generation, been borne with distinguished honor, and have become identified with all, in our civil and ecclesiastical history, on which we can look back with honest pride. We are glad to learn that Chief Justice Parsons numbered John Robinson among his maternal ancestors, while on his father's side there awaited him a goodly heritage of substantial worth and ability. Jeffrey Parsons settled at Gloucester in 1654, and became there a successful merchant and a prominent citizen. His grandson, Rev. Moses Parsons, was among the most learned, devout, and influential clergy of his day. His wife was even his superior, and while richly endowed with the practical tact and wisdom characteristic of the New England matrons of her time, she equally possessed the gift, so rare among them, of high intellectual taste and culture.

It was of these parents that Theophilus Parsons was born, in 1750. His native parish is now known chiefly as the seat of Dummer Academy, which was then under the superintendence of Samuel Moody, a man second to no classical teacher of his century in America, and unsurpassed in the ability to inspire the love, sustain the purpose, and strengthen the capacity of study. Among the felicitous circumstances of young Parsons's boyhood, we cannot attach too high a value to his being placed under the charge of a teacher so worthily eminent. His life-motto was one derived from his instructor, — "Crede quod possis, et potes." We cannot sufficiently admire the self-denying thrift which enabled the Rowley pastor, with his scanty stipend and the numerous claims then made on clerical hospitality, to educate three of his children at Harvard University. Theophilus was graduated, with high reputation for industry and scholarship, in 1769. Shortly after leaving college, he was employed as a teacher in Falmouth, now Portland. At the same time, he was pursuing the study of the law, and was admitted to practice in 1774. He entered at once on an unusually lucrative business; but his prospects were soon overcast by the destruction of Falmouth, in October, 1775.

This grievous calamity, as he then deemed it, proved the most fortunate event for the future fame of the young lawyer. In the unsettled condition of public affairs, and the uncertain event of the struggle of the Colonies for freedom, he postponed the choice of a new professional location, and returned to his father's house. There he found Judge Trowbridge, who some years previously had resigned his seat on the bench, and had now sought out this quiet retreat, ostensibly to escape the small-pox, and no doubt equally with the view of withdrawing from the political agitations of the period, in which his strong Tory leanings prevented him from taking an active or decided part. His law library was the only good one then in New England, and he engaged with kind assiduity in the instruction of Parsons. His pupil applied himself to study with a diligence which, at one period, proved nearly fatal. He at the same time commenced practice in the courts of Essex County, and in 1780 we find him established in Newburyport, with a large and increasing business. In 1800, he removed to Boston; in 1806, he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and held the office till his death, in 1813.

Previously to his appointment on the bench, Mr. Parsons had taken a prominent part in the politics of the State and country. Conservative by nature and principle, he was of necessity a Federalist, and, while a resident of Essex County, he was intimately associated with the ardent partisans and genuine patriots who made that county the head-quarters of New England Federalism. Whatever may be our retrospective opinion of the questions which divided honest men in the infancy of our body politic, we can afford to be just to a long extinct party; and he must have read our history to little purpose, who does not recognize in the Federalists of our first half-century a large proportion of the truly great minds, loyal hearts, and efficient activities of their age, and who does not trace in their influence the needed counterpoise to ultra-democratic tendencies, which, unchecked, would have precipitated the country into anarchy, and thence, no doubt, into despotism. They gave the ship of state such steerage as they could, under its full press of canvas, and the rudder was in their hands till the perilous capes, quicksands, and eddies of the opening voyage had been safely passed. In 1778, a convention of delegates from several towns in Essex County was held, to take into consideration a form of government which had been proposed by a State Convention. The result of the deliberations of this body was drawn up by Mr. Parsons. It demonstrated the feebleness and inadequacy of the proposed Constitution, which left the Executive almost powerless, and at the same time failed to define and guard the fundamental rights of the citizens. It entered at great length, with marked ability and keen discrimination, into the relative rights and duties of the people and their rulers, the distribution of the several functions of government, and the mutual limitations of freedom and authority. This document was extensively circulated, was no doubt largely influential in procuring the decisive rejection of the Constitution then before the people, and suggested the leading principles in the form of government proposed by the Convention of 1779, and adopted by the people. Of this Convention Mr. Parsons was a member, and was one of the committee of twenty-six appointed to draft a Constitution. At a subsequent period, the duty of presenting a final draft to be submitted to the people, was assigned to a committee of four, none of whom had served on the previous committee. Mr. Parsons was also an active member of the Convention called in Massachusetts for ratifying the Constitution of the United States. After this period, for various reasons, he was reluctant to enter upon political office, else he would undoubtedly have been urged into foremost places in the Legislatures of the State and nation. He declined the office of Attorney-General of the United States. In 1797, Mr. Adams offered him an honorable and lucrative place on the commission for deciding the claims of British creditors on American citizens, intimating to him that, on the expiration of his term of duty, he should be transferred to some other department of the public service. This overture was declined, chiefly from family considerations.

The foundation for Mr. Parsons's signal success as a lawyer was laid, as we have indicated, in his "almost intemperate study" under Judge Trowbridge, and with the rare advantage of his library. From the books thus placed at his command he made numerous abstracts, which at once strengthened his memory and his mental grasp, and furnished him with authorities during the period when legal works, in this country, were few and difficult of access. Under the auspices of his venerable friend, he became "master of the law of Prize and Admiralty," — a distinction in which only two of his coevals entered into competition with him. His mode of practice at the bar indicated the extent and availableness of his resources. It was impossible to surprise him by any plea or motion which he was not fully prepared to meet. It was not an unusual thing for him to encounter on the spot some wholly unprecedented and unanticipated emergency in practice, as promptly and as efficiently as if he were fresh from study on that very point. His arguments were brief, seldom exceeding an hour, oftener short of half an hour than beyond that measure, even in cases in which opposing counsel had given him the example of prolixity. He seized on the salient points of his case, and because they were distinct and unembarrassed in his own mind, he made them clear, without apparent effort, to the minds of his hearers. His speech was fluent, and "had much power of varied expression." While he indulged in no superfluous declamation, — indeed, for this very reason, — he was capable of the warmest and most moving appeals in a cause that worthily awakened his sympathy. In the artistical sense of the word, he was far from eloquent; while, judged by its effects, his was the highest form of forensic eloquence. His perfect ease and simplicity of manner carried with an intelligent jury an irresistible weight of conviction, against which they would have guarded themselves, had the same arguments been urged with more ambitious oratory. Chief Justice

Isaac Parker loved to relate the circumstances of his first interview with Parsons. The case was an important one, and Parsons was then young in his profession. When he rose to address the jury, " he put one foot in his chair, and, with his elbow on his knee, leaned over and began to talk about the case as a man might talk to his neighbor by his fireside." By a short address he got a verdict for his client. When the jury were dismissed, one of them said to Parker: " Who is this Mr. Parsons ? He is not much of a lawyer, and don't talk as if he would ever be one; *but he seems to be a real good sort of a man.*"

The high esteem in which his legal attainments were held, is evinced by the circumstances of his judicial appointment. The resignation of Chief Justice Dana left upon the bench of the Supreme Court Justices Sedgwick, Sewall, Thatcher, and Parker. Judge Sedgwick had been Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress, and had a high reputation as a jurist. Judge Sewall had been a member of Congress, and succeeded Parsons as Chief Justice. Judge Thatcher had been a member of Congress, and, in addition to his legal attainments, was eminent for his social qualities. Judge (afterward Chief Justice) Parker had been recently appointed. Over these distinguished men, and at the instance of Sewall and Parker, Governor Strong appointed Parsons. He accepted the office from a profound sense of public duty, and at great personal sacrifice; for he was not rich, had a large family, and was in the receipt of ten thousand dollars a year from his practice. His chief aims, in the exercise of his office, were rigid adherence to the forms, rules, and precedents of law, the shortening of trials, and the expeditious administration of justice, in contradistinction to the latitudinarianism of construction, the introduction of irrelevant matter in testimony and in argument, and the vexatious delays, which had grown upon the practice of the court under its previous organization. He generally required the advocate to state, at the outset, the points to be embraced in his argument, and, if they were wholly untenable or inadequate in his opinion, he permitted no argument, and suffered the case to go no further than was requisite to present to the court the question of law, if there was one. He cut short all the *ambages* which tended to involve or clog the case under trial, and was no less peremptory in his excision of the superfluous rhetoric of such men as Dexter and Otis, than of the drivelling of the feeblest members of their fraternity. He rigidly excluded whatever had not at once legal validity and direct relevancy to the case in hand. Probably there has sat upon no Bench in the United States so merciless a murderer of the forensic eloquence which is aimed against time, law, and common sense. Of course, he was vehemently complained of, at the outset, as arbitrary and overbearing; but his perfect impartiality helped to reconcile the bar to his method, and the vast public benefit that accrued from it cannot be over-estimated. At the time of his advent to office, the science of special pleading was in its infancy in New England, and at some of the courts the judges were still in gross ignorance with regard to it. Chief Justice Parsons introduced, in this respect, an important reform, refusing to allow a trial where the pleading was defective. In the administration of criminal justice he was strict in adherence to legal forms and rules of evidence, yet signally humane, always securing to the accused the benefit of reasonable doubts as to his guilt. His legal opinions were carefully considered, and succinctly and lucidly expressed; and it is believed that no judicial name has borne a higher posthumous authority than his in the New England courts.

Chief Justice Parsons was far from being a mere lawyer as to his taste and erudition. Indeed, had he been learned in his own profession only, we cannot believe that any conceivable amount of ability or study would have given him his enduring reputation and influence as a judge. Two entirely different routes may lead to what is called judicial eminence. The one is through the law alone, by a microscopic eye for the niceties of verbal construction, and a technical precision and skill in the interpretation of language and the identification of precedents. This description of tact is unanswerable and irresistible in its *dicta*, so far as individual cases are concerned; its decisions are backed by a certain legal necessity, and cannot be evaded or overridden; and its possessor is deemed a great man, because his word has such cogent power over the interests which it concerns. Such a man Lord Kenyon seems to have been, — a narrow-minded ignoramus as to what every decently educated school-boy knows, but a subtile analyst of words, an indefatigable mouser after precedents, made keen in his scent as a lawyer by the entire absence of those imaginative elements which might have led him sometimes upon a wrong trail. A mind of this description leaves no mark even in its own department; for it has enunciated no principles, has established no truths, has given birth to no legal maxims endowed with an inherent and essential validity. The other route is through large and liberal culture rendered available to specific uses by high aims and arduous industry in the one chosen profession. The jurist thus endowed discerns the relations of things, not of terms alone; conceives of law, not as word-jugglery, but as formulized right; and interprets it, not by the possibilities of exegesis, but by reason, analogy, and common sense. He cannot indeed abjure technicalities; but he can make them the moulds for general principles. He cannot disown precedents; but he can select from among them such as accord with truth and equity. He cannot force the law to suit the case; but he can bring the case within the range of such legal principles as apply to its actual merits, rather than to its accidental, though salient features. He can modify and enlarge the ever-varying and cumulative body of declarative law by lights derived from every department of knowledge. The opinions of such a jurist have a vitality cogent, diffusive, and lasting. His decisions have a basis of immutable right. He is in his own kind a creator, a poet. His function is legislative in fact, though judicial in form. In the phrase of the courts, he *makes law*. Chief Justice Parsons occupied his seat on the bench at a period when, under the novel circumstances of our infant commonwealth and republic, the inherited common law of the mother-country was in a transition state, and there was a great deal of law to be *made;* and his extended and varied learning combined with his thoroughness and accuracy as a lawyer to fit him for a leading part among the creative minds in his profession.

We are astonished at the largeness of his acquisitions. In a library of five or six thousand volumes, most of them specially imported, we are told that hardly one was procured except for some definite purpose or use. He was a superior Greek scholar, as well as a diligent reader of the best Latin authors. He was familiar with the most advanced chemical science of his day, and was associated with the late Rev. Dr. Prince in the experimental study of natural philosophy. He was deeply interested in botany, and discovered the *Magnolia glauca* in its anomalous Northern habitat on Cape Ann. He left numerous manuscripts on mathematical subjects, and we have in the Appendix to the volume before us an abstruse Essay by him on Parallel Lines, and a method, original with him, for extracting the Roots of Affected Equations. He read with equal avidity history and fiction, and was conversant with the older English poets. His services in the diffusion of knowledge were faithful and efficient. He was among the founders, and the first President, of the Boston Athenæum. He is believed to have contributed some of the earliest scientific papers to the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was for several years one of the Fellows of Harvard University, and, as such, was largely influential in securing the appointment and acceptance of Dr. Kirkland as President, and also in founding the Professorship of Natural History.

In ascribing to the subject of this paper so large a circuit of attainments in literature and science, we might seem to brand him with superficiality; but such an inference would be at the farthest remove from the fact. In science it must be remembered that in his day the amount of knowledge that could be acquired bore but a small proportion to that which has been accumulated within the last half-century. The then known details in the entire realm of science might be mastered by labor which would now hardly raise one above the rank of a mere tyro in a single branch. The arts and methods of investigation were comparatively simple, and within the scope of any well-cultivated mind. As regards literature, too, the omnivorous reader may be, yet need not be, superficial. There is a process, by which one may deal with books as the bee with the clover-blossom. The fitly trained eye may read a paragraph at a glance, and, in a tithe of the time which the perusal of a book word for word would demand, may take in whatever portions of its contents can enrich the intellect or worthily occupy the imagination. He who thus reads is far less superficial than he who does equal honor to the entire contents of a book. The former digests and assimilates all that can nourish or invigorate his mind; while the latter discharges from his overloaded memory alike what ought to be retained and what is best forgotten.

Chief Justice Parsons in his private character merited and won the profoundest respect of all, and the fervent love of those who shared his home, enjoyed his hospitality, or were favored by his intimacy. His moral standard was high and rigid. No shadow of reproach ever rested on his name. Neither elevated station nor the most arduous professional toil interfered with his discharge of the duties, or his exercise of the amenities and charities, of daily life. Eminently happy in his domestic relations, he was unexacting, tender, and genial in his family intercourse and discipline. His hospitality was large and generous. At his Saturday dinners were always gathered a goodly circle of friends, and such strangers as had claims upon his kindness; and while he was a fluent talker and loved to bear his full part in conversation, he always took care to draw out his diffident and retiring guests, and to make every one feel at ease and appear to the best advantage at his table. Though not inclined to melancholy, and disposed to take cheerful views of mankind and of life, he suffered much from that form of hypochondria which consists in excessive apprehension of sickness, and the imagining of the symptoms of disease. For this he had indeed the not inadequate physical cause, in an almost lifelong dyspepsia. But whatever his fears, they made him neither indolent nor selfish. In temperament he was nervous, and constitutionally irascible and passionate; but over this tendency he kept so firm a control that from an early period in his life no angry word was known to have escaped his lips. The hygienic department of duty was the only one in which he is not presented as excellent and exemplary. In this regard the hebetude of conscience almost universal in his time seems to have characterized him in full; and by his neglect of the essential conditions of health he was perpetually aiding in the realization of his worst fears. He must have had a wonderfully elastic and vigorous constitution of body, as of mind, to sustain for so many years such excessive labor of the brain, with not exercise enough to wear out a pair of shoes in a year, with free though temperate habits as to the indulgences of the table, and with the inordinate use of tobacco in all its forms. On the whole, his portrait seems a not unapt representation of his mental and moral features. A character so massive as to merge in its quantity all questions as to its proportions; a framework of mind and will so energetic that its strength alone was sufficient to give it beauty; an aggregation of the most noble qualities and endowments, which left equally little room for the minor graces, for meanness and for vice, — these are the impressions left upon us by the perusal of his Memoir, and they correspond with those which we derived in our early boyhood when his was a familiar name on the lips of our elders.

It is worthy of emphatic note that Chief Justice Parsons professed firm belief in Christianity, revered its institutions and ordinances, became a communicant in the latter part of his life, and assigned for his not having joined the church at an earlier period a reason which indicates anything rather than indifference to the established forms of religion. We say not this because we regard Christianity as honored by the belief and profession of any man, however distinguished, but because we cannot recognize the claims to our eminent regard and unqualified honor of any man in Christendom who is not a Christian. Least of all would we respect for its judicial aptitude and ability the mind which failed to perceive and own the validity of the Christian evidences, and the divine authority of Jesus. Judge Parsons was accustomed to say to his friends: "I examined the proofs and weighed the objections to Christianity many years ago, with the accuracy of a lawyer; and the result was so entire a conviction of its truth, that I have only to regret that my belief has not more completely influenced my conduct." We are glad to find the record of his example as to the strict observance of the Sabbath as a holy day. Whatever the emergency, he transacted no business during the Sabbath hours; his usual books and occupations were laid aside, and the day was set apart in the invariable order of his domestic arrangements to its sacred uses. We can have no doubt that this adherence to a law which is as legibly written on the constitution of man as on the pages of revelation, had an important agency in preserving his intellectual vigor and acumen unimpaired, while his physical powers were perceptibly enfeebled and declining.

He "died in the zenith of his reputation, in the full strength of his understanding." He held his last court at Worcester during the month preceding his decease. His fatal illness baffled the discernment, while it eluded the skill, of his physicians, and is now believed to have been "a rapid termination of a softening of the brain, which had begun a considerable time before." His closing days were passed, for the most part, in lethargy, with intervals of dreamy half-consciousness; but previously to his lapse into this state he had made his arrangements for departure, and conversed as a dying man with his family, friends, and pastor. From the brief shadow which fell upon the closing scene, he emerged with "the look of one who had prevailed in a great controversy" on his lifeless countenance.

Had our own leisure and the length of previous articles in this number permitted, we should have given a more ample space to our tribute to this great and good man. We cannot close without expressing our high appreciation of the Memoir from which we have compiled this notice. It combines with the tender reverence of a child, the nicest discrimination, and the most rigid impartiality. We have seldom read a biography which has given us so vivid a perception of the manners, habits, and character of its subject. There is no suppression of those lesser traits which the fastidious might deem blemishes, but which are to the judicious reader only proofs that the person portrayed is the real, living man, and not one of the impossible demigods to whom biography gives a name, but who never had a local habitation. Mr. Parsons has written in a rambling, discursive style, and has introduced a great deal which bears somewhat indirectly upon his main purpose; but we have abundant reason to thank him for this, inasmuch as he has preserved many features of the times, and many personal anecdotes and reminiscences, which must otherwise have passed away without record. There is an ease amounting almost to carelessness in the diction of the book, and in the arrangement of the material; but it is the graceful ease of a man of taste and letters, and constitutes not a defect, but, in our esteem, a crowning merit. The author abandons himself, without reserve, to the current of his own thought and feeling, and in so doing has given us two biographies under the title of one. While we tender to him our hearty thanks for reproducing to our familiar knowledge his father, who has till now been to us of a younger generation little more than an honored and revered "nominis umbra," we are hardly less grateful for the equally intimate acquaintance he permits us, through these pages, to form with the heir of the paternal name, worth, learning, and reputation.

ART. VIII. — *The English Language in its Elements and Forms.* By W. C. FOWLER, late Professor of Rhetoric in Amherst College. New York: Harper and Brothers.

No subject offers more numerous difficulties to the teacher inclined to go beyond the mere letter of the text-books, and to ask the reasons of things, than that of English Grammar. Nor is there any subject in the curriculum of our lower schools which so generally awakens disgust on the part of the pupil. To the teacher, the multitude of books, the discrepancy in both principles and their applications, and, above all, the inadequacy of the system to meet the facts of the language, render it an unsatisfactory department. To the pupil, the long paradigms conveying no clear ideas, and the mass of exceptions overloading the rules, make the whole study tedious.

But why should this state of things exist? Why should it be at once so irksome and so unsatisfactory to study the principles of the language in which our thoughts find utterance every moment, and in which more living ideas are embodied than in any other tongue? Not for want of books, nor because these books are not well arranged; for their name is "legion," and it is not easy to see how the order or the plan of some of these could be improved. To us, this constant effort to bring forth a grammar is indicative of the essential errors of the whole system as at present treated. There is a half-perceived conviction that something is wrong, but it seems not to be understood where the defect lies. Hence, as medical men in obscure cases of disease continue to follow the same routine of doses, as the patient comes into the hands of one after the other, our grammarians make book after book on the same plan, and yet grammar is "nothing bettered." What is now wanted is, that some one with the close observation and clear analysis of which not a few medical men are capable, should take up the subject of English Grammar independently of the theories of others, and make a new generalization of the facts of the language. However useful it may be to the compiler of a book to consult five hundred authors on this subject, such a consultation can by no means take the place of a new and independent study of the language itself. Nor will a study of the parent languages from which ours is derived give us the necessary truth. Not a few errors have crept into our text-books from the attempt to make a grammar of our own from the principles of other languages.

In our estimation, the whole difficulty lies in the inadequacy of the system adopted. This is a shrivelled skeleton, held together by such contrivances as the anatomist uses, rather than by the natural ligaments which give grace and elasticity to the whole body. No amount of dressing can infuse life into it. Before English Grammar can take its place among the sciences, it must have a new growth from the germs that lie in the facts of the language, and it must be allowed to spring up unembarrassed by the forms which other languages may furnish. The rules which must govern its cultivation must be those which spring from its own modes of existence, in accordance with the essential principles of philology.

The condition of our language at the present time is not wholly unlike that of its Anglo-Saxon parent in the days of the Normans. If it is not now banished from polite society, it is still put to the torture in a vain attempt to make it fit the

Procrustean bed which grammarians have made for it. Close-knit and lithe, like the sons of the North, it is not long enough for the measure of the more loosely built, but more stately, language of sunny Italy. It has not the forms for the cases of nouns, nor those for comparison in many of the adjectives, nor for the modes or voices, nor personal endings for the verbs, which the Latin has. Yet it was formerly stretched to six case-forms, and has even now two voices and a mode that has no form, and personal endings which do not exist, that it may agree with the model derived from the Latin.

It is not difficult to see how this state of things originated. All the earlier writers on English Grammar were practically Latin grammarians, deeming that language the only one fit for educated men; and they naturally sought to bring the inferior English tongue to that type. But it is certainly time that our language should assume its majority, and be dealt with on its own terms. The true principle in respect to the case-forms has been admitted, at least, since the time of Murray; why should not the same principle be admitted in its application to all the grammatical modifications of words? The logical use is not deemed a sufficient reason for making a case without a word-form; why should the logical use be a reason for making a mode or voice without a corresponding word-form? There can be but one principle applicable to the grammatical modifications whether of the noun or the verb. Each case represents, not one relation, but a group of similar relations. Thus the nominative case represents all the naming relations, whether as subject, predicate, or independent; and the objective all the modifying relations, whether as the direct object, the indirect object, or otherwise. Why should not the same principle be admitted in respect to the remaining parts of speech? All nations recognize the distinction of the subjective and objective relations of the subject and the predicate. But while the Latin and Greek have word-forms to represent these relations, the English has a form only for the subjective, and it makes use of a grammatical equivalent to express the other. So, too, Latin and Greek verbs have forms to express the relations of the person and number of the subject, while some English verbs are wholly wanting in these forms, and, with a single exception, all the others have a personal form only for the third person singular of the present and present perfect; and we have no form for number. Why, then, should our text-books be loaded with forms which represent nothing, while the only change is in the personal pronouns? Let the pupil learn to decline the pronouns according to person and number, and these with the tense-forms constitute nearly all that the language furnishes to be committed arbitrarily to memory.

Why should we not recognize in our language the fact that it has its own way of expressing the ideas common to all languages? The Greek has one method or contrivance for this, the Latin another, and the English another. In the Greek and Latin, we give specific designations only to actual word-forms. For the same reason, we should reject from our scientific statement of the peculiar forms of English grammar all compound phrases in which each of the words retains its own meaning. This rule would not apply to the tense-forms, since *have*, *had*, *will*, and *shall*, in this use, lay aside their ordinary meaning, and simply serve to distinguish time. Thus in the expression "I *have* gone," no idea of possession or ownership is suggested. Whatever might have been the force of *have* originally, it may safely be affirmed to have lost its primitive meaning in this use. So *to* with the infinitive has ceased to have its force as a preposition. In these instances the word used as the auxiliary has really become an element of a compound involving but one idea, and hence it is merely a contrivance to supply the place of specific forms. But in the compounds termed the passive and progressive voices, and the potential mode, each word retains its primitive meaning. "I am loved," affirms, first, the existence of the subject, and, as supplementary to this, a state or condition denoted by the participle. "I can go," affirms ability in respect to a particular action, for the good reason that the absolute sense of *can* is predicable only of the Almighty.

While we regret that Professor Fowler has adopted in general the same system as his predecessors, we are glad to find one improvement upon them. He has seen the impropriety of calling the participle in *ing* the *present* participle, nor has he fallen into the equal error of calling it *imperfect.* The participles in fact have no reference to time, and both of them are alike *imperfect* in respect to the action. The participles denote states or conditions, and a condition necessarily implies continuance, therefore imperfection. Regarded in this light, the form in *ing* denotes a *subjective* state of progress or existence, and the other an *objective* state, or one simply of inaction. "He is running," affirms a condition without reference to time, having a *subjective* relation to *he*. "He is loved," affirms an *objective* condition of the subject, and represents it as at rest. That neither of the participles has reference to time will be evident if we analyze the relation of the ideas involved in their use. "He was running," certainly cannot affirm that he is *now* running. So "He is loved," if the participle is *perfect* either in respect to the time or the action involved, would mean that he is *not now* loved, though he was loved. While, then, we agree with Professor Fowler in rejecting the term "present," we would also reject the term "past." The participles are really definitive adjectives denoting the condition of a subject, except when they are used as verbal nouns. In this latter use they name an action as taking place, while the infinitive names it without reference to its performance. Or, in other words, we may say that the infinitive names it in the abstract, and the participle in the concrete.

The subject of connectives is a much more important one than it seems to be considered by most writers. We are glad to see that Professor Fowler has treated it at length. He has marked the different uses of the conjunction considered logically. Still there seems to be a want of clearness in the arrangement. Most writers are inclined to rank the preposition with the conjunction as a connective, while another important class of connectives is hardly treated as belonging to the same division of words. The class to which we refer consists of the relative pronouns and the adverbs derived from the same roots, as *when*, *where*, *then*, and their compounds. Of these the primary use is always connective, and not pronominal or adverbial, as they are usually considered. The relative connects a secondary proposition as a modifier of a preceding idea, and represents the name of that idea in this proposition. The adverbs derived from the same roots are often equivalent to the oblique case of the relative.

The first class of connectives which we would make, then, we would call *relative connectives*, and their office is to connect a modifying proposition with a preceding word, and *pronominally* to represent that word in the modifying proposition. Of the words ranked as conjunctions, we shall readily find two classes having distinct offices. It was from not marking this division, that Goold Brown and others fell into the error of stating that "conjunctions connect verbs of the same mode and tense, and nouns and pronouns of the same case." As in many other false statements, there is some truth in this. One class of conjunctions, as *and*, *but*, and *or*, do connect verbs of the same mode and tense, and nouns and pronouns of the same case. The primary idea in the use of these words is that of addition, and this may be, as in algebra, either by the *plus* or the *minus* sign. We term this class of conjunctions *co-ordinate connectives*, a name already familiar to teachers. We would say, then, that the office of a co-ordinate conjunction is to unite two words, or two modifying phrases, two propositions, or two sentences in the same construction.

In respect to the remainder of the conjunctions, Brown's rule is incorrect. *If*, *though*, *unless*, *except*, and the like, never connect words, and the propositions which they connect are never in the same construction, or, as the grammars say, in the same mode. In the sentence, "He will go if he can," the second proposition, *he can*, expresses the condition upon which the first becomes a fact; or, to use the language of the grammarians, from which we dissent, an indicative mode is connected with a subjunctive. The idea involved in the use of *if* is not that of addition or joining, but the dependence of the connected proposition upon the former. These words are thus distinct in their office from those previously considered, and have been properly termed *subordinate connectives*. It will be seen that they are closely allied to prepositions, and in fact differ from these only in showing the relation of two *affirmations*, instead of the relation of two *ideas*. In reference to the language, the former show the relation of *propositions*, and the latter that of *words*.

In his study of particular words we are sorry that Professor Fowler has almost ignored what we consider the most difficult word, perhaps, in the language. We refer to *as*. We are told, in all grammars, that it is sometimes a relative, sometimes an adverb, and oftener a conjunction. Yet any one who attempts a critical analysis of its uses will find that they are not all included in this enumeration.

In this connection we may refer to what are termed "corresponding conjunctions." That these may exist in other languages we do not doubt. Thus, *et—et*, in Latin. But in English we have no corresponding word-form or construction. The logical idea is the same in all languages. The object is to emphasize the fact that both the things named are in the same construction. Thus, "et terris et alto,"—"*both* by land and sea." In this case the idea is the same in the two languages, but the grammatical contrivances for expressing it are very different. In the Latin, *et*, having no other use than as a connective, serves to double the connecting link. In English, the word *both*, which never has a connective signification, stands as the representative of the two things to which attention is directed. Whatever, therefore, may be the propriety of calling *et—et* and *aut—aut* corresponding conjunctions, the application of the term to the English mode of expressing the same idea is adapted only to mislead the pupil, by implying a use of *both* which does not exist.

Another important point on which we feel inclined to differ from most writers on this subject, is in respect to the government of modifying words. The terms *government* and *agreement* are words of doubtful value in English grammar, in which word-relations are few, and do not mark the relation of the ideas which the words primarily denote. In the classical languages a different state of things exists, and in those agreement and government are important elements of grammar.

We divide verbs into *transitive* and *intransitive*, the former requiring a direct object, upon which the action terminates, to complete the idea they express. The result of this division, as affecting syntax, is found in the universal rule of grammarians, that "transitive verbs govern the objective case," while all other modifying nouns are the objects of prepositions, or governed without a governing word. We may in this see one of the evils that have resulted from the introduction of the *almost* foreign element of *government* into our grammar. While the modifying noun is really never governed by anything, — for it takes no change of form as the Latin nouns did, — the whole aim of the student has been to determine what never existed, overlooking entirely the only thing he should have sought for. We have all parsed words after this fashion a thousand times: — "A noun in the objective case governed by the verb, — transitive verbs govern the objective case"; or, "governed by the preposition, — prepositions govern the objective case." Did these words ever give us the faintest *idea* of the use of the word, or its office as a vehicle of thought? The fact is, that, in English, nouns stand in various modifying relations to other words, and that we class these together as *objective* relations; and what we should do is to point out the relation which the word holds to the word it modifies. Yet this has never, so far as we know, been presented as the object of the study of grammar, unless in some very recent works. For an instance of the clear ideas the pupil could gain from the books, take Smith's mode of disposing of *hour*, in the sentence, "He walked an *hour*." "Hour is a common noun, third person, neuter gender, and objective case," — neither of which terms really applies to *hour*, — "*without a governing word*." Wells says of *hour*, in this connection, that it is "independent by ellipsis," and Barrett, "it is an adverb." Neither gives any idea of its use as a logical modifier of the verb. It would be vastly more to the purpose if we should simply say that "it is a noun used as a modifier of the verb *walked*, to denote duration." If it is a *modifier*, unless it is in the *possessive* case or in *apposition*, it is of necessity in the objective case.

But we have more to say on the classification of verbs in respect to their governing power. The *transitive* verbs require the direct object to complete their meaning; but is it by any means complete with this? Take the verb *give*. The direct object is no more necessary than the indirect. Say to a man, "I gave," and he will ask, "What?" Say, "A book," and he still asks, "To whom?" The meaning of "give" is as incomplete without the latter as without the former.

Transitive verbs are but one class among several into which all verbs should be divided, on the same principle. Some take the direct object without the indirect; some require the indirect object without the direct; some require both objects, and some neither. Our division into transitive and intransitive is therefore imperfect. Nor is it well founded. There is nothing *in kind*, in the nature of the relation existing between the verb and the direct object, in any respect different from that existing between the verb and the indirect object, or any of the other modifiers. The relations are simply distinct from each other. The verb *write* is not complete as the representative of an action, till it is modified by the *direct* object, the instrument, and the *indirect* object, the material on which, the reason, the time, and the manner. It is true, we do not always express all or either of these. Though clearly transitive, it depends altogether on the kind of writing in which we are engaged whether we add the direct object, or the indirect object, or both. If we speak of literary composition, we commonly add the direct object; if of correspondence, the indirect. Custom makes the *pen* the common instrument, and paper the common material, and we specify neither of these, because we take it for granted that these were used. But if there is anything peculiar in the instrument or in the material, we as uniformly specify it as we do either of the other objects.

We are now prepared to affirm that the rules given for modifying words are incorrect. We have all given the rule that "Transitive verbs govern the objective case." How many of us have ever asked, *why* or *how?* We do not now inquire as to the *form* which the direct object is required to take. This in Greek and Latin is the accusative, and in the English pronoun, the objective, in the English noun, the same form as the subject. All this we know very well. But what is the ground of this right to govern? If the accusative is the direct slave of the transitive verb, how comes it that twenty-six prepositions may, upon occasion, come in between the lord and the slave? If the noun is the direct object, it is all very well. But if the noun is in the accusative, denoting the time or space in which the affirmation is completed, then is it simply "*put* into the accusative." If the pupil studies his lesson an *hour*, he finds that *lesson* is in the objective case, and is governed by *studies;* but *hour* is either *not governed*, "or would be if there was anything to govern it," or is "an adverb," — and all this without a reason. Now the Latin grammar had a better philosophy, we think, than this, and we are certain that the English has. The Latin accusative represented one class of modifying words, namely, those that serve to complete the affirmation in any respect. There is no difference, therefore, between "ire Romam," and "ire *ad* amnem." In either case, the accusative marks the place where motion ends, and completes the affirmation in that respect. All our twenty-six prepositions will be found to mark the same class of relations. The Latin *ablative*, on the other hand, marks the relation *in which*, not *at which;* and all the prepositions used with it indicate this class of relations. We may call those of the accusative the *completing* relations, and those of the ablative the *non-completing* relations. The government of the word, or the case-form which it takes, depends on the class of relations in which it stands, and has nothing to do with the preposition which stands before it. As there is but one *direct object* possible, no preposition can ever be necessary to mark it. But as the affirmation may be completed in many other ways, and as the form of the word would not distinguish these from the direct object, or from one another, prepositions become necessary as *signs* of the completing office each word serves. The prepositions answer the same purpose with the ablative case.

Similar principles as to the relations between the modifying words and those modified, exist in all languages. In the English, however, as we have but one *form*, instead of three, to mark modifying relations, we cannot so readily class them as in Latin. The transitive verb affirms an action which is completed on the direct object. This requires no sign to mark its relation, for the same reason for which the Latin direct object requires none. Every affirmation has respect to time; hence, in Latin, a word denoting *time*, placed in the accusative after a verb, is at once regarded as denoting the *continuance* of the affirmation. If the noun was used to denote the time *in which*, it took in Latin the ablative form, and in English it takes a prefixed *preposition*. Some verbs, again, have respect to *space*, and a noun denoting *direction* or *distance*, after such verbs, is at once understood to complete the action in that respect. *Home* follows the principle of the Latin *domum*, and completes a man's journey. If his motion has any other relation to *home* than this, we insert a preposition, just as the Latins did. These *completing* words thus take no preposition, for the nature of the relation in which they stand is such that no sign is needed.

Another class comprises the *dative* or indirect relations. These in Latin took the dative case. We have seen that to some words this relation is no less essential than that of the direct object to the transitive verb. Such words, both verbs and adjectives, for the most part, take the modifying word without the sign *to*, as "give me," — *mihi*, — "like me," "resemble me." With other words *to* is always used; but it is necessary to mark the difference between *to* as expressing this relation, and *to* as the translation of *ad*, denoting the place where motion ends. *Similar* requires *to; go* also requires *to;* but for different reasons.

We are now prepared to state what we conceive to be the true doctrine in respect to this matter; namely, that the modifying word is governed by virtue of the modifying relation in which it stands to the word it modifies; and, secondly, that the preposition has no governing power, but serves to show which of the several relations included under either class is intended to be expressed, or, in particular instances, to distinguish the indirect from the direct object.

There are several other topics upon which we had proposed to speak, but we will confine ourselves to one more under this head of government. This is the use of the infinitive as a modifier of other words. The infinitive is properly a noun. As such it may stand in the same relations as other nouns, except in the possessive. It may stand as the subject, as the direct object, or as a modifier. But in nearly or quite all of the grammars hitherto in use, no notice has been taken of this fact. Fowler, indeed, calls it a noun, but does not explain its use. The common rule, that "the infinitive may depend on a noun, participle, adjective, or verb," gives us no possible idea of its use. To call a cart a thing drawn by horses, oxen, or donkeys, would be but a poor definition of a cart, or of its uses. Yet it gives just as much information respecting the cart, as the rule cited from the grammars gives respecting the infinitive. Each defines the *position* of the object in respect to certain things with which it is commonly used; and this is all. What then is the use of the infinitive? It is used to modify nouns, adjectives, and verbs, in one of two relations, either as denoting *the purpose*, or as denoting that *in respect to which* the meaning of the word is taken. The former use was in the earlier habit of the language marked by *for;* but the *for* is now omitted.

The etymological forms and syntax of Professor Fowler's work are its least important part. It has too often been the case that pupils are thoroughly drilled in the derivation and history of the classical languages, while they are totally ignorant of the derivation of their own. This has been in part owing to the difficulty of acquiring knowledge upon this subject. But that difficulty is now obviated. Professor Fowler has brought the whole subject of the derivation of the words and the grammatical forms of our language so compactly together, that the educated man, and even the ordinary English scholar, is hardly excusable for not acquiring a knowledge of this part of the grammar of our language; and a more important service could not be performed by aught bearing the name or form of a grammatical treatise.

ART. IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Glimpses of Europe: or, Notes drawn at Sight.* By a Merchant. Cincinnati: Rickey, Mallory, & Co. 1859. pp. 355.

A CINCINNATI merchant, Mr. Robert Hosea, here appears as an author, and adds one to the not insignificant number of books of European travel. His work is graphic and amusing, and was published not so much with the view of instructing the people at large, as of entertaining an unusually wide circle of personal friends. This, his well-known purpose, he has admirably fulfilled, and while his book makes no pretensions to scholarship, it indicates no small measure of both wit and wisdom.

2.—*Peasant Life in Germany.* By MISS ANNA C. JOHNSON. New York: Charles Scribner. 1858. pp. 430.

THIS is a thorough, trustworthy, and entertaining book. From our own observation of the cottage life of Germany, we can corroborate the fidelity of Miss Johnson's researches. She went to that country, having it her main purpose to qualify herself to write a book on its peasantry, acquired the language, was admitted to all places, and has given a graphic account of what she saw and learned, with sage reflections on the principles, true and false, on which society and government rest. The author has a fine philosophical spirit, and discriminates well. She has given to the world a book which will please all readers. The historical reminiscences are appropriate and well told; the reasonings and reflections are sound and judicious, while the narrative is well sustained, and abounds in shrewd remark and playful humor.

3.—*Morality and the State.* By SIMEON NASH. Columbus: Follett, Foster, & Co. 1859. pp. 442.

JUDGE NASH, of Ohio, here records the thoughts of twenty-five years on the speculative and practical relations of man to God. A two hours' conversation with the author had prepared us to find this book an embodiment of valuable thought. Our perusal of it confirms our anticipation. The author has given to the thinkers of the country a work of singular merit, calm, clear, and earnest. It is based on the joint testimony of consciousness and revelation. The spiritual wants of man are shown to have their complement in the Christian religion. The book is equally removed from dogmatism and from laxness, and while the author announces the latest results of what may be called New England theology, his discourse is so free from cant and one-sidedness that men of all schools will read him with pleasure. The most striking excellence of the work is the clearness with which it states rudimentary facts; for the author justly maintains that much of the quarrelling about principles in the world might be forestalled by this mode of procedure. The author's chief aim is to show how, through Christianity, the attributes of God are wrought into the conscience and the life of the individual, society, and the state.

The style of the work is clear, but entirely devoid of ornament. It has the nervous energy which a man of mind may always command when his heart gives law to the pen. Judge Nash has evidently written and published this book to do good, and this purpose is manifest on every page.

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4. — *Eric, or Little by Little. A Tale of Roslyn School.* By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. New York: Rudd and Carleton. 1859. pp. 366.

THIS is a sad story of boyish experience at an English school; sad not only from the pathos of many of its incidents, but from the picture it presents of moral peril to the young in the system of education it describes. If the English schools are what they are said to be in the books concerning them, they need reformation in many important particulars. If the youth of England are the young brutes our author represents them as being, the lad who is taken from the care of a tender and pious mother, and sent among them, is exposed to an ordeal from which many a man, full grown in principle, might well shrink. Placed in a tumultuous community, where obedience and study are deemed "muffish," and reckless mischief passes for "pluck," a high-spirited, impulsive boy needs aid from without to bear up against the temptations which assail him. And we cannot but feel that our young Eric's intermittent, but earnest efforts to redeem himself, and to assert his original manliness, should meet with better success. Their utter futility almost brings the reader to the poor boy's own conclusion, that some fiend is pursuing him, and he "must go to the bad," whether or no. The story is told with spirit, and the contrasts of character are well drawn. In the desire to present a powerful warning to boys to beware of small beginnings in evil, the author has, perhaps involuntarily, intensified his illustrations beyond the strict limits of probability.

We lose the wish to blame our little hero, through learning to pity him for the bitter sufferings his errors bring upon him, and are not able to resist the impression, that, though the punishment is all his, the sin belongs in great part to those about him.

5.—"*Love me Little, Love me Long.*" By CHARLES READE. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. pp. 435.

MR. READE has often proved his power to write very entertaining stories, and to get up a series of incidents which keep alive the reader's attention, and insure his finishing the volume if he once begin it. His peculiarities of style are strongly marked, and have resulted in a mannerism, from which it seems now quite impossible for him to escape. The tricks of speech in which he indulges with such unlimited freedom, cannot always be effective, and sometimes verge on bad taste. The curt and crispy style, in which he is often very successful, needs but a slight exaggeration to become positively ludicrous as well as weak. Take, for instance, in the volume before us, the closing lines of a description of an evening which has been spent by the hero in relating nautical adventures to the heroine and her uncle. "The sea-wizard's eye fell on the mantelpiece. Died, in a moment, his noble ardor. 'Why, it is eight bells,' said he, servilely; then, doggedly, 'Time to turn in.'"

The author's aim in this tale seems to be to prove the inability of the conventionally elegant and high-bred to stand before uncultivated native strength and true-heartedness. For this purpose the wealthy and aristocratic portion of his *dramatis personæ* are made selfish, false, and cold, and all the nobility of nature is appropriated by those in an inferior social position. A heavy draft is made upon the heroine and also on the reader, in the first place, by naming the hero "David Dodd," and afterward by the absurdities consequent upon introducing him, the mate of a merchant-vessel, among the fine ladies and gentlemen whose ancestors "came in with the Conqueror." David triumphs, of course, over all obstacles, and wins the heroine for his wife. He is a noble fellow in the main, though we think the "simplicity" of his character, on which the author dwells with great complacency, is sometimes overdone, and we confess to a weak regret that he is allowed to make himself so indisputably ridiculous as he does on several occasions. The conversations are, many of them, in Mr. Reade's best style, and that is saying a great deal. Racy and piquant, they reveal the characters with infinite skill. We should think, however, that the ladies would quarrel with Mr. Reade for some of the strokes of his pencil in painting his female portraits. It seems an axiom with him, that no woman ever moves in a straight line, and that dissimulation is her native element. If this is true, there is no harm in saying it; but it must needs be *very* true to win general assent. The Preface informs us that we may expect to meet the same characters again by and by in more exciting scenes, and this introduction will, no doubt, prepare for the coming volume a large number of readers. We shall be glad to see our friend Lucy in all her matronly dignity as "Mrs. David Dodd."

6.—*Le Niger et les Explorations de l'Afrique Centrale depuis Mungo Park jusqu'au Docteur Barth.* Par FERDINAND DE LANOYE. Paris: Hachette. 1858. 12mo. pp. 620.

M. LANOYE, well known as a writer of geographical articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, has here brought together, in a condensed form, the substance of the chief adventures and discoveries in Central and Western Africa. His difficult work is very skilfully done; and we cannot discover that any important fact has been omitted from the volumes which he has abridged. He begins with Herodotus, continues with Mungo Park in both his journeys, with Denham, Oudney, Clapperton, Caillié, the brothers Lander, Richardson, Overweg, and Barth, and ends with the voyage of the steamer Pleiade up the Niger in 1854. The smaller works of the missionaries — Bowen, Wilson, and the rest — are not noticed; and Dr. Livingstone's travels were too far south to come into the plan of the work. A considerable portion of the narrative, especially in the case of Mungo Park, is in the words of the various travellers; but M. Lanoye has not scrupled to add such remarks of his own as might help to elucidate the text from which he has quoted. His critical views are of great value; and the map which accompanies his volume is superior to any which we have seen appended to American editions of African travel.

M. Lanoye does full justice to the merits of that too much neglected traveller, Richard Lander. But the chapter of his volume which will have most novelty to English readers describes the journey of the Frenchman, René Caillié, in the years 1826-28. In a letter to the French Geographical Society in 1856, Dr. Barth emphatically vindicated the honor of this calumniated martyr of science, declaring that no other traveller could, under similar circumstances, have accomplished so much. Beginning with only sixty francs and a resolute will, in spite of official rebuffs, vexatious delays, and obstacles of every kind thrown in his way, Caillié was able to penetrate into the interior of the great kingdoms of the Soudan, to find the sources of the Senegal, to cross the Niger farther inland than it had been crossed before, to visit Timbuctoo, and, after two years of wandering and romantic adventure, to reach France in safety, and to give an intelligent narrative of his discoveries. Alone and unaided, he accomplished a work which the British government, after having spent £700,000, was compelled to relinquish as a failure. It is evidently a pleasure to M. Lanoye that a countryman of his own should have been the hero of a journey so hazardous, so romantic, and so successful.

7.—*La Famille Buvard, Scènes de Mœurs Bruxelloises.* Par Louis Hymans. Bruxelles et Leipzig: Auguste Schnée. 1858. 18mo. 2 vols. pp. 516.

Who M. Louis Hymans is we are unable to say, never having met his name before on the title-page of any volume. But the grace and charm of this novel of the "Buvard Family" will make us eager to welcome any new work from the pen of so accomplished a writer. He attempts in this story to delineate life in Brussels, to exhibit the style of morals, trade, society, and politics in that reduced copy of Paris, to show its gayeties and gravities, its worth and its meanness. M. Desiré Buvard, the head of the notable family, is the type of the selfish, ambitious, able, and unscrupulous *parvenu*, who raises himself from obscure birth to high office in the state, accumulates property, keeps up appearances, and is afraid of nothing but public opinion and the tongue of slander. His wife is a weak, vain, but affectionate woman, fond of her children, but without force enough to resist her husband's imperious will. The son, Athanase, is a scatter-brained, extravagant youth, good-hearted enough, but careless and fashionably dissolute. Of the two daughters, Claire is like her father, with more malignity of temper, and Bertha like her mother, with more force of character. Uncle Theophilus, the mother's brother, is an honest and eccentric blunderer, noble in his impulses, but not wise in his plans. Ernest Prunier, the young lawyer, who becomes the husband of Bertha, is shrewd, talented, persevering, proud of his humble origin, sincere in his intercourse, and rises not by intrigue, but by his own ability. The noble Count de Bornhem and his son represent the busy statesman and the elegant man of leisure, both cultivated and honorable, yet utterly alien from each other in their tastes and habits. Peperberg is the type of the old soldier, grim in manners, rigid in discipline, and slow in ideas, yet frank and faithful.

Each of these is a marked character, and has a striking individuality.

The scenes in which these personages appear are the ordinary and various scenes of common life. We are introduced to the home of the family, and allowed to hear all its plots and conversations, to see its best and its worst side. We are treated to the spectacle of a ball, the sacrifices which are made to accomplish it, the hollow friendship which it signifies, and the emptiness of its result. Glimpses of the court and the exchange, a diplomatic dinner, promenades in the gardens, and Mass in the church, are sketched with minute and masterly accuracy. The whole management of the story is equally natural and ingenious. There is a plot with enough of mystery, yet without surprises and without improbabilities. Justice is done to all the characters; the wicked are reasonably punished, the good are fairly rewarded, and the moral result of the book is as satisfactory as its pictures of actual life. It ought to find a translator.

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8. — *Chrisna.* Par X. B. Saintine. Paris: Hachette. 1859. 12mo. pp. 356.

M. Xavier Boniface, who writes under the assumed name of Saintine, is known in his own land as the author of very numerous comedies and plays, — upwards of two hundred, it is said, — and of not a few romances. The only work of his, however, which has gained much popularity out of France is the quaint and touching story of Picciola. To have written this is enough to establish an author's fame. But there are many other things which he has written which equally deserve to be read. The latest of his romances is this of Chrisna, which has already in two months passed through three editions. It is a tale of Dalmatian and Montenegrine adventure and history. The hero is a renegade Sclavonian, Pierre Zény, whose headlong valor and success in battle have made him chief of a robber tribe and honored him with the pompous name of "King of the Danube." The heroine, Chrisna, is a girl of Montenegro, of humble extraction, but rare beauty and fascination, who had been won by the accounts of the bandit's valor to join his party and to become his wife. These are the principal personages; and all the rest, the jealous Croat, the German Baron, the robber and soldiers, and the old wife Margatt, are merely appendages to the fortunes and acts of these principals. The story is throughout full of motion and excitement. There are hair-breadth escapes, hand-to-hand combats, marches by night and in storm, hiding in dreadful caverns, encounters with wild men and wild beasts, ambushes, murders, enough to satisfy any appetite in that kind. Yet the novel is not one of the melodramatic or the "horrible" sort. Its tone is high, its descriptions are chaste, and its sentiment is quite in harmony with that of Picciola. As a picture of the wild scenery and manners of Dalmatian mountain life, and of the fierce passions of those races, it bears the marks of personal knowledge and conscientious fidelity. If M. Saintine has not risked the dangers of travel in that land of robbers, he has certainly by careful study made the spirit and scenery of the land his own. He has introduced, moreover, sketches of Hungarian life, of Pesth and Buda, by way of relief to the wilder scenes of the Illyrian coast.

The fault of this and some other romances of M. Saintine which we have read, is excessive rapidity of movement. The story goes on with a rush, and the reader has no repose. This is accounted for by the habit of dramatic writing. The crowning merit of a play may be a defect in a novel.

9.— *The English Boy in Japan; or, The Perils and Adventures of Mark Raffles among Princes, Priests, and People of that Singular Empire.* By William Dalton. London: T. Nelson and Sons. 1858. 16mo. pp. 308.

Like most good books for boys, to men also this volume of Japanese adventure will be more interesting than the more pretending volumes of history and travel. The incidents are exciting enough to stimulate curiosity, yet not improbable enough to create disgust. There is nothing told which might not have happened, and the reader is gratified by finding that the romance ends in a legitimate way, with virtue rewarded, justice done, and a happy lot to all the heroes. As a manager of dialogue, Mr. Dalton is hardly equal to Mr. Jacob Abbott; but no one of the "Rollo Books" has compressed so much entertaining detail into a volume as the book before us. The scenery of Japan, harbors, gardens, roads, hills, volcanoes, earthquakes, rulers and people, court practices, street practices, and life on shipboard, — all the pleasant and all the grotesque features of the Japanese land and life, — are brought into the easy reading of three or four hours.

10. — *Journal of the Reign of King George the Third, from the Year* 1771 *to* 1783. By HORACE WALPOLE. Now first published from the Original MSS. Edited, with Notes, by DR. DORAN. London: Richard Bentley. 1859. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxxvi. and 537, 639.

THESE "Last Journals of Horace Walpole," as he chose to designate them, were evidently designed for posthumous publication, like his previous Memoirs of the Reigns of George II. and III. It is true that they are less carefully composed than are those more elaborate works; but they carry forward the narrative for a period of nearly twelve years, and exhibit many traces of the terse and epigrammatic style of which Walpole was so consummate a master. At first, indeed, he does not appear to have written with a view to publication; but subsequently he changed his purpose, and in a significant passage under date of February 27, 1782, he says that one object in continuing his Journal was "to aid future historians." The volumes thus composed embody a fund of curious and interesting facts; and the American reader, in particular, will find in them much that is new and suggestive. They cover the whole period of the American war, — the last entry recording the arrival in England of the definitive treaties of peace, which put an end to the long struggle, and recognized the independence of the Colonies. The references to American affairs in both volumes are numerous and interesting, and show even more clearly than do his Letters how cordially Walpole abhorred the ministerial policy in regard to America. He regarded this policy as unnatural, and fraught with peril to Great Britain, and he repeatedly recorded his detestation of it. Upon domestic politics he also throws new light; and there is scarcely a subject which then agitated the public mind in England, about which he does not have something interesting to record. His facilities for obtaining accurate information were certainly not as good at this period as they were previously to his withdrawal from public life; but a man of his untiring activity and gossiping habits could not fail to pick up much curious matter floating loosely in the current of society. Occasionally we meet with some blunder or misstatement which is clearly owing to imperfect information; but on the whole his statements of facts will bear a close scrutiny. Still, in reading Walpole's writings, one must never forget that he was a man of very strong prejudices, and that frequently his facts do not warrant his conclusions. His opinions of men and things were colored by his personal biases; and allowance must always be made for this personal element in his account of his contemporaries.

Dr. Doran has discharged his editorial labors with considerable ability, though he has neglected to furnish an Index to the volumes. He would also have increased the value of his services by adding very largely to the number of his explanatory notes.

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11. — *The Letters of* Horace Walpole, *Earl of Orford.* Edited by Peter Cunningham. Now first chronologically arranged. London: Richard Bentley. 1857–59. 9 vols. 8vo.

Simultaneously with the publication of Horace Walpole's Last Journals, we have the concluding volume of Mr. Peter Cunningham's excellent edition of his Letters. In several respects this edition is superior to those which have preceded it. For the first time the different collections of Walpole's Letters have been brought together in a series of uniform and elegant volumes, under the editorial supervision of a single person; and to the letters published by former editors Mr. Cunningham has been able to add a hundred and seventeen, which are now printed for the first time, and thirty-five "scattered over many printed books and papers," which had not been comprised in any previous collection. He has also given the prefaces and notes of preceding editors, properly credited to them, a valuable body of additional notes from his own pen, a copious Index, nine views of Strawberry Hill, and more than forty portraits, some of which have not been published before. In beauty of typography, in completeness, and in the fulness of editorial illustrations, these volumes fully meet the requirements for a good library edition of Walpole's Letters; and we gladly recognize the service which Mr. Cunningham has rendered to literature by their publication.

Whatever may be thought of Walpole's character, or of the correctness of his judgments, his letters must be regarded as an immense repertory of facts; and such is the charm of their style, that they will probably continue to be read for many years. Extending over a period of more than half a century, — from November 9, 1735, to January 15, 1797, — they comprise a series of two thousand six hundred and sixty-five letters, and give us pleasing and familiar details of many most important events, lively sketches of some of the most illustrious personages of the last century, curious pictures of social life, and numerous characteristic anecdotes. A mere trifler in an age of great men, flippant, heartless, and full of prejudices and whims, sneering at authorship, yet craving its posthumous rewards, Walpole holds an important place in English literature; and his Letters could be as little spared by this generation as could Boswell's Life of Johnson.

12. — *Memoirs of the Court of George IV.* 1820–1830. *From Original Family Documents.* By the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, K. G. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1859. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 494, 422.

THESE volumes form a part of the valuable series of previously unedited documents which the present Duke of Buckingham has drawn from the family archives at Stowe, and made available for the uses of the historian. Like the previous volumes of the series, they are very imperfectly edited, as compared with similar collections of family papers recently published in England. But they are replete with interesting and suggestive matter, and shed considerable light on several important transactions in the reign of George IV. Their statements must not, however, be accepted by the reader without large allowance, since every measure of public policy is considered in its relation to Grenville interests, and every public man is viewed through the medium of Grenville prejudices. Yet at the period to which these volumes relate, the Grenvilles had ceased to wield the influence which they had formerly exercised. They were important neither from their numbers nor their talents. The nominal head of the family was by no means equal to his father in shrewdness and practised ability; and he was much guided by the advice of his two uncles, Lord Grenville and Mr. Thomas Grenville. The former was a man of great sagacity and large experience in public affairs, but too old to feel a strong interest, or to take an active part, in the political movements of the day. The latter had never been distinguished as a statesman, and was also advanced in life. The less celebrated members of the party were merely men of average capacity, though able to command a pretty high price in the political market. "All articles are now to be had at low prices except Grenvilles," said Lord Holland at the time. Of these, Charles Winn, for several years President of the Board of Control, was one of the most prominent, as he was certainly the ablest; and his letters constitute the most valuable portion of the volumes before us. Another frequent correspondent with the Duke was Mr. W. H. Fremantle, a man of less ability than Mr. Winn, but who was able, from his personal relations with the king, to communicate much interesting court gossip. Thus, in a letter to his Grace, dated August 26, 1821, he gives an account of his Majesty's visit to Ireland: —

> "The passage to Dublin," he says, "was occupied in eating goose-pie and drinking whiskey, in which his Majesty partook most abundantly, singing many joyous songs, and being in a state, on his arrival, to double in sight even the numbers of his gracious subjects assembled on the pier to meet him. The fact

was, that they were in the last stage of intoxication. However, they got him to the Park." — Vol. I. p. 194.

Yet the Grenvilles pretended to have a great affection for his Majesty; and the editor of the volumes before us takes care to say as little as possible against him. Fortunately for the cause of truth and good morals, it is not easy to make black appear white; and the common estimate of George IV. is not likely to be changed by a few honeyed phrases.

Among the subjects on which these volumes throw light are the Queen's trial, the junction of the Grenvilles with the Liverpool Administration, the history of the Canning Administration, and the settlement of the Catholic Question. It is interesting to look at these subjects through Grenville glasses; and as a whole the volumes are a welcome addition to our historical stores.

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13. — *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution.* By Robert Chambers, F. R. S. E., F. S. A. Sc., etc. Edinburgh and London: W. & R. Chambers. 1858. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xi. and 549, 523.

Mr. Robert Chambers is favorably known as the author of several works of an historical character, designed to promote the intellectual culture of his countrymen, and to diffuse among them a knowledge of Scotch history. In this design he has been very successful. His works have received the commendation of judicious critics; their circulation both at home and abroad has been very large; and several of them have been reprinted in this country. The volumes before us belong to the same class of publications as his previous works, and are equally deserving of favor. Their special object is to bring together in a connected form such characteristic incidents in Scottish annals as may illustrate the social condition of the people for the century and a quarter from the return of Queen Mary to Scotland, in 1561, to the Revolution of 1688. With this view, and impressed with the belief that historians have too much neglected the manners, opinions, and personal condition of the lower classes, Mr. Chambers has sought to exhibit "the series of occurrences beneath the region of history, the effects of passion, superstition, and ignorance in the people, the extraordinary natural events which disturbed their tranquillity, the calamities which affected their well-being, the traits of false political economy by which that well-being was checked, and, generally, those things which enable us to see how our forefathers thought, felt, and suffered, and how, on the whole, ordinary life looked in their days." He has accordingly divided his work into sections, each covering a brief period, and to each he has prefixed an introduction giving an account of the principal events of that period. Under each section he has collected from contemporary writers such notices of persons and events as belong to his general plan. These excerpts are of course brief and very miscellaneous in character; but most of them are interesting and suggestive, and many are very valuable. They are generally given in the words of the old chroniclers, although in some instances Mr. Chambers has presented an abridged statement in his own language. His selections have been well made, and the student of history will find in the volumes many curious facts by which to enlarge his knowledge of Scotch history, and to confirm or modify his previous views. The volumes are provided with a copious Index; but they should also have been furnished with running-titles or side-notes in order to facilitate reference. We shall look with interest for the two additional volumes, in which, as he intimates, Mr. Chambers purposes to continue and complete this view of the social progress of Scotland.

14.— *Original Unpublished Papers illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an Artist and Diplomatist. Preserved in H. M. State Paper Office. With an Appendix of Documents respecting the Arundelian Collection, the Earl of Somerset's Collection, the great Mantuan Collection, the Duke of Buckingham, Gentileschi, Gerbier, Honthorst, Le Sueur, Myttens, Torrentius, Vanderdoort, etc., etc., etc.* Collected and edited by W. Noël Sainsbury (of H. M. State Paper Office). London: Bradbury and Evans. 1859. 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 391.

The papers in this volume are of comparatively little interest to the general reader or to the political historian; but for the biographer of Rubens and the historian of art they possess much value. With few exceptions, they are now published for the first time; and upon several points in the career of the Flemish painter they afford new and important details. Thus in regard to the introduction of his pictures into England, and to the pecuniary valuation which he placed upon them, we have a very complete series of letters from Sir Dudley Carleton and Balthazar Gerbier, the two persons who were chiefly instrumental in the purchase of the pictures brought to England. These letters contain much curious information upon the subject, and show that Rubens was perfectly competent to make his own bargains. The painter evidently had no scruples about earning the largest possible amount by his art. The same shrewdness and tact which he exhibited in these transactions were subsequently shown in his negotiations for effecting a truce between Spain, Great Britain, and the United Provinces. These negotiations form the subject of many of the letters; and it is clear that, if Rubens had devoted himself to politics, he might have become an accomplished diplomatist, according to the standard of that age.

In general the tone of these letters is dry and business-like; but occasionally we have a little touch of quiet humor, even where we least expect it. For instance, in a letter from Gerbier to Rubens, the Spanish minister, it is said, "knows very well that this war in the Netherlands is like war against fish and water; of land they have none, of castles and revenues they have none, other than their ships; the harvests and gatherings they make are all at the expense of the King of Spain. They are a people so addicted to gain, that they respect the substance, and pay no attention to the shadow; those who are the best accommodated resemble the monks and the arbitrators, who neither expose themselves to blows nor any other combats but those with bottles and plates."

Mr. Sainsbury, we ought to add, has performed his duty as editor in a very creditable manner. He has sought his materials with untiring energy, illustrated them with numerous notes, and appended an excellent Index.

15.—*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society.* 1855–1858. *Selected from the Records.* Boston: Printed for the Society. 1859. 8vo. pp. xii. and 412.

The Massachusetts Historical Society is the oldest organization of the kind in the country; and it has not been among those least benefited by the increasing interest in historical studies. Within a few years it has received several large donations of money from its members and other persons, and it has also been made the depositary of several important collections of books and manuscripts, such as the Dowse library, the Belknap papers, and the Heath papers. It has hitherto published thirty-four volumes of miscellaneous collections, and it now proposes also to publish occasionally a volume containing a record of the proceedings of the Society at its regular and special meetings, with a selection of original papers read before the Society by its members. The volume before us, which is published under the auspices of a committee consisting of Mr. George Livermore and the Rev. Dr. Chandler Robbins, is the first of the proposed series, and contains a record of proceedings from April 12, 1855, to March 26, 1858. A portion of the papers comprised in it have already been printed in the Collections; but there are several papers of more than ordinary interest which are now first published. Among these are the elaborate papers of Mr. Charles Deane on The Historical Publications of Governor Hutchinson, and on the Belknap Donation, and Mr. Everett's able and ingenious Eulogy on Mr. Dowse. The most important of the papers which had already been printed are the Memoir of Samuel Appleton, by Rev. Dr. Lothrop, the Memoir of Abbott Lawrence, by Hon. Nathan Appleton, and Governor Washburn's interesting and valuable paper on the Extinction of Slavery in Massachusetts. The volume also contains some other important documents, is embellished with several portraits, and is a very acceptable contribution to historical literature. A second volume of the same character is now in press.

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16. — *A History and Description of New England, General and Local.* By A. J. Coolidge and J. B. Mansfield. Illustrated with numerous Engravings. In two vols. Vol. I. *Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.* Boston: Austin J. Coolidge. 1859. pp. 1024.

If the last few years have not been prolific in original and profound works, they have at least produced a wonderful number and variety of books of reference, which have condensed and systematized previously existing knowledge of every kind. Of the books which lie on our table for daily consultation, without which we should feel as a pilot in mid-ocean without a compass, the greatest and best part are new. Among them all, in their respective kinds, we can name none superior to this new work, in thoroughness, accuracy, and adaptation to the place it is designed to fill. The volume commences with a brief sketch of the history of the discovery and settlement of New England; the portion assigned to each State contains a compend of its history, which is followed by a full and adequate account of the natural features, history, institutions, industry, public buildings, distinguished citizens, and numerical statistics of every town, city, and county in the State, in alphabetical order. With these details, we have nearly one hundred engravings on wood, of scenery, buildings, towns, and villages in perspective, and individual objects of interest; and these are executed in the best style of the art, are drawn with taste and precision, cut with a distinctness of outline rarely equalled, never surpassed, and printed with a firmness and delicacy which make them not one whit inferior to engravings from steel. The amount of information nowhere else accessible is such as to distance, in comparison, the best previous gazetteers. It is evident that the editors have spared no pains to make their work complete, and we can think of no practicable enlargement of their plan which could add to its value. Accompanying the volume are full, clearly-drawn, and well-colored township maps of each of the three States. We trust that an enterprise which does so much honor to the ability, diligence, and faithfulness of its compilers, will also, by its ready sale, remunerate them for the very large expense which they must have incurred in its preparation. It ought to have a place in every public and private library in New England.

17.— *Summer Pictures from Copenhagen to Venice.* By HENRY M. FIELD, Author of "The Irish Confederates and the Rebellion of 1798." New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 291.

MR. FIELD is a keen and kindly observer, and a charming writer. His spirit has the glow of summer sunlight, and the fragrance of summer flowers. In his rapid tour he seizes upon all points of interest to a cultivated and thoughtful traveller, and portrays, with an easy and winning grace, precisely what he has seen and experienced, with no superfluous rhetoric, or fine-spun speculations, or irrelevant episodes. We are most of all delighted with the genuine human sympathy which pervades his book. He writes lovingly of the people of every nation on his route, and finds everywhere noble traits and hopeful elements in human character and condition. Works of art he does not undertake to describe; scenery he paints with warmth and vigor, but cursorily, while he lingers with manifest fondness on every view of home life, of popular customs and amusements, of moral improvement and religious activity. Never have we laid down a record of travel with higher esteem for its author. Such tourists as he have a most important mission in drawing closer the bonds of mutual regard between nation and nation, and in removing those paltry jealousies and calumnies, in which American travellers have sinned to the full measure of those foreigners on our shores whose strictures have so often aggrieved and wounded us.

18.— *To Cuba and Back. A Vacation Voyage.* By RICHARD H. DANA, Jr., Author of "Two Years before the Mast," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 288.

NO one who read, in its time, the "Two Years before the Mast," will fail of the earliest opportunity to accompany the author in his recent "vacation." In the interval between the two books, the boy has become not indeed an old, but by no means a very young man, and has for many years borne the honorable, but painful, burden of a successful practice in a profession which is prone to exhaust those whom it does not starve. Yet the freshness and vividness with which he sketches scenery and life in Cuba might make us feel that he had not grown a day older, while, in the mean time, his diction has gained what it ought to have gained in rhetorical grace and forcefulness. His descriptions are not elaborate or detailed; but by the sharp delineation of the salient features or strong characteristics of the object portrayed, he suggests the minor particulars, which he makes it easy to imagine, but which would be wearisome if written out in full. Another charm of the book is, that without ever falling into a homiletic strain, or making the slightest parade of principle, he places his readers uniformly in the point of view which a high-minded, true-hearted, reverent citizen of New England must needs occupy, where there is so much that is abhorrent to his moral sense and his Christian consciousness.

19.— *Farm Drainage. The Principles, Processes, and Effects of Draining Land with Stones, Wood, Plows, and open Ditches, and especially with Tiles, including Tables of Rain-Fall, Evaporation, Filtration, Excavation, Capacity of Pipes, Cost and Number to the Acre of Tiles, &c., &c., and more than* 100 *Illustrations.* By Henry F. French. New York: A. O. Moore & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 384.

We have the promise of an article in a future number, from a competent hand, on this book and its profoundly interesting and important subject. Meanwhile, we embrace the earliest opportunity. of recommending to our agricultural readers, and to all who have grounds or cellars which need the relief of drainage, a work replete with practical wisdom, and embodying the results of long study, careful experiment, and a European tour of observation directed to this express end. Nor will the book seem void of interest to the merely literary man. Judge French holds a racy and vigorous pen, enlivens his prosaic subject by frequent sallies of wit, classical references, and poetical quotations, and mingles all along the *utile cum dulci*. The work, strange as it might seem from the title, is highly attractive; while the adoption of the processes it describes and recommends, would remove about private dwellings a frequent source of discomfort and disease, reclaim numerous valuable building sites from disuse and worthlessness, and increase in a ratio which it would be hard to over-estimate the productiveness of low lands in every part of the country.

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20. — *Three Visits to Madagascar during the Years* 1853, 1854, 1856. *Including a Journey to the Capital; with Notices of the Natural History of the Country, and the Present Civilization of the People.* By the Rev. William Ellis, F. H. S., Author of "Polynesian Researches." Illustrated by Wood-cuts from Photographs, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 8vo. pp. 514.

We are always attracted to an itinerary by the name of a missionary on the title-page. It would seem as if the consecration of the office enlarged and quickened all the perceptive and receptive powers, widened the scope of observation and research, and imparted its glow and energy to the style and diction. In numerous instances half a score of specialists in different departments of science and knowledge would give us less information, and certainly in a far less interesting form, than we have from a single explorer or resident in a strange land, whose prime object is the propagation of the Christian faith. The book before us is a case in point. All else that is known of Madagascar bears a small proportion to what is made known in this volume. We regret that our limits will not permit us to give so much as an abstract of its contents. Suffice it to say, that the narrative is one of unflagging interest, both on account of the novelty of its material — a country, a people, a history peculiar, to us strange, in every feature — and the easy, fluent, perspicuous, vivid style of the author. The illustrations, though of an inferior type as works of art, are of well-chosen subjects, clearly drawn, and satisfactory. The work is one which our readers will thank us for commending to their perusal.

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21. — *The Bible in the Levant; or the Life and Letters of the Rev. C. N. Righter, Agent of the American Bible Society in the Levant.* By Samuel Irenæus Prime. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 336.

Here is another book which owes its rich charm and high interest to the missionary service. It is the story of the life, labors, and early death of one who, at the age of thirty-two, fell a victim to the inhospitable climate which he encountered in the cause of human salvation.

He was a noble man, a brave and earnest worker, a faithful preacher of righteousness; and as such he will be inscribed on the martyr roll of Christian heroes, whose names must brighten in history, as those of conquerors and destroyers fade from the revering memory of men. The story is told, as far as was practicable, in Mr. Righter's own letters, and in those which describe his last days and closing scene. These Mr. Prime has connected by a loving and graceful narrative.

22. — *Sixty Years' Gleanings from Life's Harvest. A Genuine Autobiography.* By John Brown, Proprietor of the University Billiard Rooms, Cambridge. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. pp. 392.

We can see no reason why John Brown should have written his own life; but, so long as it is written, there are many reasons why it should be read. He was a butcher's boy, a shoemaker, apprentice, journeyman, and master, a soldier, a sailor in the British navy, an actor in strolling companies and on provincial boards, a brewer and innholder, and, as the culmination of his fortunes, the prosperous owner and keeper of billiard rooms. In describing his own diversified experiences, he presents minute and vivid sketches and characteristic anecdotes of English life, in forms ranging from the very lowest half-way up the scale, including such outside views of the great University as could come under his cognizance in his capacity of cordwainer, or in the profession which figures on his title-page. He thus gives us a great deal of information which we know not where else to find. He seems to be, on the whole, a well-principled and kind-hearted man, and his story is told with a *naïveté* which makes us willing to dispense with those higher qualities which would have been as far beyond his reach as they are above his aim.

23. — *Romanism in America.* By Rufus W. Clark, Author of "Heaven and its Emblems," "Lectures to Young Men," "Life Scenes of the Messiah," etc. Boston: J. E. Tilton & Co. 12mo. pp. 271.

In this volume Mr. Clark traces the origin and progress of Romanism, expounds its fundamental principles, demonstrates their antagonism to civil freedom, and exhibits those of its features which render it peculiarly dangerous on our soil. He writes with warmth, but not with bitterness. His arguments are unquestionable facts. He is an alarm-ist, but not without cause; and were it not that party politics present such an absorbing interest to many of our best minds, and that the votes of Romanists are of so much importance to the success of parties and of candidates for office, we doubt not that all sincere and reflecting Protestants would be aroused to a sense of peril by the wily, perpetual, and unretreating aggressions of Romanism upon the liberties of our republic. The chapters on "The Bible in our Public Schools," though written before the late outbreak in Boston, are on that very account the more timely, as they consider the questions at issue on large and general principles, without the local complications in which recent events might have involved the discussion. Mr. Clark's book will be read with strong interest and sympathy by those who already apprehend great and enduring evil from the Papal power in this country; it ought to be read candidly and thoughtfully by those who imagine either that Romanism is on the decline among us, or that it can grow without jeopardy to our institutions and our national well-being.

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24. — *The Convalescent.* By N. Parker Willis. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 456.

This is a volume made up of letters, which first appeared in the Home Journal, and which were written in part at Idlewild, in part from various resting-places on excursions for health or amusement. They contain almost nothing — except here and there a glorious landscape or a moonlight scene of transcendent beauty — which is not either strictly personal, or which has not been often told before. Yet therein lies the special beauty, we may say the rare fascination, of the book; for, from the very paucity of its non-personal contents, it brings us into the author's intimacy, makes us his confidants, and enriches us with the remembrance of successive conversations with one who as a poet, a humorist, a man of taste, culture, and travel, and withal possessed of many prominent and piquant idiosyncrasies, renders our intercourse with him at once exciting, entertaining, and instructive.

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25. — *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered.* By John, Lord Campbell, LL. D., F. R. S. E. In a Letter to J. Payne Collier, Esq., F. S. A. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 146.

In this gracefully written monograph, Lord Campbell discusses the question whether Shakespeare was at an early period of his life an attorney's clerk. On one side we have the absence of all historical and documentary evidence in the affirmative; on the other, several years of the poet's life unaccounted for, and his frequent use, not only of general, but of technical words and phrases appertaining to the legal science. Lord Campbell has analyzed the plays with this question in view, and here presents a large array of citations which might seem to authorize an affirmative answer. Of these, there is no one, there are no half-dozen, which would establish even a probable case; but the argument is in its nature cumulative, and in its entireness has no little weight. The author declines giving a positive opinion of his own, and we are disposed to believe that his readers will for the most part be equally unwilling to affirm and to deny the alleged fact of the great dramatist's legal education. He may have been an attorney's clerk; but we doubt whether it can be proved that he was one.

26.—*Rambles among Words: their Poetry, History, and Wisdom.* By WILLIAM SWINTON. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 302.

THIS book, though less carefully digested than Trench's volume on the "Study of Words," covers more ground, and brings to light a larger assortment of the verbal curiosities of the English language. It illustrates, with equal aptness and copiousness, the wealth of history, poetry, and wisdom that often lies in a fossil state in the origin or structure of a word. It is somewhat desultory, and sometimes repetitious, but these faults are more than neutralized by the patent evidence of the author's diligent research, careful thought, and felicitous fancy. The reader will find it never dull, often amusing, always instructive.

27.—*Ethel's Love-Life: a Novel.* By MARGARET J. M. SWEAT. New York: Rudd and Carleton. 1859. 12mo. pp. 232.

THIS book is not a novel in the common sense of the term. Its form is that of a series of letters from Ethel Sunderland to her last beloved, her betrothed and expectant bridegroom. She gives him her own heart-history, in connection with her previous loves, and describes the successive stages and agencies in the development of the tenderness, strength, and depth of a true and noble woman's nature. The work is introspective in its whole character; and, while we by no means suppose that the incidents are recorded from experience, in a still pro-founder sense Mrs. Sweat must have given us an autobiography, for there is much in her narrative which is beyond the reach of fiction, and for which remembered or persistent consciousness alone could have furnished the materials. The style is natural, that is to say, not such a style as any young lady ever employed in writing to a young man, but such as would of necessity be adopted by the somewhat intensified and idealized heroines of fiction, if they lived and wrote love-letters. It requires a finer and higher art by far to produce a work like this, than to jot down the gossip and incidents that form the staple of an ordinary novel; and Mrs. Sweat has fully justified her choice of so difficult a department of fictitious literature, by the genuine vein of pure, tender, and elevated sentiment which pervades, or rather which is, Ethel's story.

28.— *Portrait of a Christian, drawn from Life. A Memoir of Maria Elizabeth Clapp.* By her Pastor, CHANDLER ROBBINS, D.D., Minister of the Second Church. Fourth Edition. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 135.

MISS CLAPP was, for a large part of her life, a teacher in one of the primary schools of this city, and at the same time an earnest and devoted Sunday-school teacher, and a worker, to the utmost of her ability, in every good cause. Worn out by her incessant labors, she died, after a lingering and painful illness, in August, 1857. In her early youth she made the irrevocable consecration of heart and life to her Saviour, and in few even of those whose names are synonymes for sainthood in all Christendom have the strength and beauty of the Christian character shone with so pure a lustre as in her life and writings. Her pastor, in his eminent fitness for the pious task, has interwoven extracts from her letters and diary with his own sweet and touching narrative. The book is full of "instruction in righteousness," and we should pity the reader whom it did not profoundly impress with the reality and infinite moment of the truths, in whose might this modest, loving disciple lived and wrought, in whose comfort she endured and overcame.

29.— *The Christian Graces. A Series of Lectures on 2 Peter* i. 5-12. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 280.

THE subject of these lectures is the "Choir of Graces" enumerated by St. Peter, — Virtue, Knowledge, Temperance, Patience, Godliness, Brotherly Kindness, Charity. Easy and familiar, almost colloquial, yet pure and dignified in style, they are evidently the result of thorough study, deep thought, mature religious wisdom, and the most fervent desire to do good. We admire in them equally the clear exegesis, the affluence of classical and historical illustration, the close and pungent appeals to the conscience, and the gentle, loving spirit, which, combined, render them a rare and precious memorial of the author's professional endowments, ability, and faithfulness.

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30. — *An Essay on Intuitive Morals, being an Attempt to popularize Ethical Science.* Part I. *Theory of Morals.* First American Edition, with Additions and Corrections by the Author. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 279.

THIS seems to us the best ethical treatise we have ever read. Some of the subsidiary propositions are open to objection, and there are a few paragraphs that express sentiments with which we cannot fully accord; but with these inconsiderable exceptions, we have read the treatise with the highest admiration. It lays the basis of moral obligation in the nature of moral agents and of moral actions. It makes right and wrong, not contingent and mutable, but inherent and eternal characteristics. It derives the moral law from the immanent God in the soul of man, and founds its right to be obeyed on its own intrinsic beauty, loveliness, and excellence. In brief, the author's aim may best be defined in the closing words of the Preface: "I hope that there may be some who will bear from its perusal the conviction that Philosophy has no lesson more sure, nor Religion any doctrine of more Divine authority, than that Voice of INTUITION which ever speaks in their hearts of the Infinite Goodness of our Father in Heaven, and of the awful Sanctity of that Eternal Law which is impersonated in His righteous Will."

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31. — *The Protestant Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia: being a Condensed Translation of* HERZOG'S *Real Encyclopædia.* By Rev. J. H. A. BOMBERGER, D. D., assisted by distinguished Theologians of various Denominations. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. 1858. 8vo. pp. 768.

THE scope of this work embraces exegesis, systematic theology, Christian ethics, sacred geography, ecclesiastical history, and Scriptural and Christian biography. If any important omissions are to be noticed, they are chiefly or wholly of titles which belong somewhat exclusively to the churches of England and America. The articles are, where the subject admits of this, elaborate and erudite treatises; and the work when completed must take its place as unequalled in its kind, and as an essential book of reference for every divine and theologian.

32.— *The Emancipation of Faith.* By the late HENRY EDWARD SCHEDEL, M. D., Laureate of the Hospitals of Paris, Author of a "Treatise on the Diseases of the Skin," of a "Clinical Examen of Hydropathy," etc. Edited by GEORGE SCHEDEL, former British Consular Agent for Costa Rica in Central America. In Two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 470, 482.

THIS is a work of such magnitude, that we should only do it injustice were we to attempt to analyze it in the brief time and space which remain to us at this late period; and yet we cannot suffer it to pass unnoticed. It comprises a candid and reverent survey of the history of religious philosophy, with a view to establish the Christian revelation as supreme and ultimate, to reduce the contents of that revelation to the being and attributes of God, — God as manifested and incarnate in Christ, — all else being but mode and circumstance, and to indicate this central truth as the basis, the substance, and the unity of the Church of the future. The work bears throughout the marks of profound and independent thought, deep religious feeling, and the most comprehensive and catholic sympathies.

33.— *The Limits of Religious Thought examined in Eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the Year* MDCCCLVIII., *on the Bampton Foundation.* By HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B. D., Reader in Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy at Magdalen College, Tutor and late Fellow of St. John's College. First American, from the Third London, Edition. With the Notes translated. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 364.

THIS is not only a profoundly learned work, but written in a needlessly dry and abstruse style; and, as the Lectures were delivered, it is impossible that even a University audience could have enucleated all the author's thick-sown and obscurely worded thoughts. But for the patient and reflective reader it is a book of rare and unique value and fruitfulness. The author finds the limits of religious thought in the essential nature and circumscription of man's intellectual faculties. Yet man may receive on authority, and may thus know, truths which it is beyond his power either to discover or to verify. Such truths are among his needs as a dependent, responsible, and immortal being. Here, then, lies the open field for an authenticated Divine revelation on the one hand, and for implicit faith on the other. With the author's general reasoning we coincide in full, while as to some of the contents of the revelation which in common with him we receive as Divine, we are constrained to differ from him. More than a third part of the volume is made up of illustrative and corroborative extracts from writers, ancient and modern, of widely varying schools in philosophy and religion; and these, many of them from books not easily accessible, add a high, though a secondary, value to the work.

34.—1. *The Pioneers; or, The Sources of the Susquehanna. A Descriptive Tale.*
2. *The Last of the Mohicans. A Narrative of* 1757.
3. *The Red Rover. A Tale.*
4. *The Spy. A Tale of the Neutral Ground.*
5. *Wyandotte, or the Hutted Knoll. A Tale.*
By J. FENIMORE COOPER. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. DARLEY. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1859. 12mo.

WE believe the present a peculiarly favorable moment for the issue of a new edition of Cooper's novels. It is an undoubted fact that, on their first appearance, they had even a wider popularity in England than in the United States. They related to times the memory of which was still fresh, the events still recent, and to scenes still familiar. The crowded incidents of the last quarter of a century, and the revolutions that have transformed the face of our country, have already thrown the materials of these tales into a semi-mythical background, and given them the prestige of antiquity, while the genius which alone confers literary immortality could never before have been appreciated as it now is. The edition, of which we have five volumes before us, is more than beautiful,—it is magnificent, splendid, worthy of any superlative epithet that may be employed to characterize it. The illustrations are numerous, appropriate, and in the artist's very best style, than which, it is well known, nothing can be better. We procured for our present number an elaborate article on Cooper, in order to second to the utmost of our ability the munificent enterprise of the publishers. That article circumstances beyond our control have compelled us to lay over for the opening paper in our next number. Meanwhile, we trust that the appearance of Cooper's novels in so attractive a form, will renew in the risen, and awaken in the rising generation, familiar converse with one who was almost the pioneer among American authors worthy of the name, and to whom our infant literature has been more largely indebted than to any other writer in any department for its Transatlantic reputation.

35.—*Thoughts on Educational Topics and Institutions.* By GEORGE S. BOUTWELL. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 365.

THIS volume comes to hand just as we are sending our last sheets to the press, else we should not content ourselves with the cursory notice with which we welcome its appearance. It is a collection of Governor Boutwell's educational addresses. His style is vigorous and racy. His theories are practical, not in the lower sense of satisfying the public indolence, but as presenting the highest attainable standard. He constantly recognizes Christianity as the only basis of a sound and worthy education, and the diffusion of knowledge as the sole safeguard of liberty, order, and individual and social well-being. Our State may well be congratulated on the choice of so wise and energetic a head for her educational department, while the public are constrained to confess that even from the chief magistracy its late incumbent has passed into an office of higher significance, larger influence, and more abundant usefulness.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Liberty versus Romanism. Two Discourses, delivered in the New North Church, by Rev. Arthur B. Fuller. Boston: H. W. Swett & Co. 1859.

Religion in our Public Schools. A Discourse preached in the West Church, Boston. By C. A. Bartol. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

The Importance of a Positive and Distinct Theology. A Discourse, preached first in "The Church of All Souls," New York, January 30, 1859, and repeated at the Inaugural Services of "The Church of the Redeemer," Cincinnati, Ohio, on Easter Sunday, April 24, 1859. By Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D. D. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1859.

Funeral Discourse delivered in the Unitarian Church of Charleston, at the Obsequies of Rev. James R. McFarland, late Pastor of the Church, by Rev. C. B. Thomas, together with Other Tributes to his Memory. Charleston. 1859.

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of Rev. George Bradford, preached in the First Church of Watertown (Mass.), Feb. 27, 1859. By A. P. Putnam. Boston. 1859.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Respect to the Memory of William Hickling Prescott, February 1, 1859. Boston. 1859.

Science and Success. A Valedictory Address delivered to the Medical Graduates of Harvard University, at the Annual Commencement, Wednesday, March 9, 1859. By Henry Jacob Bigelow, M. D., Professor of Surgery. Boston: David Clapp. 1859.

Library of Select Novels. No. 210. Gerald Fitzgerald, "The Chevalier." By Charles Lever. Part I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. pp. 112.

Prairie Farming in America. With Notes by the Way on Canada and the United States. By James Caird, M. P. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 130.

Henry Cruger: The Colleague of Edmund Burke in the British Parliament. A Paper read before the New York Historical Society, January 4th, 1859, by Henry C. Van Schaack. New York: C. Benjamin Richardson.

Argument of William H. Y. Hackett, for the Defendants, in the Suit in Chancery, John A. Parker against the Winnipiseogee Lake Cotton and Woollen Manufacturing Company, before the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of New Hampshire, May Term, 1859. Portsmouth. 1859.

Defence of the Use of the Bible in the Public Schools. Argument of Henry Durant, Esq. in the Eliot School Case. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859.

Genealogy of the McKinstry Family, with a Preliminary Essay on the Scotch-Irish Immigrations to America. By William Willis, of Portland, Me. Boston. 1858.

Report of the Meeting held to celebrate the Centenary of the Birthday of Robert Burns, at the Revere House, Boston, January 25, 1859. Boston. 1859.

The Dudley Observatory. An Address to the Citizens of Albany, and the Donors and Friends of the Dudley Observatory, on the Recent Proceedings of the Trustees; from a Committee of Citizens appointed at a Public Meeting held in Albany, on the 13th of July, 1858. Albany. 1859.

Reminiscences of La Fayette's Visit to Boston, Gov. Brooks, Gov. Eustis, and others. By Gen. William H. Sumner. Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, for April, 1859. Boston. 1859.

A Letter to Clergymen on the Preservation of Health, and the Use of Peruvian Syrup, or Protected Solution of Protoxide of Iron Combined, as a Medicinal Agent. Boston: N. L. Clark & Co. 1859.

The Coast Survey. Reply to the Official Defence of its Cost, Abuses, and Power. New York. 1859.

Charlotte and Myra. A Puzzle in Six Bits. By Winwood Reade. London: Trübner & Co. 1859.

Historical Cantata. Packer Collegiate Institute. February, 1859. New York. 1859.

Journal of the American Geographical and Statistical Society. Vol. I. No. 1. New York: John H. Schultz & Co. January, 1859. Small 4to. pp. 32.

All the Year Round. A Weekly Journal. Conducted by Charles Dickens. No. 1. New York: J. M. Emerson & Co. April 30, 1859. 8vo. pp. 24.

The Courant, a Southern Literary Journal. Vol. I. No. 1. Columbia: Wm. W. Walker, Jr. & Co. Howard H. Caldwell, Editor. May 5, 1859. Large 4to. pp. 8.

Conservatory Journal. Devoted to Establishing a Massachusetts Conservatory of Art, Science, and Historical Relics. Vol. I. No. 1. Boston. April 9, 1859.

The Christian Union of Harvard University. March, 1859. Boston. 1859.

The Tenth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large, in the City of Roxbury. Roxbury. 1859.

Ministry at Large. Seventeenth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large, in the City of Providence, presented and read at a Public Meeting held in the First Congregational Church, Sunday Evening, January 30, 1859. By Edwin M. Stone. Providence. 1859.

Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. Presented March 6, 1859. Boston. 1859.

Twenty-Fifth Annual Report, submitted March 27, 1859, to the Members of the Federal Street Branch of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches. Boston. 1859.

Sixteenth Annual Report of the Managers of the State Lunatic Asylum. Transmitted to the Legislature January 29, 1859. Albany. 1859.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth. Boston. 1858.

Twelfth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Lawrence, prepared by Henry K. Oliver, Secretary and Superintendent of Schools. 1858. Lawrence. 1859.

Twenty-First Annual Report of the School Committee of the Town of Brighton, for 1858-59. Cambridge. 1859.

Report of the Board of Appeal, U. S. Patent Office, In the Matter of the Application of Wm. Wickersham for a Patent for Improvements in Sewing Machines, on Interference with the Patents granted J. M. Singer, August 12th, 1851, and November 4th, 1856, for similar Improvements. Washington. 1859.

Third Annual Catalogue of the Pittsburg Female College, for the Years 1857 and 1858. Pittsburg. 1858.

Circular and Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Musical Institute, East Street, Pittsfield, Berkshire County, Mass. April, 1859. Pittsfield. 1859.

Catalogue of the Teachers and Pupils of the Concord School, 1858-9. Concord. 1859.

Igdrasil; or, The Tree of Existence. By James Challen, Author of the Cave of Machpelah, and other Poems. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1859. 12mo. pp. 170.

Poems. Edited by Sidney Russell. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 118.

The Avenger, a Narrative; and other Papers. By Thomas De Quincey. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 332.

Waverley Novels. Household Edition. The Surgeon's Daughter. — Castle Dangerous. — Index and Glossary. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 363, 388.

The Recollections of Geoffry Hamlyn. By Henry Kingsley. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 525.

The Bertrams. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 528.

Agnes Hopetoun's Schools and Holidays. By Mrs. Oliphant. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 300.

Adam Bede. By George Eliot. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 496.

The Mother's Mission. Sketches from Real Life. By the Author of "The Object of Life." Five Illustrations. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859. 16mo. pp. 311.

Ben Sylvester's Word. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 141.

Truth is Everything: a Tale for Young Persons. By Mrs. Thomas Geldart. First American, from Third London Edition. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 171.

The Foster Brothers; being a History of the School and College Life of Two Young Men. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 405.

The Cassique of Kiawah, a Colonial Romance. By William Gilmore Simms, Esq. New York: Redfield. 1859. 12mo. pp. 600.

Reports of the Superintendent of the Coast Survey, showing the Progress of the Survey during the Year 1857. Washington. 1858. pp. 448. Charts 72.

Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1857. Agriculture. Washington. 1858. 8vo. pp. 552. Plates 7.

Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856. From Gales and Seaton's Annals of Congress; from their Register of Debates; and from the Official Reported Debates, by John C. Rives. By the Author of the Thirty Years' View. Vol. XI. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 782.

Annual of Scientific Discovery: or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1859. Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Meteorology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year 1858; a List of recent Scientific Publications; Obituaries of eminent Scientific Men, etc. Edited by David A. Wells, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 410.

A Mother's Gift to her Little Ones at Home: a Book of Sweet and Simple Talks about Serious Things, founded on easy Texts of Scripture, and fitted for Children between the Ages of Four and Eight Years. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859. 16mo. pp. 131.

More about Jesus. With Illustrations and a Map. By the Author of "Peep of Day," "Reading without Tears," etc., etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 16mo. pp. 246.

Palissy the Potter; or, The Huguenot Artist and Martyr. A True Narrative. By C. L. Brightwell. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859. 16mo. pp. 235.

Proverbial and Moral Thoughts. In a Series of Essays. By Charles Henry Hanger. Boston: Mayhew & Baker. 1859. 16mo. pp. 204.

The Lord's Supper. By Rev. Samuel Luckey, D. D. With an Introduction. By Rev. Bishop Janes. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859. 16mo. pp. 284.

The Great Concern; or, Man's Relation to God and a Future State. By Nehemiah Adams, D.D., Pastor of the Essex Street Church, Boston. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 235.

First Things: or the Development of Church Life. By Baron Stow. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 282.

Bishop Butler's Ethical Discourses, and Essay on Virtue. Arranged as a Treatise on Moral Philosophy; and edited, with an Analysis, by J. T. Champlin, D. D., President of Waterville College. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 206.

The Life of General H. Havelock, K. C. B. By J. T. Headley. Illustrated. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 375.

Mosaics. By the Author of "Salad for the Solitary," etc. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 12mo. pp. 420.

The Art of Extempore Speaking. Hints for the Pulpit, the Senate, and the Bar. By M. Bautain, Vicar-General and Professor at the Sorbonne, etc., etc. With Additions by a Member of the New York Bar. New York: Charles Scribner. 1859. 16mo. pp. 364.

The Boy's Book of Modern Travel and Adventure. By Merideth Johnes. With Eight Illustrations, by William Harvey. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 333.

Pleasure. A Poem, in Seven Books. By Nicholas Michell. London: William Tegg & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 243.

Poems. By Anne Whitney. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 191.

The Tin Trumpet; or, Heads and Tails for the Wise and Waggish. A New American Edition, with Alterations and Additions. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 262.

Sermons Preached and Revised by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. Fifth Series. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 454.

The Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book, for the Service of Song in the House of the Lord. New York: Mason Brothers. 1859. 8vo. pp. 511.

Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Education, together with the Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board. Boston. 1859. pp. 160, 250, lxxxix.

The Poetical Works of James Gates Percival. With a Biographical Sketch. In 2 vols. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 16mo. (Blue and Gold.) pp. 402, 517.

Poems by Owen Meredith. The Wanderer and Clytemnestra. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. (Blue and Gold.) pp. 514.

The Poetical Works of William Motherwell. With a Memoir of his Life. Fourth Edition, greatly enlarged. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. (Blue and Gold.) pp. 308.

Studies, Stories, and Memoirs. By Mrs. Jameson. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. (Blue and Gold.) pp. 408.

Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters. By Mrs. Jameson. From the Tenth English Edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1859. 16mo. (Blue and Gold.) pp. 352.

Napoleonic Ideas. Des Idées Napoléoniennes, par le Prince Napoléon-Louis Bonaparte. Brussels. 1839. Translated by James A. Dorr. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 154.

Sketch Book of Popular Geology. Popular Geology: A Series of Lectures read before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh. With Descriptive Sketches from a Geologist's Portfolio. By Hugh Miller. With an Introductory Résumé of the Progress of Geological Science within the last Two Years, by Mrs. Miller. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 12mo. pp. 423.

On the Probable Fall in the Value of Gold: the Commercial and Social Consequences which may ensue, and the Measures which it invites. By Michael Chevalier, Member of the Institute of France, etc., etc. Translated from the French, with Preface, by Richard Cobden, Esq. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 211.

The Life of James Watt, with Selections from his Correspondence. By James Patrick Muirhead, M. A. Illustrated with Woodcuts. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 424.

The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, May, 1678 — June, 1689;

with Notes and an Appendix comprising such Documents from the State Archives, and other Sources, as illustrate the History of the Colony during the Administration of Sir Edmund Andros. Transcribed and edited, in Accordance with a Resolution of the General Assembly, by J. Hammond Trumbull. Hartford. 1859. 8vo. pp. 538.

Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic, by Sir William Hamilton, Bart. Edited by the Rev. Henry L. Mansel, B. D., Oxford, and John Veitch, M.A., Edinburgh. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Metaphysics. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1859. 8vo. pp. 718.

The New American Cyclopædia: a Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. Vol. V. *Chartreuse — Cougar.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 770.

Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature. A Classed List of Books published in the United States of America during the last Forty Years. With Bibliographical Introduction, Notes, and Alphabetical Index. Compiled and edited by Nicolas Trübner. London: Trübner & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. cxlix., 554.

Parochial Sermons. Sermons for some of the principal Festivals and Fasts of the Church, and on Christian Doctrine and Duty. Preached at the Church of the Advent, Boston, Massachusetts. By the Right Rev. Horatio Southgate, late Rector of the Parish. New York: Daniel Dana, Jr. 1859. 12mo. pp. 315.

The American Home Garden. Being Principles and Rules for the Culture of Vegetables, Fruits, Flowers, and Shrubbery. To which are added Brief Notes on Farm Crops, with a Table of their Average Product and Chemical Constituents. By Alexander Watson. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 531.

The Romance and its Hero. By the Author of "Magdalen Stafford." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 424.

The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army. By Friedrich Kapp. With an Introduction by George Bancroft. New York: Mason Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 735.

The Agamemnon of Æschylus, with Notes and a Metrical Table. New Edition, revised. By C. C. Felton, LL. D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Cambridge. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 185.

Elements of Mechanics: for the Use of Colleges, Academies, and High Schools. By William G. Peck, M. A., Adjunct Professor of Mathematics, Columbia College. New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr. 1859. 12mo. pp. 338.

Elements of Rhetoric; designed as a Manual of Instruction. By Henry Coppée, A. M., Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 367.

Ancient Mineralogy; or, An Inquiry respecting Mineral Substances mentioned by the Ancients; with Occasional Remarks on the Uses to which they were applied. By N. F. Moore, LL. D. Second Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 16mo. pp. 250.

The Life of North American Insects. By B. Jaeger, late Professor of

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ART. I.—1. *The Pioneers; or, The Sources of the Susquehanna. A Descriptive Tale.*
2. *The Last of the Mohicans. A Narrative of* 1757.
3. *The Red Rover. A Tale.*
4. *The Spy. A Tale of the Neutral Ground.*
5. *Wyandotté; or, The Hutted Knoll. A Tale.*
6. *The Bravo. A Tale.*

By J. FENIMORE COOPER. Illustrated from Drawings by F. O. C. DARLEY. New York: W. A. Townsend & Co. 1859. 12mo.

WHEN the writings of our native authors had become sufficiently versatile and numerous to justify the publication of a "Cyclopædia of American Literature," it was highly appropriate to embellish the two massive octavos respectively with portraits of Franklin and Cooper, — the former being the intellectual representative of his country as she emerged from her colonial estate to independent nationality, — and the latter no less her literary pioneer when peace and prosperity had crowned the sacrifices of her soldiers and statesmen. As we look upon the bold, confident, manly, and handsome features of Cooper, so authentically caught by the solar rays, and so creditably transferred by the burin, we recognize the first *American* author in the full significance of the term; for not only in his scenes and subjects, not only in his scope and inspiration, but in his defects, Cooper is our national representative in letters. His want of refinement in style, his imperfect sympathy with other than adventurous characters, his unartistic plots, his tendency to extravagance, the confusion that arises from a plenitude of material and a lack of tact in its arrangement, his occasional crudity, his devotion to the external and the immediate, the almost blundering progress or complexity of his incident and manœuvre, — the whole redeemed by a power, animation, bold invention, vigorous hold and masterly delineation of realities, intense sympathy with heroic action, with brave endurance, and with the grand, fresh, and true in nature and experience, — in brief, the power, despite our sense of faults and errors, of attracting us and carrying us on, sometimes with breathless interest, through the conflict of the elements, the turmoil of passion, or the grand and lovely aspects of nature, — all is American in the thrill and the throe, the imperfection and the triumph, the haste and the waste, the force of will and the incompleteness of insight, the natural energy and truth, and the artistic inadequacy. We may smile at Cooper's failures as a limner of fair women, or lament his prejudices as an historian; but we cannot recall him without a glow of pride and pleasure, as we gaze on an inland lake or a Western prairie, watch the course of a ship-of-war, or gossip with an old forest guide. Never was there a greater contrast of justifiable enthusiasm and equally justifiable critical fault-finding, than attended the publication of his first acknowledged novel. It won the sympathies, while it challenged the judgment; in historical character-painting it was defective, — as a picture of life and events a success; and thenceforth, with the confidence and the love of experiment, the disdain of opposition, and the faith in individuality, so characteristic of his countrymen, he dashed gallantly forward in the career of letters, working out, in "Leatherstocking" and "The Pilot," his most effective vein, and widening the circle of his fame, with no lack of the original spirit, yet without any marked progress in the direction where enlightened criticism had indicated his deficiencies; still, in spite of them, and by virtue of the transcendent excellences we have noted, gaining the universal acknowledgment,

> "With all thy faults, I love thee still."

The new issue of Cooper's novels — six volumes of which are now before us — gives us a favorable occasion to re-examine his claims, and reassert his distinctive merits. The publishers have met a great national want in this elegant edition of our American novelist. The text has received the author's last revision; the form and method of publication are appropriate, — each novel being comprised in a single crown-octavo, issued on the first of each month; the style of type, the quality of paper, and the binding, are convenient and substantial; but the crowning grace of the edition consists in the highly finished, apt, and spirited illustrations by F. O. C. Darley, who, gifted and versatile as he is, has never excelled some of the dramatic groups and expressive figures contained in these engravings. They have the vigor of the most elaborate, and the delicacy of the most refined pictures; the artist has caught the life, freshness, and action of the author's conceptions. Thus appealing to eye and mind, and especially to national love and pride, this handsome yet economical library edition cannot fail to become a standard favorite. It is a remarkable coincidence, that its publication commenced at the moment when the issue of the best American edition of the Waverley novels was brought to a close, — precisely as the fame of Cooper rose as that of Scott culminated. The number of drawings contracted for, to illustrate the complete series, is five hundred; the price of each novel is a dollar and a half; and thirty-two uniform volumes will complete the set. With a liberality worthy of their enterprise, the publishers intend to issue sets of the illustrations on large and fine paper, separate from the novels, and to devote the proceeds of the sale to the Cooper monument fund. An interesting and suggestive paper on this subject was written by Greenough, the sculptor, shortly before his death. This artist was about to model a colossal bust of the novelist, from the marble bust, of life-size, executed by him several years before in Italy, and intended to present it to the city of Newport, Rhode Island, to adorn the old Mile Park, — a scene commemorated in "The Red Rover." The purpose was inspired not less by admiration for the genius of the author, than by personal gratitude to the man. It would have been a most appropriate offering and ornament. The views expressed by Greenough in regard to the proposed monument deserve the utmost consideration, not only as an artistic opinion, but as a philosophical argument.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER was born at Burlington, New Jersey, September 15, 1789, and died at Cooperstown, New York, September 14, 1851. Had he lived another day, he would have been exactly sixty-two years of age at his decease. His literary career began with the publication of "Precaution" and "The Spy," in 1821, and closed with "The Ways of the Hour," in 1850. The period of nearly thirty years included between these dates was one of almost incessant literary productiveness; and the last time we conversed with him, — a few months before his death, — his physical and mental vigor appeared undiminished, and he described with characteristic vivacity the plan he had just conceived of a nautical biography, — not of a man but of a ship, — narrating admirably many incidents thereof, which he afterward partially executed, and which proved his last undertaking.

The manorial life of Colonial days in the interior of the State of New York fostered the salient traits of character which astonished Europeans during and after the Revolutionary War. It disciplined self-command and executive ability by the exigencies of border life, the care of numerous dependents, the local administration of justice, the exercise of hospitality, and the isolated position in which cultivated minds could not but grow independent and original. No thoughtful reader can follow the career of the Schuylers, the Morrises, the Livingstons, and other eminent country gentlemen of the region and period, and not be reminded how largely the freedom, the responsibilities, and the duties of large proprietors on the borders of a wilderness contributed to the development of the courteous, urbane, energetic, and loyal natures that achieved such noble tasks in war, diplomacy, legislation, and social life. It was in such a sphere, and under such circumstances, that the most American of our native authors passed his boyhood. Beside one of those beautiful lakes which give their peculiar character to the scenery and resources of New York, beneath the sequestered roof-tree of the lord of the manor, in the still rugged central region whence rise the waters of the Susquehanna, his earliest pleasures, habits, and hopes were formed; and whoever will in fancy compare such a home with that of a trading seaport, a manufacturing town, or an ancient metropolis, will readily understand how naturally vigor of body and mind, independence, and moral energy found there a scope and impulse which made "the child the father of the man," and prompted the future author to use the first current of his popularity as a lure to the scenery of that endeared domain, and to the recognition of the manly and womanly traits that gave a perennial charm to the memory of that home.

In 1798, when his father emigrated to his "tract" in Western New York, Cooper was a child. To-day the summer tourist, in his excursions from Sharon Springs or Cherry Valley, finds a town where then the paternal dwelling of the novelist rose in imposing isolation; but the lovely expanse of water remains intact, and a mound in the village cemetery, and a rural cottage on the banks of the river, where his daughters live for letters and charity, still associate the scene with his presence. Of his genius it must ever speak; for every feature of the landscape has been traced by his pen, and not less than seventeen of his books were written there, while the town bears the ancestral name with which he has so indissolubly blended its natural and original environment. The brief interval of academic life, too early to be greatly influential, which followed a boyhood thus nurtured, was succeeded by "two years before the mast," and these by a short term of official service, thus giving active play to faculties and sentiments which had been kept fresh and firm by the free and bracing atmosphere in which his childhood was passed. Such was the apt education of the man and the writer. Like Burns, he escaped pedantic distortion; like Audubon, he retained the zest of woodland life, and, like Jerrold, caught the inspiration of the sea. There was, indeed, as much bold adventure in his method as in his subjects. We see him, first, gaining a little practice on the beaten ground of the conventional English novel; next, essaying to depict domestic life at home as made dramatic by the war of independence; then laying open, with a pardonable egotism, the domestic surroundings and experiences among which he was reared, vindicating their dignity while he un-veiled their primitive charms; next, from this purely descriptive romance, stimulated by Scott's inadequacy as a nautical painter, as well as by the charm of his "Pirate," throwing himself ardently into the vivid reminiscence of his youth, to reproduce the very soul and science of maritime adventure, and to wring from the reluctant justice of British critics an acknowledgment that his "was the empire of the sea"; after following up this success with another tale, more subdued but kindred in spirit, returning to the events of the Revolution, with equal care, but less power, to be again kindled by a comparative failure into new endeavor as the inventor of the aboriginal romance, in "The Last of the Mohicans," illustrating nature's aristocracy, as in "The Pioneers" he had illustrated that of family. While Europe was luxuriating in these fresh elements of story, the author found there incentives to yet other experiments, and wove into a Venetian tale the principles of democracy. Contemned on his return as a social critic, he reappeared as the forest painter, and in "The Pathfinder" and "Deerslayer" revived his virgin fame, and then brought to the memoir of a shattered mariner,* whom he found on a New York dock, his old maritime knowledge and relish; thus going more than round the circle of artistical achievement, undiscouraged by the shifting gales of popularity, from first to last giving proof of manly assiduity and patient elaboration. Balzac so admired his genius,† in its best phase, that he devoted to Cooper one of his few critical articles; and towards the close of our author's career, his earliest triumph reappeared in the East, in the form of a Persian translation of "The Spy," which, like the masterpiece of De Foe, so long sought a publisher in vain in the land of its nativity.

There are two great sources and resources of wonder, beauty, and discipline, in which nature provides for the highest as well as the most primitive wants of humanity, — the forest and the sea. History draws thence her most impressive memorials; Geography thence derives her broadest inferences as to national destiny and development; and character there develops its broad diversity of forms, from the hermit to the hero, from the simplest habitudes of humble toil to the most complex phases of scientific research. With the sea and the woods are associated the conquests of arms and of faith; the orator and the poet turn instinctively to them for imagery and inspiration; and while, on the one hand, a magnificent city, peerless even in decay, like Venice, boasts herself the child and the bride of the sea through commerce and war, on the other, a lone Western wild is crowned with saintly and civic fame by the memory of the missionary and the pioneer. And what is remarkable in the vast arcana is their exhaustless interest. The genii and bandits of the forest have, indeed, vanished before the march of civilization, but to the romance succeeds a more wonderful reality. The naturalist and the emigrant unfold new secrets of nature and of life. Instead of legend, we find law; Audubon and Michaux make every tree and bird significant; exploration exhibits more miracles than tradition; the artist and the *savant* follow the hunter and the engineer, and the song of the lumberman resounds where has scarcely died the echo of the war-whoop. So, too, of the sea. The marvel of an ocean voyage has grown familiar; the South Sea no longer enfolds Arcadian mysteries; the "Tempest" is transferred from Bermuda to an imaginary isle; the navigator of our day has to deal with known elements; Maury has mapped out the ocean-depths, and the clipper ship speeds confidently from pole to pole; the "peak in Darien" is become a familiar landmark; Scylla and Charybdis excite the smile of summer tourists, and the Pillars of Hercules are a token of British dominion, instead of being the limits of the world; steam has made the departure and arrival of ships too much a thing of calculation for eager expectancy or solemn dread to stir the hearts of landsmen at their aspect; and yet Adventure courts fresh hazards on the element she has conquered, by penetrating to the ice-bound seas of the North, and linking continents by electric currents beneath the waves. What of romance has faded from the sea with the Norsemen, the old Dutch admirals, and the weather-beaten craft of the American colonists, is more than replaced by the steamship, the yacht, and the Arctic expeditions; the valor of the battle of Lepanto is less marvellous than the scientific resources of the Crimean fleet; and an English nobleman's summer voyage to Scandinavia is fraught with as much interest and wonder to the intelligent and imaginative, as the old canoe expeditions on the unexplored coast of America, the whale-fishery as eulogized by Burke, or the El Dorado quests of the Spanish navigators. Always and everywhere, therefore, the sea and the forest are to poet and hero, to sage and adventurer, infinitely suggestive. "The forest of Arden" and the "enchanted isle" of the poet of nature, do but foreshadow what history and the passing hour demonstrate of actual inspiration.

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* Ned Myers.

† "C'est," reprit Balzac, "le dernier ouvrage de Cooper — le Lac Ontario. C'est beau! c'est grand! c'est d'un immense interêt; il nous devait bien ce chef-d'œuvre apres les deux ou trois dernières rapsodies qu'il nous a donnés: vous lirez cela; je ne connais au monde que Walter Scott qui se soit élevé à cette grandeur et à cette sérénité de coloris. Si Cooper avait réussi dans la peinture des caractères au même degré que dans la peinture des phénomènes de la nature, il aurait dit le dernier mot de notre art." — *Balzac en Pantoufles*, par Léon Guzlan, p. 73.

The relation of man to nature has been analyzed and defined with more and more precision as civilization has advanced, so that "upon the sea" and "in the woods" science, poetry, and political economy have watched, sung, and chronicled experience, from the minute generalizations of Humboldt to the impassioned illustrations of Byron, the sentiment of St. Pierre and Chateaubriand, and the philosophical interpretations of Wordsworth. While Robin Hood lives in ballads as the type of the lawless forester, Nelson, in the life-like narrative of Southey, is the exemplar of the modern naval hero; the songs of Dibdin give popular expression to the jovial improvidence of the British sailor; Campbell's naval odes and Falconer's "Shipwreck" more artistically embody the national feeling in regard to the element so congenial to Anglo-Saxon enterprise and valor; and the forest scenery of America has been consecrated by the muse of Bryant. Although so prolific as resources for active human energy, as fields for science, and as food for the poetic sympathies, the sea and the woods are essentially modified in their phenomena by the chances and changes of human development. The navigator is less of a hero than of yore, and his skilful battles with wind and wave do not challenge the admiration they excited before mechanical skill had lessened the odds against him. Seamen are fast losing their national traits. Short voyages, an isolated social position, and the lack of that homogeneous sentiment which protracted companionship and hazardous adventure once fostered, have greatly diminished the peculiar interest, and modified the special traits, once associated with the idea of a sailor. And emigration now is so rapid and gregarious, that the long interval of sequestration from older communities, the privations and the freedom, the exclusive contact with nature, the primitive agencies, perils, and expedients, are comparatively unknown. The railroad soon connects the distant settlement with a market; the press brings news, the steamship fresh colonists; so that, in a brief space, there is little to distinguish the life of the emigrant as such. Not only, therefore, because of the intrinsic and permanent attraction of forest and sea, have the best novels of Cooper a peculiar value, but also on account of phases and forms of human experience which, in many essential respects, have passed away, not to reappear. In those early scenes of border life and maritime adventure, which he has depicted with such authenticity and vividness, the philosophic reader will discern the wholesome self-discipline, the inevitable self-dependence, the absolute freedom, the simple manners, the integrity, and the courage, which constituted the original basis of American character. The woods and the sea were the grand nurseries of truth, endurance, and liberty, where native intelligence grew skilful and confident, and honest self-reliance and pious hope were cherished into working forces of the highest magnitude and efficacy. They alone explain the hardihood and the good faith which redeemed the land in the Revolutionary struggle, the wisdom of the subsequent race of statesmen, and the indomitable enterprise and continuous growth which have since crowned the expanding area of the nation with prosperity. We deem it, therefore, no small part of our obligation to Cooper, that he seized and embodied the spirit of those isolated communities planted on the borders of the wilderness, and of those hardy seamen who went forth from our unfortified coast to battle with the elements, with the monsters of the deep, and with the foes of their country. With his bold touch he vigorously delineated the forms and faces, the hearts and minds, of these noble progenitors, in all their grand simplicity. As fiction has become more and more an art, its interest as a conservative agency has been recognized. The most popular historian of England disdains not to illustrate the reign of Charles by Fielding's portraits of the clergy and the squires of his day; the tendency of the German mind is best represented by the fantastic and æsthetic tales of Goethe, Hoffmann, and Zschokke; and he who aims to write the social history of France in the nineteenth century cannot safely ignore the novels of Balzac. Still higher is the practical value of Cooper's fictions, for they preserve an era of our civilization fraught with great lessons, and directly minister to that sentiment of nationality which the vast influx of foreigners, and the encroachments of material luxury and political ambition, continually undermine and profane. The adventurous, free, manly and womanly spirit, the exhilarating breath of nature or pathos of unconventional humanity which steals in upon our hearts from the pioneer's home, the vast lonely prairie, the isolated frontier post, or the weltering deck where the dauntless pilot stands to die, nerves and thrills the pure instinct of patriotism.

To be thoroughly appreciated, the American novels of Cooper must be read, even by his countrymen, abroad. His fresh and spirited pictures of colonial life in the West gain infinitely, as regards vividness and effect, by the perspective attainable only from a European stand-point. It is when surrounded by the visible tokens of ancient civilization, — when the effigies of national maturity and decline, the arts, the polity, the social conventionalities which centuries have made mellow, are visible and audible, — that the young life and the virgin nature of the world laid open by Columbus impress the imagination and win the heart. Our idea of Cooper's originality and vigor of conception — especially of his scenic limning and elaboration of native character — was vague, until we thoughtfully communed with his descriptions amid the mediæval architecture of Florence, and on the fertile and historical shores of Sicily. To turn from the massive symbols of European feudalism — from ancient temples, vast palaces, jewelled mausoleums, refined art, Southern nature, trophies that were old when America was discovered — to the leafy forest isles, the sea-like prairies, the settler's lonely log-hut, the primitive communities, the inartificial habits, and nascent civil life, which he delineates, is a contrast so entire, that the mind takes in, as never before, the whole significance of the picture. We feel the very spirit of our native land and our hardy progenitors in its original freedom and purity. Aboriginal figures seem more distinct to the fancy, when invoked in the atmosphere hallowed by sculptured deities and a living race moulded by the highest civilization; the wilderness has a singular charm when contemplated from an old European city; and frank, natural character, bred on the sea or in the forest, has a most attractive reality, when beheld with the extreme types of artificial humanity beside and around us. We seem, in such circumstances, to inhale the balmy fragrance of the primeval woods, we catch glimpses of dusky forms in the twilight, and nestle to the very heart of Nature in her verdant solitudes or ocean haunts, as we follow the firm step and piercing eye of a writer who has caught the inspiration of unhackneyed scenes and fresh, free, intrepid, isolated, but most characteristic life, which, compared with that around and within us, seems indeed born in another hemisphere, and fraught with higher issues than can ever result from the effete civilization of the Old World. Cooper then becomes to us what Ariosto is to the Italian exile, Cervantes to the Spaniard, Scripture to the Hebrew, — the literary representative of our nationality, — the enchanter through whose spells we are transported, at will, to the bogs and meadows, the Indian trail, the hunter's lodge, the frontier bulwark, the rocky coast, the patriotic strife, the secret council, the ambush, the skirmish, the pure domestic altar, and the simple human sympathies, which make up the adventurous ordeal through which our ancestors passed to win the heritage that is their children's vast and vaunted home. For many years the only two native authors ever found in the American artist's meagre library abroad, on the *diplomat's* table, and in the banker's *salon*, were Cooper and Bryant, — because through the novels of the one and the poems of the other the history and the scenery of home could be so authentically revived.

But foreign associations — the distance that "lends enchantment to the view"— are requisite not only for a full recognition of Cooper's genius; they are equally indispensable to a just estimate of his fame. To no modern author is the sacred proverb more applicable, that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country"; not that he ever lacked admirers, or that the advent of any original writer was ever more rapturously welcomed than his in his native land; but because the subjects of his early fictions were absolutely new to Europe, whereas here familiarity somewhat dimmed their attraction. Abroad, these indigenous fruits were seized upon by the instinct of curiosity, as well as by the relish for entertainment. They appeared at an epoch when the Old World was beginning once more to wake up to the promise of the New; when political vicissitude had just begun to stimulate emigration anew, and the sneers of British critics gave a piquancy to any literary development on this side of the water which could in any degree shame their repudiation of Transatlantic originality in letters. Then, too, European readers, satiated with the worn-out romance of Italian amours, German mysticism, and French intrigue, turned with avidity to the grand natural panorama, the novel Indian warfare, the simple colonial life, the magnificent scenery and heroic endurance in the wild and on the billow, unfolded in the pages of Cooper. The American traveller found in the remotest provinces of Europe, that, next to Washington and Franklin, the household word of his nationality was Cooper. At Madrid, he read of the Susquehanna in Castilian; on the banks of the Neva, he found the pioneers of his native State known to the Russian noble; at Stockholm, Northern mariners were enthusiastic over the intrepidity of an American nautical hero; and in Florence, a queen-like Countess looked compassionately on him, as the denizen of a land where his night's sleep might be broken by a war-whoop, or his daily path crossed by a panther; for one of the singular effects of this attractive artist's pictures was, that, with the long prevalent ignorance of American geography and history, many, all of whose ideas of this country were derived from Cooper, associated his delineations of the past with the life of the present, and incongruously mingled times, places, and persons, to the vast amusement of our errant countryman.

There is, undoubtedly, one reason why a certain class of his countrymen may fail of justice to Cooper — not as an author, but as a man — unless they view him in the clear light of his just fame, and through the medium of correct moral perspective. Thoroughly imbued with the independent feelings of his nation, with far more pride than vanity, a lover of truth, and intrepid in behalf of what he deemed right, he carried abroad the principles of a genuine American and the spirit of a true man. During a great political crisis in France, and while the best sympathies of the world were active for the Greeks and Poles in their brave struggle for freedom, he was an efficient member of the associations in Paris formed for their encouragement and aid. He was a warm advocate of republican sentiments, a coadjutor of the liberal party of which Lafayette was the leader, and an intelligent expositor, in foreign journals, of the polity of his country. Such an experience, combined with moral courage and sincerity of purpose, naturally led him to attempt the hazardous experiment of a social reform at home. He felt with peculiar force the tyranny of public opinion, the lack of individual consistency, and especially the encroachments of the press in the United States upon personal character and the privileges and proprieties of private life. No educated American gentleman ever returned from a long sojourn in Europe without sharing in these convictions; every candid mind acknowledges the evils, every brave heart laments them; but very few of our citizens have cared to risk their popularity by openly contending against a state of things which custom and interest have so firmly established. Cooper dared to speak, act, and write as he believed a man and an American should. His motives were just and patriotic. He began by exposing the weaknesses and wants of his countrymen in a novel; followed up the subject more directly in an epistolary address; and, as far as his own rights and character were concerned, brought them to a practical issue by a series of prosecutions for libel, against the editorial phalanx. In all this he assailed the proverbially sensitive egotism of a class who had in their power the ready means of gratifying resentment. He ran, as it were, a solitary tilt against the *amour propre* of the people. The inevitable consequence was a storm of indignation. But in his lonely crusade the novelist was right, in the abstract at least; he strove to mitigate a great public abuse, to make a reckless press responsible, to teach complacent pencraft a lesson of respect and of conscientiousness, and to set an example of manly self-assertion. The contest was unequal; the victory technical rather than absolute; its history illustrates the poet's declaration concerning the age as singularly true of our country, — "The individual withers, and the world is more and more."

Such a strife was imprudent, impolitic, in a great measure vain; but it was honest and just, and subsequent facts in the history of American journalism and social life prove how true were the premises, how unjustifiable the prejudice against him. Already malice has died away; and, in the minds of all upright and thinking men, a reaction has taken place. The pure motives and the reasonableness of Cooper's desperate experiment are recognized. Still, those who suffered in the battle cannot be expected to own the merits of the author while antagonistic to the critic and the prosecutor. To become aware of his claims to the highest regard and reverence we have but to listen to his contemporaries, — especially to the testimony of those gifted and honorable men who constituted our best metropolitan society at the time of his appearance as an author.

> "Here he had founded a weekly club," says Bryant. "Of the members who have since passed away, were Chancellor Kent, Henry D. Sedgwick, Jarvis the painter, De Kay the naturalist, Sands the poet, Morse the inventor of the electric telegraph, Henry J. Anderson, whose acquirements might awaken the envy of the ripest scholars of the old world, Halleck, the poet and wit, Verplanck, Dr. King, now the head of Columbia College, etc. The army and navy contributed their proportion of members whose names are on record in our national history. Cooper, when in town, was always present, and I remember being struck with the inexhaustible vivacity of his conversation, and the minuteness of his knowledge in everything which depended on acuteness of observation and exactness of recollection. I remember, too, being somewhat startled, coming as I did from the seclusion of a country life, with a certain emphatic frankness in his manner, which, however, I came at last to like and to admire."— *Cooper Memorial*, pp. 49, 50.
>
> "It has been my gratification during a life of some duration,"

writes Dr. J. W. Francis, "to have become personally acquainted with many eminent characters in the different walks of professional and literary avocation. I never knew an individual more thoroughly imbued with the higher principles of action than Mr. Cooper."— *Ibid.*, p. 98.

"Fenimore Cooper saved me from despair," wrote Horatio Greenough, "after my return to Italy. He employed me as I wished to be employed; and up to this moment has been as a father to me."— *Memorial of Greenough*, p. 27.

Unfortunately, a large class of men and women judge of character through self-love. Not what an individual is intrinsically, but what he or she is to them personally, is the test. Now experience proves that those who have the greatest desire to please are seldom possessed of the highest qualities, with which self-respect and independence — according to Hazlitt the primal characteristics of a gentleman — always coexist. Accordingly, to estimate character justly, a certain degree of disinterestedness, as well as sympathy, is requisite. The "agreeable," in the ordinary sense of the term, is but secondary as a means and motive to vigorous and honest minds, however essential it may be to popularity. We refer to these somewhat trite considerations, because they explain a certain prejudice which not only made Cooper a stranger to many estimable admirers of his early writings, but greatly interfered with the legitimate success of his later works. He was too proud and too sincere to conciliate, by any blandishments of speech or bearing, the antagonism which his defiance of the press had engendered. The consequence was, that hundreds who never saw him, and many who knew him casually, were repelled as by a cold and aggressive nature; whereas it was needful but to approach him candidly, to meet him on his own ground of frank utterance, in order to find him at once a most interesting companion and a noble-hearted gentleman. For ourselves, we confess that effeminacy and sycophancy, verbiage and sensitive vanity, so often degrade the literary character, that such a strong, courageous, honorable, unpretending, and unaffected man as Cooper in the ranks of authorship was absolutely refreshing; we enjoyed his direct, free, uncompromising tone; we respected the thorough honesty of purpose and sentiment evident in his manners and speech; we rejoiced to find a writer whose vocation had not overlaid his manhood, and whom success had not weakened into an improvident parasite, but whose form, eye, voice, grasp, and talk were fresh and salient, as became the delineator of brave seamen and adventurous hunters, the American citizen, and the lover of truth, nature, and unperverted humanity.

The first personal acquaintance of Cooper we ever encountered declared him "the most disagreeable man in the world," a discouraging blow at our cherished ideal of one whose conceptions and spirit, as exhibited in literature, were associated with all that is most attractive in character; but we soon discovered that our informant was one of those complacent incarnations of selfishness, who inevitably excite the antagonism of brave and true men; and his opinion of the great novelist — unsustained by a single fact, or even illustration — soon became, by virtue of the reaction of causes, in our view, a signal tribute to his personal worth. Erelong we listened to the almost tearful eulogy of a gifted artist whose talent and needs he instinctively discovered and generously aided,— to the admiration of a physician won by his courageous self-devotion during a pestilence,— to the ardent praise of a liberal associate in behalf of the struggling Poles and Greeks, — to the testimony of an eloquent fellow-countryman, who described his daily crowd of pensioners when sojourning in Southern Europe. With these casual tributes mingled indeed evidences of a pertinacious and an imprudent will. He engaged, for instance, in a prolonged and fruitless suit at law in Italy, for an insignificant cause, but for one which, in his view, involved a principle; while he took no pains to win the suffrages of his countrymen, and many of them resented this exercise of private judgment. On the other hand, he was singularly loyal to his country, defending her institutions abroad, enlightening Europeans in regard to the practical working of her government and the character of her people, by pen and speech, before royalty and in private circles, through journals and at aristocratic banquets, — always and everywhere consistently an American. Such a patriot might reasonably think himself at liberty to animadvert upon the prevalent habits, tastes, and tendencies of his countrymen, without being misunderstood; but he found that republics, like women, "are more sensitive than grateful."

Our first personal knowledge of Cooper confirmed the instinctive feeling that he was essentially what his writings attest. A meeting of gentlemen was held, at which he was to expose what he had declared to be a piece of charlatanism. Upon examination the evidence of deception was not what had been confidently predicted, but the reverse. Cooper was the first to retract his hasty charges, and to acknowledge himself mistaken, even though he was prominent on the other side, while the rest of the party were non-committal. It so happened that the next occasion of our seeing Cooper was in order to call his attention to some omissions, in his "Naval History," in the life of a Revolutionary hero whose career we had thoroughly examined and authenticated. "You are right," was his response. "I will do him justice in the next edition. The fact is, he and my father were political rivals; he won the election, and I did not feel like hunting up, as I was bound to do, the materials of his renown. It was wrong, and I will repair the injustice." How few authors would so ingenuously acknowledge a fault and its motive, and so heartily proffer amends!

Two memorable scenes, at which, to use a significant French epithet, we *assisted*, have left a vivid and accurate impression of Cooper's genius, fame, and character, and of their mutual influence. The first was the trial before referees of one of the libel suits, on which occasion the novelist defended himself and his correctness as an historian. A trenchant criticism in a leading New York journal had charged him with misstating the facts of the battle of Lake Erie, and deliberately tearing from Perry's brow his wreath of glory, to deck the head of the man who had kept his ship out of the conflict. In the opinion of Cooper this conduct was the result of superior generalship; and with characteristic vehemence, where he thought injustice had been done, he placed the story in a new light, and then gallantly defended his position. The alleged libel consisted in the personal animadversion, and a more unpopular cause never fell to the lot of a practised advocate; for the hero of Lake Erie was and had long been one of the most cherished of American victors. We could not but admire the self-possession, coolness, and vigor with which the author, on this occasion, played the lawyer. Almost alone in his opinion, — the tide of public sentiment against his theory of the battle, and the popular sympathy wholly with the received traditions of that memorable day, — he stood collected, dignified, uncompromising; examined witnesses, quoted authorities, argued nautical and naval precedents, with a force and a facility which would have done credit to an experienced barrister. On the one hand, his speech was a remarkable exhibition of self-esteem, and on the other, a most interesting professional argument; for when he described the battle, and illustrated his views by diagrams, it was like a chapter in one of his own sea-stories, so minute, graphic, and spirited was the picture he drew. The dogmatism was more than compensated for by the picturesqueness of the scene; his self-complacency was exceeded by his wonderful ability. He quoted Cooper's "Naval History" as if it were Blackstone; he indulged in reminiscences; he made digressions, and told anecdotes; he spoke of the manœuvres of the vessels, of the shifting of the wind, of the course of the fight, like one whose life had been passed on the quarter-deck. No greater evidence of self-reliance, of indifference to the opinion of the world, and to that of his countrymen in particular, of the rarest descriptive talent, of pertinacity, loyalty to personal conviction, and a manly, firm, yet not unkindly spirit, could be imagined, than the position thus assumed, and the manner in which he met the exigency. As we gazed and listened, we understood clearly why, as a man, Cooper had been viewed from such extremes of prejudice and partiality; we recognized at once the generosity and courage, and the wilfulness and pride of his character; but the effect was to inspire a respect for the man, such as authors whose errors are moral weaknesses never excite.

The other scene to which we refer was that in which so many illustrious men were convened to honor his memory, when the tidings of his death first transpired. Then the heart claimed for integrity and genius their full and free behest. Never before was there so memorable an oblation, on this side of the ocean, to a man of letters. A meeting opened by Washington Irving, presided over by Webster, illustrated by the eloquent tributes of poets, historians, clergymen, physicians, and eminent citizens, was in itself a novel and interesting occasion;

but the spirit it awoke, — the fond reminiscence of Cooper's early fame, the proud recognition of his European reputation and his thoroughly American genius, and the thought of the injustice done him in the heat of controversy, — these, and a thousand other sentiments conjured up by the orators, kindled such a glow of sorrow and pride, of love and admiration, that it is to be regretted the suggestion of Mr. Webster, that a subscription should be instantly opened to erect a monument to his memory, was not acted upon. To a judicious observer, however, the spirit of that assembly — what was said and felt then and there — yields no common testimony to worth and genius. Even the record is a noble evidence of what Cooper really was, and is forever to be in the hearts of his countrymen.

Every writer who has attained the rank of a representative man will be found, upon analysis, to possess some idiosyncrasy, some peculiar feeling or faculty wherein he transcends others in the same department, and by virtue of which he is original and effective. Perhaps there is no single term which better designates Cooper's special charm than *spirit*, in the vital and dramatic sense of the word. There is no remarkable excellence in his style; he has been often and greatly excelled in ingenuity of plot; many of his characters — especially those cast in an artificial mould — are ineffective; depth of insight, delicacy of touch, refinement of analysis, high artistic finish, are not among his distinctions; but he has a fresh, vigorous tone, the direct, earnest grasp of a subject and scene which comes from sympathy with action, daring, and novel phases of nature and of life. Almost all the criticisms of his early works abound with the epithet *spirited*, as best describing what, in painting, we should call his *manner*. It was indeed the adventure which formed the basis of the American novels, that made them so attractive. Every hunter, traveller, lover of the picturesque, naturalist, votary of freedom and of fact, as opposed to conventionalism and artificiality, relished these bold and vivid delineations. And in the vital relation between the author and his story was the genuine impulse and instinct of the poet; for it was through imagination at work upon reality, — through a positive love of the sea and the woods, exploration and adventure, as well as an acquaintance therewith, — that he reproduced the very experience he portrayed. In his own regard, he was as much "a part of what he saw," while following the hunter's trail in the umbrageous woods, or steering the doomed bark among the shoals, or down to the death-grapple, or onward to a serene haven, as Byron was when he gazed on Parnassus, or watched a thunder-gust from the Lake of Geneva. The very process of his conceptions, their haunting intensity, and the distaste for them that followed their completed record, indicates how entirely absorbed in them were his imagination and his sympathy. Sir Walter Scott said: "I found the composition of the tale a source of pleasure, — so much so that I always invented twice as much as was committed to paper, in my walks or on my bed, and the best part, in my judgment, never saw the light; for what was written was usually written at set hours, and was a good deal a matter of chance, and going over and over again the same matter in the proofs, disgusted me so much with the book, that I supposed every one else would be disposed to view it with the same eyes." A reaction like this always follows the enlistment of ardent feeling or fancy in a work; and this experience proves how genuine, how directly the offspring of his own powers, were the writings of Cooper.

He was the first American author who achieved eminent success independently of scholarship and imitation. Jonathan Edwards, indeed, had won fame for abstract reasoning on a metaphysical theme; Brockden Brown had exhibited rare tact in supernatural narrative; the graces of style and the geniality of humor had made Irving's name dear in two hemispheres; Cooper's old classmate at Yale, Hillhouse, had proved himself a poet-scholar, while Halleck's Muse quickened the wit and the chivalry of commercial New York, and Bryant had drawn immortal pictures of our scenery, and hallowed the grand aspects of nature with the sacred touch of reverence. But Cooper's enterprise was adventurous in the highest degree. He wrote elaborately, courageously, on American subjects, and in an American spirit. For this his mind, character, and education pre-eminently fitted him. Sprung from a brave and cultivated ancestry, — his father officially associated with the institutions their progenitors had won,—familiar in childhood with all the peculiar features of the new settlements, and, as a youth, with the best society of the old,—with just enough academic culture to give him confidence in expression, without overlaying it with pedantic rules,—a juvenile rambler in the woods, a youthful sharer in the naval glory of his native land,—he was of necessity imbued not only with the peculiar associations, but with the love and pride of country, which made him the foremost expositor of American history in fiction.

It is remarkable how often in literary history unsuccessful experiment leads to success. The greatest amatory poet of Italy long identified his fame with a now-forgotten epic, containing no trace of the refinement and concentration of sentiment in which lay his true power and renown. The most powerful of French romance-writers essayed, at first, to write dramas; and our novelist sought characters and scenes in modern English fashionable life as his first adventure in fiction. "Precaution" was too imitative and familiar in its scope to make an impression; but "The Spy," which followed, created an epoch in our nascent literature. Cooper's surviving contemporaries still attest the delighted surprise which the appearance of this novel, and its immediate successors, occasioned. It was the same thrilling interest which made the Waverley novels a series of grand imaginative *fêtes*. If the first respectable, but not remarkable, performance had been universally considered the work of an Englishman, the second bore as unequivocally the stamp of an American origin. Its faults were as obvious as its merits. Imperfect skill in drawing female character, want of constructive ability as manifest in the plot, and some crudeness of expression, the most friendly critics noted; but these flaws were forgiven as soon as recognized, so fresh, natural, spirited, *native* were the incidents, landscapes, and tone of the whole. With long accustomed deference, the more timid literary oracles remained uncommitted, until the Transatlantic verdict arrived; but even these joined in the hearty chorus of praise and gratulation, when even the then savage arbiter of the Scotch metropolis declared that "Genius in America must keep to America to achieve any great work. Cooper has done so, and taken his place among the most powerful of the imaginative spirits of the age." * And this was said while Scott and Byron lived and wrote.

Next came "The Pioneers," the minute details of which, in the descriptive parts, conserve scenery, habits, costume, phrases, which progress has long ago modified or made obsolete. The rural life of America, in its normal traits, there first found a "local habitation and a name"; — how nature looked and alternated in the New World, the occupations of the early settlers, the hunt and the sugar-camp, the sleigh-ride and the Sabbath worship, the Indian lingerers on the soil. It was a new, a pure, and a suggestive page in modern fiction, — a kind of prose commentary on Bryant's auspicious prophecy in the last stanza of "The Ages"; —

> "But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,
> Save with thy children: — thy maternal care,
> Thy lavish love, thy blessings showered on all, —
> These are thy fetters, — seas and stormy air
> Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where,
> Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well,
> Thou laugh'st at enemies: who shall then declare
> The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell
> How happy in thy lap the sons of men shall dwell?"

From the congenial still-life and adventurous yet simple experience of this novel, emerged the great original character of American fiction, — "Leatherstocking." If Harvey Birch typified the shrewdness and loyalty of the Western type of man in "The Spy," this masterpiece embodied and embalmed for posterity and for foreign view the homely, brave, religious, humorous, and profoundly honest creature, moulded by isolation, woodcraft, primitive social life, and the grand and fresh in scenic environment. Carried through each phase and sphere, — successively a hunter, a warrior, and a trapper, — "Leatherstocking" became and remains a fresh and representative creation. Thirty years after the author had introduced him to the world, when time had whitened his head and prejudice was temporarily depriving him of the legitimate rewards

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* Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. XVI. p. 437.

of genius and industry, he cherished the idea of reviving this favorite character, and transfering the man of the Colonial woods into the Revolutionary patriot,—adding a crowning national glory to his renown. The idea was relinquished with ill-concealed chagrin, at the earnest advice of those who argued that the experiment might not succeed, and therefore it was imprudent to risk the complete and harmonious impression already established, for the chance of prolonging the interest of a character which had been delineated up to the verge of a long, adventurous, and characteristic life.

The success of "The Spy" and "The Pioneers" decided the career of Cooper; and thenceforth he devoted himself with assiduity to the vocation of a novel-writer, in that new, broad, and high sense which historical and characteristic fiction, in his day, gave to what was previously both an unartistic, and for the most part an exceptionable, form of literature. To gather materials he travelled extensively, and sojourned long in Europe. The ancient polity of Venice, the municipal records and scenic wonders of Switzerland, the navigation, meteorology, and aspects of the Mediterranean Sea, were all studied and reproduced. As local pictures and dramatic sketches, the same force and felicity mark many of the foreign scenes; yet the fame of Cooper is more intimately blended with the peculiar forms of nature and phases of life in his native land; Leatherstocking and Tom Coffin continue his most original personages; the prairie and the forest, the lakes and the seacoast of America remain his most memorable panoramas. Unequal in interest as are the subjects, more or less satisfactory in execution as are the conceptions, which this remarkable series of works exhibits, Cooper's true eye for Nature and vigorous touch in her delineation are throughout visible. It is remarkable that some of his latest books contain passages unsurpassed by those written in the prime of his life and his renown. An experienced critic regards portions of "Afloat and Ashore," and "Satanstoe," as manifesting as much care and invention as any previous work; and yet these were among the latest and least admired of the long series.

Two circumstances in regard to the editions of Cooper published after his return from Europe are significant. One is, that his "Select Works," though elegantly printed, had a limited sale, compared with the complete edition issued in the plainest style; and the other is a remark which the author made to his publishers, when handing them the corrected copy of the last of the set, which they had remunerated him for completely revising, — "Well, gentlemen," he said, "I have read over again all my books, — a task which your liberality alone could have induced me to undertake; and I do not mind confessing to an agreeable surprise. There is truth, power, genuine meaning, in these writings, — they are American in sentiment and in fact; they will, one day, become a valuable property; when I am gone, my countrymen will forget my foibles, and cherish my bequest and my reputation." This was said when Cooper had raised against himself the animosity of the press, when he had lost a considerable part of his fortune by unfortunate investments, and was hard at work with his pen to redeem it, when only a few old and faithful friends cheered his visits to the metropolis, and when he had sacrificed his copy-rights to the exigencies of the time. Yet cheerful, manly, industrious as ever, he saw clearly through the temporary cloud to the certain award of the future, and uttered what is already proved to have been prophetic.

It is needless to specify or analyze the novels of Cooper; their degree of popularity, and their respective merits and defects, are fully recognized. So voluminous a writer is inevitably unequal. He was not alike at home in describing a woman and a hero; his sketches of nature far surpassed his comments on social life in originality; and though his "Travels" impart much curious information, and record some characteristic experience, yet, as such, they are not remarkable specimens in this prolific department of letters. With the years that "bring the philosophic mind," he strove to blend with scenic effects and dramatic incidents the solution of some problem or principle, such as the practical evils of trial by jury in civil cases, and the right and wrong of the Anti-Rent movements in his native State. With all its defects, his "Naval History of the United States" supplies a great desideratum, and abounds in animated and picturesque narrative.

There was a consistency in the life of Cooper rare among literary men. However diversified the circumstances in which he was placed, the same exactness of inquiry, the same habits of industry, the same liberal spirit and American feeling, were obvious. In the days of his first success in authorship, when his visits to New York were enlivened by Kean's acting, and by genial intercourse at the City Hotel, — then a rendezvous both for wits and heroes, — he bore himself with the same frankness, and talked with the same fluent candor, as when his hospitable house in Paris was the favorite social centre of his countrymen, or when, at his famous Sorrento villa, he made friends of the poor *Contadini*. There was in the habitudes and spirit of Cooper a singular union of the artist and the man of the world. He loved nature, and he loved character. He had many cherished opinions in social economy as conservative as those of a feudal aristocrat; and yet no patriot's ardor exceeded his when the local charms or the national dignity of his country were in question. He was speculative, yet practical, fond of research, but thoroughly real in his insight and aims. He carefully examined the vicinage of Boston to write "Lionel Lincoln," and of Narraganset Bay to illustrate "The Red Rover"; his "Bravo" is full of evidences of minute investigation while at Venice, and he submitted "The Pilot" manuscript to an "old salt" to correct its nautical phrases, and test its professional character. Hence, although mistakes may easily be found in his writings, and his heroines and Indians are often unsatisfactory as authentic ideals, on the whole, and with reference to essential points, a conscientious regard to the facts of scenery, history, and character will appear. This studious fidelity is remarkable in a man of such active tendencies. His youth was adventurous; for on the lake and in the woods of his boyhood's home, he was an unwearied explorer; athletic, expert, at college, he led the more enterprising spirits on the green; while his "going to sea" was as hardy an experiment as any recorded by Dana or Melville, — the period of his first voyage being identical with the exciting era of Napoleon's expected invasion of England, and of the earliest attempts of the latter power to claim our seamen by force. Cooper's novitiate on the sea was no holiday; he knew from experience what it is to be overhauled by a pirate, to have his boat swamped, to be nearly run down in a gale at night by a larger craft, to be tossed furiously in the Bay of Biscay, to glide serenely through the moonlit Straits, to behold the magnificent spectacle of a grand naval squadron bearing down towards the enemy, and to have his messmates torn from his side by the press-gang. No wonder that, when first settled in a pleasant rural home in Westchester County, he found the quiet life, notwithstanding his love of reading and agriculture, somewhat irksome; and, finishing one day a new novel which he had read aloud to his wife, he determined, at her suggestion, to try and excel it. Having thus found the solace of literary occupation, he continued, at home and abroad, to glean and harvest the fruits of observation and thought, and to weave them into pictures of freshness and truth. And, we repeat, it is owing to his salient traits of character that these pictures are so individual. Had he been less strong of purpose, decided in his feelings, or uncompromising in his personality, he might have written with more suavity and grace, but imitative skill would have taken the place of original power. "The Spy" was a bold experiment, the pedler hero a fresh character; and how varied the forms into which he afterwards courageously projected his sympathies and his invention! In the method not less than in the subjects, in the tone not less than in the details, of his writings, he is, as we have shown, American; and by virtue of all that is embraced in that word, and by it chiefly, he is a representative writer and name.

It would be unreasonable to expect a high degree of tact, a refined sense of the appropriate, or a subtile humor, in an author whose predominant qualities were spirit, directness, vigor, and broad imaginative grasp. Accordingly, in his strictures on English social life, Cooper, while thoroughly honest, was perhaps too hasty and too personal; and while he provoked the extravagant ire of the Quarterly, he missed large philosophical inductions in too limited a statement of details. So, also, his mind proved itself unskilful in elaborate satire, and "The Monikins" failed to reach the perception, or enlist the laugh, through which it was intended to convey a great political lesson. On the other hand, at the time of its first publication, "The Travelling Bachelor" corrected abroad many false impressions, and chastened many bitter prejudices in regard to our country.

We have noted some of the defects, chiefly to make more obvious the peculiar excellences, of Cooper; whose fame rests securely on his remarkable romances of the sea and the forest, even the later portion of which are instinct with the native flavor and the fresh vitality which embalmed and embodied so much of the normal tone of American life in "The Pioneers" and "The Pilot." Turn from "The Wept of the Wish-ton-Wish" to "The Water-Witch," — from "The Deerslayer," "The Bee Hunter," and "The Red Skins," to "Wing and Wing," "The Islet of the Gulf," and "The Red Rover," — and it becomes evident to the least vivid imagination how real is his command of these two spheres of enterprise, beauty and heroism, — between which he alternates with an ease, a confidence, a fulness and minuteness of description, and a reality of incident, that betoken the clearest knowledge and the most genuine sympathy. In a sea-chase or a fight, on a hunter's trail or in a forest lodge, on prairie or ocean, in bivouac, tempest, or calm, we surrender ourselves so gratefully to Cooper's guidance, that his unsuccessful experiments as a writer are forgotten, while his triumphs rise distinct and peerless to the mind's eye and the heart's memory.

Of all our authors, Cooper has gained most from association of ideas. To know the charm of story, the interest of character around familiar localities, is one of the greatest enchantments of imaginative writers. Hawthorne has thus made classic his native town, Irving the banks of the Hudson; while the country around Boston, the shores of Rhode Island, the lakes of New York, the savannahs of the West, the islands in the Bay of Naples, the lagoons of Venice, and numerous other familiar places, have derived a permanent interest and new significance from the descriptions, events, and personages with which the pen of Cooper has interwoven them. And, as before remarked, it is only by taking into view the conservative worth of such writings, that we can duly estimate their literary value. As the dusky race we have dispossessed year by year fades away, as the wild deer shrink farther and farther back into the collapsing wilderness, as whole species of birds disappear, as civilization advances, as naval heroes of the Paul Jones type and the kind of sailors commemorated by Smollett and Dibdin grow traditional, as woodland seclusion, primitive civic life, and maritime adventure become less and less possible, these photographs, caught by the light of native genius from the original scenery, life, and phenomena, will be regarded with grateful admiration, like the transmitted music, the family portraits, the historic landmarks, which keep intact the features and the spirit of the past, endeared by national obligation and loyal reminiscence.

ART. II. — *Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital for the Year* 1858. Boston. 1859.

THIS valuable report on the history and condition of the McLean Asylum for the Insane for the year 1858 derives a peculiar importance from the few pages which the Superintendent devotes to the causes of insanity, so far as they were developed and affected by the peculiar circumstances of the year, and were connected with the recent financial crisis and the religious excitements of that period. Dr. Tyler discourses wisely upon these matters, and gives admonitions which, were they heeded, would save many from mental disturbance and more from mental death.

To all things created and grown there are fixed laws and conditions of being and action. To every living organism, whether animal or vegetable, as equally to dead machinery and structures, there is assigned a definite purpose or function, which it is appointed to fulfil or discharge. If it be properly constructed, its parts or elements suitably arranged and harmonized, and all endowed with their due strength, each performs its own work, or bears its own burden. But neither their structure, nor their organization, nor their strength, will permit them to be applied to any other purpose, or to perform any other work, or to bear any other or greater burden, than those which are appointed for them, without suffering or injury. No machine is strong enough to escape this law; no vehicle or utensil is rude or coarse enough to be exempt from these conditions. The carriage intended for passengers is impaired, if it be used for freight; the merchandise wagon is injured, if it be loaded with coals. All kinds of vehicles, the lightest pleasure-gig as well as the heaviest dray or stone-cart, are weakened and loosened in their joints, and perhaps broken, if they are made to carry weights, even of their proper kinds, greater than they are intended to bear. The cotton-carding machine does its appropriate work well and without injury. But if wool, or flax, or harder substances, be put into it, it is soon out of order, and perhaps broken. This law as to the appropriate use of all material things, machinery, vehicles, vessels, and utensils, is universally recognized and respected, and no discreet workman or cautious manager ever presumes to disregard it.

The same law is immovably imposed upon everything endowed with life; upon all animal organs, all that perform the living operations,—the stomach, the muscles, the brain, the nervous system, and even the moral and mental powers, the passions and the affections. Each having its distinct functions to perform and purposes to fulfil, its structure, organization, and endowments are adapted to them. It is supplied with means and strength sufficient for these, and no other. Therefore, in the use of the machinery of life, as well as of that created by human hands, all violations of its conditions of being, all transgressions of the limit of power or the restricted sphere of action, are necessarily followed by injury and disorder. From the beginning until now, in every clime and among every people, this has been shown, by the large proportion of functional disorders, organic diseases, and even general physical derangements, which come upon humanity from the misapplication of the power of some of the organs, or from the excessive expenditure of their strength by over-exertion.

Dyspepsia, with its many phases, is produced in great part by the misuses and abuses of the stomach and digestive system, by errors in the selection of food or mistakes in the quantity that is consumed, or by the neglect of other essential conditions of nutrition. Some of the diseases of the locomotive apparatus arise from violations of the conditions of their being, and of the law appointed for their action. If the muscles are applied to purposes not assigned to them, or exercised beyond their strength, they inevitably suffer, and may be weakened or disordered. The brain is subject to similar conditions of life and laws of action. It is endowed with certain limited powers, which can be applied only to distinct and definite purposes, and it cannot go beyond its appointed bounds without danger, nor bear burdens exceeding its strength without suffering, nor labor beyond its accustomed energy without weariness.

The mind, while on earth, is necessarily connected with the animal body, by means of the brain; for that is the essential and only agent of all its operations. So long as the immaterial spirit is inseparably associated with the material substance, all its powers of action and endurance are in exact correspondence with those of the physical organ; its strength to labor, its energy, and its range of application, are those which the brain admits, and no more. It is affected by the infirmities and the liabilities of that part of our frame. Considering, then, this intimate connection of the mind with the brain, in its strength and weakness, in its health and sickness, it is reasonable to assume and to speak of cerebral health and cerebral disease as indications of corresponding conditions of the mind.

The brain has several functions to perform. It is not only the organ of the mind and the instrument of the mental operations; it is also the organ of feeling and emotion, of passion, anxiety, and suffering. It superintends the operations of the body. It supplies the several parts with the stimulus of life and action. It seems to be a storehouse of nervous energy, a part of which is used to fulfil and sustain mental and emotional purposes, and a part is distributed to the several organs of the material frame, and enables them to perform their respective functions.

There is sufficient nervous energy in this storehouse to sustain all the other organs in the performance of their several duties, and the mind in doing its own work, and also to quicken all the moral affections, the healthy emotions and passions, the natural appetites and propensities. There is enough for the life and action of all. Each can draw its due proportion from the brain; but none can safely have more, for the supply is limited. If any one takes more than its due share, the others have less than theirs, and consequently they have less life and less active force; they perform their functions feebly, and perhaps some may be suspended. This is a common occurrence, and probably familiar to all. When one eats food that is hard of digestion, or takes a fuller meal than the stomach can master at once, with its usual force, it makes a demand upon the brain for more than its own share of nervous energy to sustain it in its extraordinary work, and consequently less than the due proportion can be given to the other organs or functions. They then act languidly; muscular labor is difficult, the brain refuses to think, or thinks feebly, the whole system craves rest, and perhaps sleep, while the stomach is getting through its excessive and difficult task. On the other hand, the action of the mind may be very powerful, and absorb the nervous energies to such a degree as to interfere with the physical operations. From this cause, deep grief, violent anger, intense anxiety, and other powerful emotions and passions, interrupt the digestive process. Violent muscular exertions also diminish the freedom and fulness of the other functions. While one is running a race, or swinging a sledge-hammer, or working at a fire-engine, he can neither think, nor reason, nor talk upon grave subjects; and the stomach also slackens in its ordinary work, because the muscles demand and use so large a proportion of the nervous energy that enough is not left to sustain the other organs in their usual labor.

Nature has endowed all of the organs with their several powers, and given each its connection with the brain, for the purpose of action. It was not intended that any should pass its life in idleness, but that each should have its opportunity of exercise, both for its own strengthening and for the health of the others. When they are used in obedience to the law of their being, applied to their appropriate purposes, and exerted within their appointed limits, each does its own work easily and successfully, without interfering with the others, and all the voluntary functions are under the control of the will. All the actions of life necessarily imply expenditure of force, and that must be in proportion to its intensity or its duration. Of course, in every case, some weakness or depression of strength follows the exercise of every organ or power. In a healthy person, sufficient means are provided to sustain all appropriate actions, and to restore the force that has been expended. If we work moderately and appropriately with the limbs, they after a while become weary with action, and crave an opportunity to recruit their force. If rest be allowed them, they soon regain their power, and are then as strong as before, and ready for the renewal of labor. But if we work with more than our usual energy, if, for instance, the muscles are compelled to act long or violently, in lifting or straining, beyond their accustomed strength, they are exhausted, become weakened, and require a much longer period of rest to restore them.

If these great and unfitting exertions are long continued or frequently repeated, the exhaustion is carried so far, that no amount of rest completely restores the strength. The muscular force is then permanently reduced, and the limbs are unable to do their previously accustomed work.

The same results of over-action, weariness, exhaustion, and permanent weakness or disease, are manifested in the digestive organs. The stomach and the other parts of the nutritive apparatus are ordained to convert enough food into chyle to replenish the blood, and to supply it with the means of repairing the waste of the textures. When this organ is in good health, when the food is of a proper kind, and taken in due quantities and at suitable seasons, and all the other circumstances and conditions are properly attended to, the work of digestion goes on easily and satisfactorily, and the wants of the blood are supplied. But if the food be not of a suitable kind, if it be of improper material, if it be badly prepared, if the bread be heavy, if the meat be burned, if the mixture be insoluble in the gastric juice,—if, in any way, the food, after eating, be digested with difficulty,—the stomach labors, sometimes in pain, often in weariness, and is consequently fatigued, and perhaps all its strength is exhausted when its work is done. But unless there has been too great an expenditure of strength, it is regained by rest, and then the organ is ready, as before, to do its work. But when this labor is violent and excessive, the vigor is not all restored by rest, and the average or constant digestive power is reduced; and if this exhaustive process is perseveringly repeated, the stomach is weakened more and more, until it performs its work only with difficulty and in pain, and sometimes fails entirely.

Indigestion may be produced by manifold causes. Improper food, of any kind, bad cookery, eating rapidly, at unseasonable hours, or in excessive quantities, imperfect mastication, exhaustion of the nervous energies before eating, or occupation of these energies by great physical or mental labor immediately afterward, want of exercise, too intense study, care or anxiety, — any one of these causes will diminish the gastric force, and, if long continued, will waste the powers of the stomach, and establish disease.

It is not usual for any single cause to act alone and produce indigestion. More commonly two or more causes co-operate to effect the result. It is rare that a man is wise and faithful in all the duties of self-management but one, and in that alone indiscreet and careless. The student may combine excess of mental action with want of physical exercise and hasty eating. The man of business may allow too little time for his meals. He may carry to his table the burden of his commercial transactions upon his mind. He may be careless as to the food he takes. Regarding the convenience of his counting-house rather than the necessities of nutrition, he may be irregular in the hours of eating. He may add to these errors night-suppers of food that disturbs, but does not strengthen him. In the affectionate wife and mother, who is watching over her sick husband or child, the oppressive anxiety, the disregard of her own physical wants, carelessness or even forgetfulness of the hours of eating, absorbing thought at table, want of exercise, fresh air, and sleep, all may be brought to bear at the same time. Out of any one, or any number, or all of these, and other coexisting errors, dyspepsia may grow.

It is therefore frequently difficult to refer a disordered or impaired stomach to any single cause, or to determine how much influence each of the several co-operating causes had in producing the disease or disturbance; nor would it be philosophical to assume any one of these as the source whence any present gastric difficulty sprang. Yet it would be safe to say, that each of these coexisting facts or violations of the law of self-management had its due weight in producing the disorder.

The universal law of philosophy, that like causes produce like effects, applies with unvarying force to the management of life, and the production of health and strength. It is not intended by this to say, that any single cause, or combination of causes, will produce like consequences in all circumstances; for these, differing among themselves, and having various kinds and degrees of influence, of course modify, sometimes by increasing and sometimes by diminishing, the effects which the causes tend to produce. Yet it is certain that like causes produce like effects in like constitutions, states of health, and circumstances.

All the animal organs, and all the mental and moral powers that belong to humanity, come under this law. In all the living operations, cause and effect are inseparably connected. There can be no action of life, without its retribution of good or of evil. With every part of our frames, and every faculty and endowment, obedience to the conditions of being is necessarily followed by invigoration, growth, or comfort, and disobedience by disturbance, pain, or weakness; and these consequences are in strict proportion to the faithfulness to, or the violation of, the law. There need be no mystery in the conditions of health and enjoyment, nor in the events of sickness and suffering. None of these arise or happen without adequate causes. A large proportion of these causes may be ascertained in the present state of science, and many of them are within the control of man, and may be prevented.

Mental derangement and weakness, of every grade and every variety, are produced by errors in the use of the cerebral forces. Much learning is not necessarily a cause of madness; for the strong and disciplined acquire it without suffering. They carry it gracefully, use it skilfully, and gather strength from it, while others fall in the endeavor to acquire it. Nor is a little learning, usually, a dangerous thing; yet there are some to whom even this would be a burden not safely to be borne, for they cannot assume it without sinking, or carry it without staggering.

In the anterior history of some of the patients who are admitted into the asylums for the insane, excessive study, study of metaphysics, phrenology, Fourierism, animal magnetism, Spiritualism, and the Scriptures, or great mental excitement from intense attention to business, care and anxiety, — all the varieties of undue mental application or inappropriate use of the cerebral forces, — are given as the causes of their disorder. In the Reports of eighteen American hospitals for the insane, which state the causes of the disorder of their patients as far as they were supposed to be known, one hundred and seventy-four kinds of events, habits, or circumstances connected with the misuses of the mind in the manifold varieties of mental action, application, and excitement, with the stimulating and the depressing emotions, hope, fear, grief, disappointment, and trouble, and with the malignant passions, are given as the causes of their malady. Among twelve thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight patients, the causes of whose insanity are stated, 22.7 per cent were connected with grief, disappointment, and other depressing emotions, 8.2 with excitements, anxieties, and depressions from religion, 6.9 with property, poverty, and business, and their attendant anxieties, excitements, and losses, and 5.5 per cent from excess of mental action.

These disturbances of mind are not due so much to the amount of the burdens which are assumed, for it is manifest that the large majority of those who gain both the greater and smaller degrees of learning, and sustain responsibilities of every kind, are sound in mind, and free from every mental obliquity. But they are due rather to the disproportion between the load imposed and the strength to bear it, between the natural and original vigor of mind, or the power developed and established by habitual labor, and the purpose which they attempt to accomplish.

There is every grade of difference in men's powers of mental labor and endurance, from him whose understanding comprehends only the simplest ideas and propositions, to the philosopher to whom the most abstruse propositions and their complications are but as child's play, — from the servant or under-worker, who performs only the plainest processes, without thought, under the direction of another mind, up to the statesman who manages the affairs of a nation, almost those of the world, with undisturbed energy, or the financier who passes through commercial revulsions and sustains his part with unruffled calmness. All of these, both the extremes and those between, are sound in mind; but they have widely different powers of acquirement, of reason, of accomplishment, and of endurance, and it is plain that they must have equally various powers of sustaining themselves under any definite burden which may be thrown upon them. The same amount of study, responsibility, or care, which would be an unfelt trifle on one, would be a load on the mind of a second, would weary a third, exhaust a fourth, and break down a fifth. It is the want of correlation between the load and the strength of the bearer, between the acting force and the purpose to be effected, that is dangerous, and sometimes destructive.

As in commerce, the extreme desire to make great and sudden gains by bold but injudicious means, or the attempt to carry on extensive plans of business, out of proportion to the capital invested or at command, frequently causes embarrassment, and ends in shipwreck of fortune; so, in education and learning, the undue thirst for knowledge, or the prosecution of study with energy and earnestness disproportioned to the power of the brain and the mental capital, defeats its own purpose, and often ends in a wreck of the understanding, or a confused or weakened mind, instead of available acquirement and mental discipline.

There is a common notion that the mind — the spiritual essence — has no law of limitation, no necessary relation to the corporeal structure, and a merely accidental, yet unwilling connection with the brain; but that, on the contrary, it is endowed with infinite expansibility, so that there is no end to its power for labor, or its capacity of acquiring knowledge. The prevalent plans of education have this boundless object in view. Limitless development and acquirement are held out as possible, and no question is raised as to the amount of work which the brain can do, or as to the variety of subjects to which its powers may be applied.

Whosoever believes that food may be taken merely to gratify appetite, without regard to his nutritive wants or digestive powers, and that the sensual desire may be followed as a guide in respect to diet, — or that his stomach has an indefinite capacity, so that he may eat at any and all times, whenever his appetite may invite him to do so, and whatever it may crave, — is in great danger of being led into error in the selection of his food, and in the quantity he may consume; and if his self-indulgence corresponds to his faith, he will not escape digestive derangement. It is equally certain, that the common belief that the mind will bear indefinite labor shuts men's eyes to the impassable limit of cerebral force, and makes them forget that the mind can work only in connection with the brain. Nevertheless, in the education of early years, in the studies of maturer age, in business, in politics, in the pursuits of public and private life, that involve the necessity of thought, calculation, and care, there is a frequent and even a general pressure upon the mental powers to the full extent of their endurance. From these causes, and from the frequent readiness of persons to endeavor to acquire a degree of knowledge which is great for them, to undertake responsibilities which are large for their mental strength, and to labor with their minds as vigorously as possible, and of course sometimes excessively, it necessarily follows that some must overwork their brains and exhaust their cerebral forces, and that some must become mentally disordered.

Childhood commences its literary and educational life with the notion held out to it, that the mind will bear as much, and can accomplish as much, as it can be induced to attempt, and no thought is given to the brain, nor caution in regard to the use of its powers. Through the school years the same idea prevails; the same boon of unbounded acquirement is offered to boys and girls, and they are encouraged and urged to make their utmost efforts to go on in the path or join in the race of learning. The opinion that they may run in the pursuit of knowledge without danger, is almost universal; and although only a few actually enter the heat of the contest, and strive to be among the foremost on the course, yet nearly all believe the doctrine, and few, perhaps none, are prevented from effort by any fear of injury to their cerebral health. The moderate but respectable scholar looks with envy or congratulation, rather than pity, upon those who are overworking their brains in severe but successful study; and these are held up by teachers and parents, by school-superintendents and the friends of education and human progress, as examples for the less active to follow.

In this dangerous race of learning, to which all are invited and from which none are warned away, a comparatively small proportion of the children and youth of the schools, as we have said, enter and continue. The *vis inertiæ* of mind, the want of ambition to excel or of zeal for knowledge, the absence of motive for such vigorous and persevering mental exertion, the activity of other desires, not the fear of danger nor the wish to preserve the cerebral health, not due cautiousness but supposed idleness, not wisdom but imputed folly, prevents others from making the efforts of study that would be injurious to their brains. But the ambitious and the faithful, those who resolve to fulfil the hope of fond parents, and those who are susceptible of influence from teachers and associates, enter this course, and assume burdens which many of them cannot safely bear; and the plans of education, proposed by many zealous instructors, and adopted by many who are of authority in these matters, correspond, in a greater or less degree, with this willingness of parents and children to carry them out.

In a High School now in our view, the teacher proposed to some of his pupils to study the Greek, Latin, French, and German languages, mathematics, grammar, rhetoric, and physiology, all at the same time. The plan was accepted by scholars, approved by parents, and considered as an indication of lofty aim and praiseworthy energy on the part of an accomplished instructor. The pupils have in school seven or eight lessons a day. They are unwilling that the lessons should be short or imperfectly acquired. The brightest and most vigorous minds lead the way, and the others dislike to lag behind. They study earnestly at school in the day, and their evenings at home are given to the same work of acquisition. They are successful in their endeavors to learn much, and are rewarded by the approbation of their own consciences, and by being recognized as an honor to the school, a joy to their friends, and the hope of the coming age. But it is plain that this high mental action is already made at the cost of physical force; for a more than usual pallor rests upon the faces, and a languor seems to pervade the physical frames, of these youths whose minds appear to be so vigorous. These are the fixed habits, indeed, of only such as are considered the best schools, such as include a larger proportion of the most ambitious scholars, who accomplish much in youth, and promise to do much more in mature life. But in most schools, there are some who study thus injuriously, and lay the foundation of mental habits which, in the business and competitions of the world, will tend very strongly to break them down.

It must be admitted that there are not many who are made insane, or who even suffer any manifest impairment of mental health, during the ordinary period of pupilage in childhood and youth, by excessive study; but as all are taught and imbued with the faith, that the mind, being spirit and not matter, is bound by no law of finite beings,— that the highest and worthiest aims are to be accomplished by the greatest study, — that those who learn the most are certain to enjoy the warmest approbation of the wise and good, and the best success in life, — and as they are confidently told that they have taken the surest step toward the most desirable stations, and no voice of warning is lifted up to point out their danger, — it is natural and inevitable that many go away from school ready to apply their minds with the utmost intensity, and to work their brains with unsparing energy and inflexible perseverance, whenever an object sufficiently inviting or a motive strong enough shall present itself to them. These youths go forth to the world, and engage in its interests and affairs, with the same liability to overwork their cerebral powers as they would incur to overtax the powers of their stomach, if they had been taught that the more they ate the more strength would be given them, and the more ability to effect the objects of their being. They then enter upon and labor for their several pursuits with devotion and vigor, proportioned to the motives which their sense of duty, taste, ambition, or prospect of advantage may present to them, and their brains, like the digestive organs of the free liver, are in great danger of being weakened or disordered by over-exertion. The consequences are alike in both cases, because the causes are similar; strength is wasted, and the regularity of action is disturbed.

The strength of all the animal organs is partly original and inherent; but, to a still greater degree, it is a matter of cultivation and development. The strength of the new-born infant is barely enough to enable it to breathe, to cry, and to move its limbs. By slow and gradual training, in progress of time, it grows to be sufficient to perform the labors of manhood. In all the successive stages of growth and maturity, the child, the youth, and the man can bear a burden precisely in proportion to the power that is developed, and no more. The child can roll about, the boy can play, the youth can do light work, and the man can perform hard labor without faltering, provided each has passed through the preceding and proper stages of training. In all these various stages and conditions, the physical frame can bear a definite amount of exertion, and all attempts to go beyond this not only fail of effecting their purposes, but exhaust the animal forces. Thus, the child cannot do a man's work, the student or the clerk or the tailor cannot perform the labors of the farmer, nor can the inactive lady do the heavy drudgery of the robust servant-girl; and yet, probably, by judicious and persevering training, by commencing with a degree of exertion suited to their present strength, and increasing it from time to time as their power increases, most persons belonging to the weaker classes might develop an amount of force sufficient to enable them to perform the heavier labors of the stronger and more active. By this means the student and the clerk may become farmers, and even stone-layers. But this is not the change of a moment. It is the result of slow growth, a gradual progress from weakness to power, produced by careful cultivation and cautious application of the forces as they are created. In this progress, each stage grows out of its predecessor; each is larger than that which went before it, and opens the way for a still larger one to follow after.

There is not only this general law of gradual development, by which the usual progress is made from the weakness of infancy to the strength of manhood, but there are special developments produced by special training, by the application of the muscular system to particular purposes, whereby peculiarities of muscular force are established. Thus, the sailor has strong arms and comparatively weak legs; the rope-dancer and the pedestrian have strong legs and comparatively weak arms. Each of these can do his own usual work without fatigue or exhaustion; but they cannot interchange; the sailor cannot walk with the pedestrian, nor can the walker or the dancer perform the labors of the seaman or the stone-cutter without suffering. The farm-laborer, who works in every variety of posture, uses all his limbs and muscles, in every kind of action, and is therefore endowed with strength in all parts of his locomotive apparatus.

The stomach is subject to a similar law of growth and habit. The food of the child and that of the man are very different, and neither would be sustained and made comfortable by that which is suitable for the other. Adults also differ in this respect, according to their different training. One enjoys and is sustained by one kind of diet, and another digests and is strengthened by another kind. The seaman's fare would oppress the delicate scholar, whose diet in turn would be but a meagre support to the sailor. The digestive organs can be trained to new habits, and even to bear that which, in the beginning, is painful. The consumer of tobacco at first is nauseated by its use, while the old and practised chewer and smoker seems to suffer from the want of it. All the powers of life come under this law. They cannot be exerted and applied, with their best success and greatest safety, except in ways in which they have been previously trained; and all attempts to use them otherwise are followed by results less perfect, by increased fatigue, and sometimes by organic or functional derangement.

This law of gradual growth and development is manifested in the brain and the mind. The child learns his alphabet and reads his picture-book; the man reads of the affairs of the world; the philosopher studies the mysteries of nature; and all comprehend their several subjects with the same ease, because each has that measure of cerebral power which enables him to work safely and successfully in his own way.

The ordinary plans of education begin with the lowest and simplest elements, which demand only the slightest exertion of the perceptive faculties and the memory, and the least cerebral force, and proceed gradually from one step to another, requiring more and more action of the brain, and developing more and more of its power, so that, if judiciously arranged and pursued until maturity, they create sufficient mental energy to transact the usual business and discharge the common responsibilities of life.

There is no employment which does not require some thought, some degree of self-direction, and, of course, some action of the brain. Most kinds of business which men manage on their own responsibility, and by which they obtain their support, necessitate some thought for their administration and execution. Every responsibility which any one assumes, every undertaking to accomplish any object, whether by his own exertions or by the instrumentality of others, is, to its extent, a burden upon the brain, the energies and power of which must be given to the work, as surely as the energy and power of the muscles must be given to any physical labor. Therefore, the management of any business or concerns, whether large or small, of general or of private nature, the administration of any affairs, whether simple or complicated, the discharge of the duties of public office, the responsibilities of high and important station, the control and the direction of other men's actions for the execution of any purpose, the superintendence of the common labors of a farm, a manufacturing establishment, or even of a workshop, — all these necessarily demand and make use of the cerebral forces. If one, with sufficient original mental capacity, and appropriate education and training for the purpose, should assume any of these responsibilities, and give to it only the ordinary attention, at no time expending more mental force than has grown out of the power previously developed, he will discharge his duties easily and successfully, and go on in the even tenor of his way through life, without mental disturbance or exhaustion. But if the original or developed force be insufficient to meet the demands for mental action, difficulties must be encountered, and disturbance of mind will probably follow. Consequently, some men sink under their loads of care and anxiety, some are confused with the multiplicity and pressure of their responsibilities, and some become deranged.

Men sometimes leave their accustomed occupations, which required comparatively little mental exertion, or to which capacity, education, and long habit had adapted them, and engage in others which require much more thought and study. Although most persons may do this safely, yet the change is not without danger; when farmers leave their lands and become traders, when country traders on a small scale become city merchants on a large scale, when regular merchants become speculators, when any one goes out of an old and tried sphere of business and enters a new and untried one, which involves greater responsibility, he increases the pressure upon his brain; and unless he has a well-disciplined mind, and is accustomed to severe labors, he incurs some risk of over-working and impairing his cerebral structure.

This is especially the case with those who suddenly change their life from one of quiet ease and irresponsibleness to one of great excitement, labor, and duty. Some, unused to mental toil, float carelessly along the smooth stream of time, until, by a sudden turn of fortune or circumstance, they are placed in laborious positions or elevated to important offices, where the weight and care of business, and the necessity of producing results beyond their former experience and endeavors, press too heavily upon their powers of endurance. Sooner or later, they are found inadequate to the charge they have assumed, and unable to sustain themselves in their new relation without suffering. They expend more cerebral force than the brain can spare without wearing upon its strength, they overdraw upon their vital capital; some break down in health, and some sink in death.

Charles Fox, for many years, aimed at the Premiership of Great Britain. He was an active man in Parliament, but was not accustomed to assume great responsibilities, or to bear heavy burdens on his brain long and continuously. He had not exact and laborious habits of mind, and when he attained the object of his ambition, and was placed in the highest office, he found that it required a degree of mental discipline and a continuity of intense mental labor to which he had not been used, and which he could not sustain. In a short time he sank beneath the load, which overtasked his cerebral forces and overstrained his powers.

A much greater and more dangerous change of habit occurs, when one goes out of the track which he has trodden for years, perhaps for life, and enters another which requires, not only a much greater degree, but an entirely different kind of cerebral action. When farmers, or mechanics, or laborers, who have been accustomed to work with their hands, and to exert their mental powers only sufficiently to direct their physical processes, suddenly and without proper training undertake to become scholars; when they endeavor to dive into the mysteries of metaphysics, fathom the depths of philosophy, or solve intricate problems of mathematics; when they give their minds intensely to these or to other kinds of study, whether of literature, science, morals, or theology, or when they enter the field of politics, or tread the mazy paths of law,— when in any way they set the brain, which had been previously inactive, into vigorous action, or impose upon it new and large burdens out of proportion to its power,— there is danger of exhausting its forces, and of having the mind bewildered, and even disordered.

New subjects of interest are occasionally presented to the world, and old subjects sometimes attract extraordinary attention from individuals or the community. Religious doctrines, moral questions, political movements, measures of reform, scientific matters, at certain seasons assume an unusual importance to the world, and to some they are of absorbing moment. This last class take hold of them with earnestness, and pursue them even with vehement zeal. They give their minds and their hearts to them, and endeavor with intense application, to understand them. The more enthusiastic converts, desirous that their new doctrines should be believed by all, labor for their diffusion. They become propagandists, and embrace every opportunity to impress their views and their feelings upon others; they talk, they lecture, they preach and they write, as long as their strength lasts. There is a degree of contagious influence connected with some of these matters, which encourages their diffusion and enlists many to engage in them, and even some to become devotees in their behalf. But while this community of interest increases the zeal of the votaries and their willingness even to sacrifice themselves for the matter they have at heart, it does not increase their power of cerebral action, or of enduring the weight which they take upon their minds. Absorbed in their purpose, they are carried away by the sympathy of associates, and seem to think, that, as there is no apparent limit to the value of the subjects that engross them, there is also no measure to their power to study and to teach them.

Any of the vital actions may be made so intensely powerful as to concentrate, within a short period, the energy that should have been expended through a long time, and to produce at once the mischief that is usually the slower growth, through months or years of continued over-exertion. One great excess in eating, a single surfeit, especially if the food be indigestible, as well as excessive, may oppress and disturb the stomach, and at once create and leave behind functional disorder, perhaps organic disease, that may be long protracted and difficult to be removed. A violent exertion of the muscles, one great effort, may in a few minutes do the evil work of months of hard labor; as when a porter takes upon his shoulders and attempts to carry double or treble his usual burden, or when one works with great violence on an engine at a fire, or in an amateur boat-race, or in a struggle for life. In these cases, a strain or weakness of the muscles and impairment of the locomotive apparatus are sometimes produced, which are not easily removed and may remain permanently. So the brain, by intense excitement, or concentrated labor, becomes unbalanced, and its actions disturbed. In a state of overwhelming anxiety, in very deep study, in some overpowering effort of public speaking, in the almost agonizing excitement of some religious meeting, in the endeavor to fathom the infinite, to search into the mysteries of unseen worlds, to hold communion with spirits, in the absorbing interest of some kind or some stage of business, in a financial crisis or commercial panic, in a scene of gambling, in any great struggle, where much depends upon the turn of a moment, — in these conditions, and such as these, the mind is violently agitated, there is great exaltation of the feelings and powerful cerebral action, the brain is given up to the absorbing interest of the present subject, and, for the moment, its attention cannot be diverted nor its energies directed at will, for the maddening power of the ruling idea or emotion controls all its forces. This violently energetic action of the brain is never without danger. In some, the organ may be left merely in a state of fatigue, from which a period of rest will recover it; in others it may be exhausted and indisposed to labor, for a considerable time; and in others of a more delicate or weaker organization, or less mental discipline, this great agitation may leave the head disordered, and the mind deranged.

The instances of insanity from this class of causes are manifold. They come from many a field whence other issues are expected. The religious revivals, in which the feelings of men and women are vehemently agitated, and the exciting eloquence of some earnest and powerful preachers, have had their victims of disordered mind. In other and less hopeful circumstances, the brain loses its balance. In scenes of disaster, as shipwrecks, fires, railroad-crashes, steamboat-explosions, where distress and destruction are spread abroad, in dangers and threatened evils, when men are crushed down with overwhelming apprehension, many lose their self-control, and become bewildered. Their reason is, for the time, overthrown; and although most regain their self-possession when the trouble and the peril are over, yet in others the confusion remains, and in some mental derangement is established. Among those who think that they can avail themselves of animal magnetism to search into things not revealed, who believe themselves endowed with power to perceive what human eyes cannot see, who profess to be mediums between the spirits of the departed and the minds of the living, or who endeavor to hold communication with dead men's souls, especially among those who associate together for any of these purposes, and increase each other's excitability by mutual sympathy and encouragement, there is necessarily much unnatural and unhealthy excitement, the brains of many are agitated beyond their power of healthy endurance, and of these some become insane.

In like manner, the brain is overworked in the zealous pursuit of public objects. Some give themselves up to the interests and labor of a political campaign. They rush to the contest with all their heart and their intellect; they think of little beside, and care for nothing else; they come to believe and act as if the great interests of the world hung upon the issue of the struggle then going on; their nights and their days are devoted to effecting this great object, their brains are overwrought, their minds know no rest, they are agitated beyond due measure, and their mental health is in danger of suffering from these destructive influences. In national revolutions, the same absorbing excitement lays hold upon people, and grapples them with more power than in political struggles; for here is more to be gained and more to be lost. Here are agonizing fears and exhilarating hopes, and the brain is oppressed with the doubt of the issue and the endeavor to make it successful. Many are disturbed by this state, some sink under it. In some severe commercial crises, when great prosperity is followed by great adversity, in the transition from supposed and apparent wealth to real bankruptcy, when men struggle to save themselves from sinking, and all their cerebral forces are bent upon their own safety, in doubts, fears, and despair, the mind may wander, the brain lose its balance and become disordered. In public manias, when the world runs mad after great phantoms, as in the South Sea Bubble and Law's magnificent scheme, in lottery-dealing, in land speculations, in these and such as these, the brain is unnaturally excited and agitated. For the time, men lose their ordinary principles of reasoning, they believe too much where their feelings prompt, and too little where their feelings oppose, and their mental balance is suspended, in some permanently lost.

Any structure or vehicle, however rude or strong, will be broken down by a weight, if thrown upon it with precipitate violence, which it would have borne and carried, if carefully placed upon it. Any sudden interruption of action always gives a shock to, and often injures, a body in motion, and the injury is in proportion to the velocity of the arrested movement. Thus, when a stone falls among the rapidly moving wheels of a fixed machine, or when a railway train runs swiftly upon an obstacle, the wheels and the engine, the frame and the cars, are injured, and may be destroyed, by the violence of the shock. Likewise, when any one running at his utmost speed strikes against a wall, he is sure to receive a severe blow upon the part which meets the obstacle, a shock to his whole frame, and perhaps serious injury. In the same manner, in any sudden interruption to the mental actions or the emotions in a high state of excitement, as when ardent hopes or earnest and fond expectations are instantaneously cut off, or when one is disappointed in love, in ambition, or in the confident anticipation of fortune or success, there is depression and disturbance. Likewise, when any unexpected burden is thrown at once upon the brain, as when terrible danger, whether real or imagined, suddenly presents itself and causes fright, or when distressing tidings are communicated, as of the death of friends who were supposed to be in good health, or of some other great calamity which had not been anticipated, the violent sorrow sometimes leaves the mental actions in a state of protracted or permanent disorder. In these cases, the mental disturbance comes not from the weight of the distress, but from the suddenness of the impression. Its swift impulse gives it power more than its due. Whereas if the brain had been prepared by anticipation for the painful event, if the mourners had watched over their friend through days and weeks of sickness, and the catastrophe had been foreseen and expected, if death had visibly approached, through the gradual increase of disease and danger, they would have been ready to meet the affliction, if not with less sorrow, at least with greater power to bear it, and the mind would not have been overthrown.

From errors in the use of both the physical and the intellectual powers there proceed all grades of disorder, from the slightest languor or irregularity to positive and severe exhaustion and disease. All the organs and their functions are subject to these gradations of disturbance, and none more than the digestive and the nervous systems. The Protæan forms of dyspepsia, almost infinitely varied, and their numberless degrees of intensity, are equalled by the manifold phases and degrees of mental unsoundness and perversity.

Between the well-balanced and healthy mind and recognized insanity, there is a broad middle ground which neither occupies exclusively, but in every part of which the elements of both, in various proportions and complications, may be found. Here is every grade of mental obliquity and defect, resulting from perversion, or excessive labor, or neglect. Between the mind of average power and dementia, there are those who have every measure of weakness, — the dull, the simple, and the imbecile. Between intellectual soundness and mania, there are all the varieties and degrees of vagary, perversity, and disproportioned and inharmonious qualities and powers. In some, one faculty or element is too active or too sluggish, and in others a different one is exuberant, or comparatively or positively dormant. Some are unbalanced, some are easily excited or disturbed, others are passionate; some, without ordinary motive or reason, adopt new opinions, or engage in new projects; others are odd, eccentric, whimsical, or capricious. In the formation of their principles, and in the conduct of their lives, some are governed by their impulses or by their first impressions rather than by reflection or reason. Some are volatile in their habits, fickle in their affections, untrustworthy in their judgment, wild in forming their schemes, or unstable in the execution of their plans. Others are victims of indecision of character, and come to their conclusions with various degrees of hesitancy and difficulty, if they reach them at all. Some lack firmness of purpose, and are irresolute in action. Others, on the contrary, are wilful and obstinate, and adhere to opinions and purposes once adopted, whatever new reasons or circumstances may be presented for a different course. In some, self-esteem is so large and powerful as to make them disregard the usual common sense of mankind, and to prevent their harmonizing with their fellows and profiting by the wisdom of the world. Through all these and many others there runs a vein of unsoundness, of greater or less extent, due to the measure of the misappropriation of their cerebral forces, the mistakes in the use of their mental and moral powers, and their indulgence in, and cultivation of, unhealthy and perverse habits of mind or of action.

As in the administration of financial affairs every wrong appropriation of funds or credit, every wrong purchase or sale, is attended with loss, and every excess of expenditure, however small, over the income, however large, is charged to the pecuniary capital; so in the management of life and its powers, every waste through misappropriation of vital force, however slight, every over-draft and excess of expenditure, is charged to vital capital.

In both business and life the consequences of repeated errors, of the waste or loss of money and of living power, are cumulative. The effect of each, be it ever so small, is added to that of the preceding, and the loss, injury, or impairment gathers weight with each successive transgression. This accumulation of weakness, or disorder, is often very slow and imperceptible in its progress, and it may be long before the evil is recognized. A man may indulge his appetite with food of such kinds, or in such quantities, as require but a little more than his usual and average digestive power to convert it into chyle. He may repeat this through months, perhaps through years, before the over-draft upon his gastric force produces a sensible weakness or pain, and even then the cause of the digestive trouble, the waste of power, and the accumulated disorder are overlooked; for it is not easy to understand or believe, that an article of diet or gastronomic indulgence, which had been so long not only harmless, but, on the contrary, comfortable, should at length become injurious. A man may labor daily somewhat beyond his average muscular strength, and yet make so small an inroad upon his constitutional vigor, and so small an excess in the expenditure of force, that it may be years before he becomes conscious of the depreciation of power; but the effect of persevering waste ultimately manifests itself, and if not then arrested by change of habit and more moderate exertion, the waste goes on, and the weakness increases, until decrepitude is prematurely established. The same law holds in regard to the brain. It is seen in the growing effect of repeated waste and perversion of the cerebral forces, in the increasing consequences of continued neglect or misuse of the moral and intellectual powers. The evil result of each individual error may be extremely small and imperceptible; yet each, however minute, is charged to, and deducted from, the mental capital, and all of the same kind that come after are added to those that have gone before, until their accumulated weight becomes manifest in some weakness, or fixed peculiarity or perversity, or even grave disease of the mind.

Any error or mistake in self-management once committed, opens the way for another of the same character to follow, more easily; and the consequent loss of power lessens the means of resistance. The temptation and the facility of commission increase, while the protective and recuperative force diminishes with the repetition. Whoever allows in himself any excessive expenditure or misappropriation of mental force, or any indulgence in passion, caprice, oddity, impulse, or perversity, and takes but a single step from the path of discipline, propriety, or reason, finds the second step easier than the first, the third easier than the second, and each succeeding one less difficult than that which went before. Whatever of wrong or loss is established by the first, is treasured up and increased by the second and the third, and this, if not resisted, may go on, slowly but surely, until it becomes strong enough to influence, perhaps to control, the mental actions of the emotions. Whatever any one may sow within himself, whether it be good or whether it be evil, will grow almost insensibly, by repeated indulgence and persevering cultivation, and sooner or later become, in greater or less degree, an element of his character. Ever-watchful Nature, although generous in her provisions for and bountiful in her gifts to her children, is yet inflexibly just and rigorous in her dealings with them. She requires of every one the complete fulfilment of the conditions of life. She gives to each his due and sure reward for every instance of faithfulness, and exacts from each the penalty corresponding to every disobedience, in the use of all the organs, and all the powers, whether of body or of mind, that are bestowed upon man. There is no forgiveness in these matters. All the consequences of neglects and violations of the law are gathered, in every instance, and charged to the vital capital; and their sum, in every succeeding period, may be found, according to its extent, in mental or physical disorder, in reduction of strength, in the vitiated constitution.

ART. III. — 1. *On the Probable Fall in the Value of Gold: the Commercial and Social Consequences which may ensue, and the Measures which it incites.* By MICHEL CHEVALIER, Member of the Institute of France, etc. etc. Translated from the French, with Preface, by RICHARD COBDEN, Esq. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859.

2. *The Principles of Political Economy applied to the Condition, the Resources, and the Institutions of the American People.* By FRANCIS BOWEN, Alford Professor of Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in Harvard College. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1856. 8vo. pp. xxv. and 546. (Chapter XXII. *The Decline in the Value of Money.*)

3. *The Ways and Means of Payment: a full Analysis of the Credit System, with its various Modes of Adjustment.* By STEPHEN COLWELL. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. xii. and 644.

WE have placed at the head of this article the titles of three books, all of which are valuable additions to the department of science of which they treat. We propose, however, to examine only the first of them. We have deemed it a duty to mention also the other two, though one of them has already been reviewed in our pages, because the chapter of Mr. Bowen's book to which we especially refer anticipates, by a period of nearly two years, some of the most important statements and conclusions of M. Chevalier; and from the very recent and elaborate treatise of Mr. Colwell we have derived some valuable facts, for which we desire to give the proper credit. This latter work is worthy of more than a passing notice. Its author, who is intimately connected with one of the great producing interests of the country, is also known as a veteran in the science of Political Economy, and has hitherto, by his pen and by his editorial labors, made valuable contributions to its literature in this country. We have now, however, to speak of M. Chevalier's treatise on the Fall in the Value of Gold, a work which is destined, we think, to produce more impression than any on a kindred subject which, in this age teeming with discussions of credit, currency, and money, has recently appeared. It is not a long book, nor is it a dry one, as a glance at its somewhat appalling show of figures might lead one to fear. It is easily read, and its main facts and arguments are easily mastered. To the disciplined mind of the author the whole subject seems so simple, that he makes it almost equally lucid to our own.

Michel Chevalier is known in this country as one of the most intelligent foreigners who have visited the United States for the purpose of studying our political, social, and industrial institutions, and given the results of their observation to the press. He came here in 1832, having been sent by M. Thiers, then Minister of Commerce, to investigate our railway system. He spent nearly two years upon this side of the Atlantic, and after his return published, at intervals, several books relating to the United States. The best known of them is that entitled, "Society, Manners, and Politics in the United States," a translation of which was published in Boston in 1839. In Europe M. Chevalier is known as an eminent political economist, of which science he is a Professor in the College of France; and especially as the leader of the free-trade party, a position which secures to his writings peculiar influence and favor in Great Britain. No man is more competent than he to discuss intelligently the important topics of the present volume, and to no man should we look more naturally than to Richard Cobden, his admirer and fellow-laborer, to introduce the work, in our language, to English and American readers. The name of Mr. Cobden upon its title-page will, at the present moment, draw more attention to the book in this country, than even that of its distinguished author. Mr. Cobden has recently been, for the second time, a visitor to the United States, and everywhere a desired and honored guest.

Political economy is the science of a free and commercial people, and accordingly it was in England — then the freest of commercial states — that it was first intelligently discussed. It presupposes that the people of a country, and not merely its rulers, have an interest to discover, and power to establish, the true laws which should regulate the business intercourse of nations, and make the industry and resources of individuals productive of the highest national prosperity. Without free discussion, and free legislative action, this end cannot be accomplished. It is a coincidence not unworthy of notice, in this connection, that the same year which witnessed the American Declaration of Independence, gave to the press Adam Smith's " Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations"; and quite as memorable is it in the history of the institutions and material progress of Great Britain, that a decade of years which saw the waning glory of Chatham, the meridian splendor of Burke, and the rising effulgence of Charles James Fox, produced a work as instrumental in promoting the welfare of that great empire, as the wisdom of her statesmen or the eloquence of her orators. Much of the later legislation of that country we believe to be fairly attributable to the information and principles which that work first brought together and disseminated, and to the interest which it awakened in the minds of public men.

The subject of the currency had occupied the minds of some of the ablest men of Great Britain, before the publication of Adam Smith's book. Very early in the century, the philosopher Newton, then Director of the Mint, had established, with a clearness which has not since been surpassed, the principle that any unusual production of either of the precious metals disturbs the arbitrary relation affixed to them by law, and leads inevitably to the exportation of the one thereby rendered more valuable; and he then suggested the true remedy, in a readjustment of the legal relation. The Earl of Liverpool, also, as early as 1774, had begun to direct his attention to the subject of the coinage, though it was not until thirty years afterward that his celebrated " Treatise on the Coins of the Realm" was given to the press.

During the period that intervened between the suspension of cash payments in 1797, and their resumption in 1821, a host of writers, and a multitude of very able debates in Parliament, presented the subject of the currency in every light of which it seems capable. The report of the Bullion Committee, in 1810, brought the whole matter distinctly before Parliament, and it was constantly discussed there from that time till the passage of Sir Robert Peel's Act in 1819. Then arose the two great parties of Bullionists and Anti-Bullionists, which have divided public opinion in Great Britain from that day to this, and which at this time carry on their discussions with as much interest, and dispute with as much acrimony, as in the days when Lord Liverpool was Minister.

In popular language, money is but another name for wealth, and all estimates or expressions of wealth are made in the language of money. It is correctly said that money is a "representative" of value, but this does not express its full meaning. It is not merely the measure of all values, but, like other useful commodities, it is a value in itself. Aristotle thus explains its origin.

> "It was agreed," he says, "to give and to receive a substance, which, useful in itself, was easily transferred from hand to hand in the ordinary transactions of life; it was iron, for instance, or silver, or some other substance, of which the size and weight were in the first place determined, and on which, to escape from the inconvenience of continual measurings, a particular stamp was affixed as a sign of its value."

The patriarchs of ruder times are supposed to have consummated their bargains by the exchange of flocks and herds, in which their wealth consisted. "Pecus," *a flock*, is the root of the Latin "pecunia," *money*. Thus does language preserve and transmit to us customs otherwise uncertain or forgotten. The coinage of the precious metals, which is an expression on the face of the metal of its weight and fineness, is of much later origin than the use of them as money. It grew necessarily out of the inconvenience of the continual weighing and testing of quality.

The selection of gold and silver to serve the purposes of money was due to the supposed stability of their value. It was essential that the commodity selected should be difficult of acquisition, moderate in quantity, and as nearly as possible of uniform production. The early experience of the world justified the application of these qualities to gold and silver, and though later discoveries of gold have done much, as we expect to show, to disturb its relation of value to other commodities, the two metals still continue better fitted to perform the important functions assigned to them than anything which could be substituted in their place. Every event which tends to impair the immutability of their value, in the same degree impairs, for a time, their usefulness as money.

Two such events have occurred within the range of modern history, the discovery of the silver mines of Peru in 1545, and of the gold fields of California and Australia in 1848 and 1851. The effect of the first of these discoveries in disturbing the value of the precious metals is abundantly established. Silver became, relatively, much more abundant than gold, and its value, measured by its purchasing power, fell in the early part of the seventeenth century to less than a third of what it had been previously to the discovery of America in 1492. In France, a "hectolitre" of wheat (about three bushels), which at the earlier date cost a sum equivalent to from 49 to 62 cents of our money, at the beginning of the seventeenth century cost from $1.86 to $2.05. The price continued to rise gradually through the eighteenth century, and has risen until the present time, so that, during the last fifty years, the hectolitre has averaged in price about $3.72.

These facts establish the principle that the precious metals may rise and fall in value like other commodities, though the fluctuation is marked chiefly by the fluctuation in the price of other products. A few words respecting *value* and *price* are necessary to the clear understanding of the subject. The *value* of an article depends upon the extent and degree of its usefulness, and upon its abundance. Of two equally useful articles, that is most valuable which is produced in the smallest quantity, and in an exchange of those articles, a larger quantity of the more abundant must be given for a smaller quantity of the scarcer of them. Value, when expressed in money, — which is the common standard by which all values are rated, — becomes *price*. It is common to treat these words *value* and *price* as synonymous, but this is by no means correct; for money, in which all prices are expressed, is itself of variable value. While, therefore, in most cases, fluctuations in the price of commodities have been owing to the increased or diminished production of them, or to an increased or lessened demand, and while in periods of moderate duration gold and silver have remained of uniform value, in not a few instances the change of price has been caused by a real change in the value of money. Property is extremely sensitive to fluctuations even in the temporary supply of money. This is witnessed in the daily operations of the stock exchange. It is still more sensitive to any permanent disturbance of its own value; but with a metallic currency, it is not always easy to determine whether a rise or fall in commodities is attributable to one or the other of these causes. When, however, we abandon for a time the use of the precious metals as a medium of exchange, and resort to paper money as a substitute, we very quickly perceive that a depreciation in the value of the medium raises the price and apparent value of all other articles. The most remarkable illustrations of this truth, in modern times, are to be derived from the issue of the Continental money during our Revolutionary war, and of the *assignats* in France during the French Revolution. These substitutes still bore the name of money, after the price of a bushel of salt had risen, in America, to two hundred dollars, and the fare of a hackney-coach in Paris to six thousand livres. A similar, though much less marked, depreciation in the value of paper money was consequent upon the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England in 1797, bank-notes having fallen at one time to twenty-five per cent below the gold which they represented.

The amount of gold and silver yielded by America from 1492 to 1500, is estimated not to have exceeded $ 290,400 annually. From 1500 to 1545, the product of mines, together with the hoards discovered in Mexico and Peru, rose to an average of more than $ 3,000,000 annually. After the discovery of the rich mines of Potosi, in 1545, the production increased rapidly to $ 11,000,000, and afterwards even to $ 15,000,000 a year. When we consider how few in number and variety were then the exchangeable commodities of the world, we shall perceive the immense influence in prices which such an increase of the precious metals must have occasioned. We have seen that history, with its unerring data, supports the universal law.

The most authentic estimates of the production of gold and silver, prior to the present century, are those of Humboldt, who, in his Essay on New Spain, fixed it at the following average annual amounts: —

From 1492 to 1500,	$ 250,000
" 1500 to 1545,	3,000,000
" 1545 to 1600,	11,000,000
" 1600 to 1700,	16,000,000
" 1700 to 1750,	22,500,000
" 1750 to 1803,	35,300,000

The amount of gold produced at the beginning of this century, in America, in Europe, and in Asiatic Russia, he estimated at about $10,500,000 annually. Adding all that was received in Christendom from other sources, M. Chevalier estimates the aggregate amount at less than $12,000,000. The supply was first increased from the Russian mines; those of the Oural Mountains, rediscovered in 1774, becoming productive in 1810; and those of Siberia, discovered about 1830, yielding a far richer return after 1840. M. Chevalier represents the quantity, thus increased, to be three times the annual production at the beginning of the century. Birkmyre, whose estimates at the time of their publication, in 1851, were regarded as the most accurate and valuable then made, represents the increase of the annual product as from $12,643,048 in 1801, to $28,298,129 in 1846. The difference between this estimate and M. Chevalier's is not important in itself, and it dwindles into insignificance when we come to consider the immense increase in production which followed the discovery of the Californian and Australian deposits. Chevalier estimates the mass of gold annually furnished to the states of Christendom in 1857 at $183,750,000. The production of that year was fifteen times as great as it had been forty years before, and five times as great as it was in 1848. In the same period of forty years, the annual production of silver had increased only from $38,000,000 to $43,000,000.

This increase of gold is still more striking when expressed in another form. The whole continent of America, from its discovery in 1492 to 1848, produced only about $1,944,657,000 of gold. At the present time, the amount annually yielded throughout the world is nearly $200,676,000, or more than one tenth of the whole production of America prior to 1848.

To present this marvellous production in still another aspect, and one which, at the same time, shows the influence it is already having upon prices, M. Chevalier states that the ordinary daily earnings of a miner in Australia and California average nineteen francs, or $ 3.53, while, at the same time, a gold-washer on the Rhine gathers daily gold-dust worth only one and a half or two francs (28 to 37 cents), and is contented to follow the occupation. If, in answer to this, it be said that the cost of living in California and Australia is higher than in Germany by an almost equal degree, it is replied that this is but a temporary state of things, and there is no reason to suppose that the cost of producing or procuring the necessaries of life will be permanently greater in those countries than in other countries of similar climate. The richness of the soil, its capacity to yield every kind of agricultural product in the greatest abundance, and the energy of commerce, always tending to restore prices to an equilibrium throughout the world, will speedily bring about this result. If the richness of the mines still continues, the California miner will receive $ 3.50 for that labor which, under precisely similar conditions elsewhere, is worth but one dollar. Such a disparity cannot long continue; gold will diffuse itself through other countries, and tend there to raise the price of labor to the California standard; or, in other words, gold will become depreciated elsewhere as it is in California.

The next inquiry which suggests itself is, What has become of all the new gold, and why has it not produced a more marked enhancement of prices, than is supposed to have occurred? A few facts and figures, presented by our author, seem to us to answer this inquiry satisfactorily. The coinage of gold since 1848 has followed closely upon its production, and in that condition it has diffused itself, with a rapidity and to an extent hitherto unparalleled, through the currencies of Europe. In France, during eleven years of the reign of the first Napoleon, the coinage of gold amounted to about $ 102,000,000, or an average of about $ 9,000,000 a year. Under Louis XVIII. it averaged only $ 7,250,000. In the six years of the reign of Charles X., the whole amount coined was only $ 9,672,000, or $ 1,612,000 a year. Under Louis Philippe it averaged $ 2,325,000. During the eight years ending December 31, 1857, the gold coined at the Paris mint amounted to $ 505,000,000, an average of $ 63,240,000 a year. The greatest amount coined in any one year was in 1857, when it reached $ 106,496,388.

In England, for the seven years ending December 31, 1856, the total coinage of gold amounted to $ 221,429,361, an average of $ 31,634,194 a year, or less than half the coinage of France in the same period. For the seven preceding years, it had amounted only to $ 138,132,201, or an average of $ 19,733,171 a year.

In the United States we have not so accurate returns; but from several sources we gather the following facts. The Director of the Mint, in a communication addressed to the Governor of Massachusetts, December 11, 1858, estimated the total amount of gold and silver coin in the United States at $ 258,000,000. In October, 1856, the same functionary, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, estimated the amount at $ 200,000,000. These statements show an increase of $ 58,000,000 in two years, of which $ 46,064,000 was in gold, being an average of $ 23,032,000 a year. Other estimates place the amount of gold and silver coin in the United States, in 1849, at $ 120,000,000, and show a gradual increase to the figures given above, or a more than doubling of the amount in nine years. Nearly the whole of this increase has been in gold coin; for it is well known that the influx of gold from California soon operated in the United States to drive the silver coin of full weight out of the country; and this dangerous depletion was stopped only by the Act of 1853, which, by reducing the weight of silver coin below the weight of bullion of like value, rescued it for use to the country, but practically abolished silver as a money standard, — the law providing that the new coin should be legal tender only to the amount of five dollars. We shall have more to say of this law in another connection.

Following the statistics of our author, we find that, since the discovery of the new gold, the coinage of silver in France has largely diminished. During the first forty-eight years of this century it amounted to $ 723,726,000, or an average of more than $ 15,000,000 a year. During the eight years ending with 1857, it has amounted only to $ 60,298,760, or an average of $7,537,345. In 1857, the year of the greatest coinage of gold, it reached only $708,637, and in 1854 it was less than half a million of dollars.

The imports of silver into France formerly exceeded the exports, — the excess, from 1816 to 1839, amounting to nearly $340,000,000. They continued in like proportion till 1852, when the exports began to preponderate, so that in six years ending January 1, 1858, the excess of exports amounted to $212,600,000, or about two fifths of the silver money which France was supposed to possess a few years previously.

This sudden and rapid displacement of silver in France is attributed by M. Chevalier chiefly to its enhanced value as caused by the fall of gold, though it is due in part also to local and temporary causes, which have created a demand for the metal elsewhere. Silver in France is now at a premium, ranging, in the two last years, from two to four per cent. This, in a country where the annual rate of interest is within the same limits, is quite sufficient to cause a constant drain of that metal.

A large portion of the silver thus parted with has gone to the East, — to countries where it is the only legal currency. The amount of silver sent to the East from Western Europe in 1857 is estimated at $97,506,257, or more than double the production of the silver mines of Europe and America in the same space of time. At the beginning of the century it is estimated that the export of both silver and gold to the East did not exceed $13,000,000, and that in 1830 it had fallen below $10,000,000. M. Chevalier admits that the amount likely to be hereafter exported to the East cannot be estimated with any degree of accuracy. Since the renewed attempts in China to suppress the opium-trade, and during the period of the wars which have convulsed that country as well as India, the condition of things in that quarter of the globe has been exceptional, and such as to cause an unusual demand for silver, both to pay for commodities and to supply the military chest. The complete subjugation of India by Great Britain will tend to restore things to their former state; but the necessity of maintaining a much larger army there in future, and the measures recently taken to exclude gold altogether from the currency of that country, will tend to keep up in India a demand for silver greater than has ever hitherto been known in time of peace. It has just transpired that the finances of British India are in a very disordered and embarrassed state. This will, of course, increase the necessity for remittances from the mother country, and new loans of large amount are now projected.

On the other hand, the legalizing of the opium-trade, by the recent treaty between Great Britain and China, will bring back to India from China a part of the hoards which have for ages been accumulating there. By the conversion of the trade from smuggling to a lawful commerce, opium will, however, cease to be paid for altogether in silver, as has hitherto been the case. Credit, and an exchange of commodities, will, to a great degree, take the place of cash payments. It is well known that hitherto, whenever opium has been freely, though illicitly, admitted into China, that country has been an exporter rather than an importer of silver. This was the case from 1830 to 1839, when the government became alarmed at the drain of silver, and with a strong arm seized and destroyed all the opium then in the country. This being chiefly the property of British merchants, a war with England was the consequence. At the present time, the opium sold to China is said to equal $40,000,000 a year. Now that the trade is legalized, it will vastly increase.

It must therefore be admitted, that the drain of silver from France is, in some measure, owing to an unusual demand for it in other countries; but we think it equally certain, that the export is partly due to the premium which it bears over gold, and which, as gold is equally a legal currency in that country, allows it to be exported at a profit. This brings us to a consideration of the legal relations of gold and silver in France, and other countries, and to the subject of a double standard.

The motive which has led most civilized nations, at some time or other, to adopt both gold and silver as currency, is, that while the great value of the one, in small compass, renders it extremely suitable for large payments, the inferior value of the other permits it to be coined into pieces of convenient size for use in petty transactions. To constitute both alike mediums of payment, a fixed relation of value must be established between them; and if the cost of producing each remained always uniform, there would be no objection to the double standard. Unfortunately, as we have seen, this cost does not remain the same, but is subject to fluctuations quite considerable enough to disturb the arbitrary relation, and to make one metal or the other, for the time being, the exclusive currency.

In France, by the Act of March 28, 1803, (7 Germinal, year 11,) the relation of silver to gold was fixed as one to fifteen and a half, and that law is still in force. In 1857 an Imperial Commission was appointed to consider the condition of the currency consequent upon the great influx of gold. The conclusions at which the Commissioners arrived are such as to awaken no small surprise in the readers of M. Chevalier's book. They maintain that gold has not fallen in value, notwithstanding its extraordinary increase, and that the drain of silver is attributable wholly to the demand for it in the East. They, however, regard this drain as of so serious a character, that they propose to check it by the imposition of a heavy duty, and by affixing penalties to the act of selecting and assorting silver coin for export. Upon the futility of these recommendations M. Chevalier remarks:—

> "If there be anything confirmed by history, it is that the efforts of governments are powerless to regulate the value of gold and silver in relation to other commodities, or to one another, and that they are equally so to compel the precious metals to remain within the territory of a state, should commerce give the impulse to their exportation."

In the United States, the Act of April, 1792, fixed the proportion between gold and silver at one to fifteen. Experience proved that by this ratio gold was undervalued, and, as a consequence, gold formed but a small part of the circulation, till the relation was altered by the Act of June 28, 1834, which fixed the ratio at one to sixteen. The effect of this change was to quadruple the coinage of gold. Both metals circulated together, till the influx of gold from California, after 1848, again raised silver to a premium so considerable as to cause a sudden and rapid disappearance of silver coins of full weight, and the bringing to light and use the worn and depreciated Spanish and Mexican coins, which had previously almost gone out of circulation. Such a threatened debasement of the silver coin could be met only by legislation, and, accordingly, the Act of February 21, 1853, was passed, by which the weight of half-dollars and all smaller coins was reduced about seven per cent below what it had previously been, thus giving to the coin an artificial value above that of a corresponding weight of silver bullion. This expedient had been often resorted to before in other countries; and it has proved an effectual protection to our small domestic currency, as all motive for melting or exporting the smaller coin is now taken away. The new coinage is, however, made legal tender only to the amount of five dollars.

In England, by the Act of 1816, (56 Geo. III. c. 68,) gold coin is the only legal tender for amounts greater than forty shillings.

In Holland, Belgium, some of the states of Germany, and those parts of India lately under the dominion of the East India Company, gold has been altogether demonetized, and silver established as the only standard money. Gold, in these countries, is treated only as an article of merchandise, fluctuating in price like other commodities.

We have now endeavored to show that the value of gold is rapidly and seriously depreciating; and that the great law of values, making them to depend on the cost and magnitude of production and the extent of demand, holds good when applied to the precious metals, although, as they are by law invariable and a measure of all values, their depreciation is made apparent only by the enhanced price of other property. We have also seen, that where there is by law a double standard, and a fixed relation between the two metals, a fall in the value of gold has operated to drive silver out of circulation, causing it either to be used more extensively in the arts, or, what is more usual, to be exported to those countries where it is the exclusive standard.

We have shown, moreover, that in Great Britain and the United States gold is substantially the only currency. In these countries, therefore, no less than in France, will the effect of the depreciation of gold be apparent.

In estimating the probabilities of this depreciation, it is assumed that the supply of gold is to continue as great as it has hitherto been. Mr. Bowen expresses a doubt of this, and thinks that there are already indications that the richest sources of supply are becoming gradually exhausted; but even he admits that gold may fall to half its present value. M. Chevalier, on the contrary, believes that the supply will not diminish, and that, after meeting all the wants of the world, for use in the arts, for the indulgence of luxury, and for substituting gold in place of paper money in those countries where, as in the United States, bank-notes are extensively used, a large surplus will still remain to dilute the currencies of those countries which shall still continue to use gold as money. This is an extremely interesting portion of his book, but we have not space to give the details of it. We cannot, of course, vouch for the accuracy of his figures and estimates upon this branch of the subject. Much is necessarily conjecture, but there is one important fact which must not be lost sight of, — that the business of the world is done to a far greater extent without the intervention of money, than would a few years ago have been thought possible. Bills of exchange and other instruments of credit, and in large cities the operations of clearing-houses, have very much reduced the actual use of money.

The effect of the new gold upon prices is not yet as apparent as we believe it is soon destined to become. We have seen that hitherto it has nearly all passed into the coinage of France, England, and the United States, displacing, in those countries, silver or bank-notes. To use the expressive title of one of M. Chevalier's chapters, "France has served temporarily as a parachute to retard the fall of gold." There are many intelligent persons in Great Britain, who still deny that prices have risen in consequence of the plethora of gold. They admit that they have actually risen, but they attribute the rise to other and accidental causes, — to shortness of crops, to expensive wars, to the increase of population beyond that of production, to unwonted commercial activity and speculation. M. Chevalier believes the rise to be general, permanent, and based upon the fall of gold.

Prices rise so gradually, and we so readily accustom ourselves to pay year by year a little more for the articles which we use, or upon which we subsist, that few persons are aware of the great increase which has taken place within a few years. From a table in the last volume of Tooke's History of Prices, made up of twenty-seven articles, and including all the chief staples of food except bread-stuffs, and the chief raw materials used in manufacture except cotton, we find that in Great Britain, between January, 1851, and February, 1857, a period of only six years, there was in these commodities an average rise of forty-seven per cent, and that the price of many of them was doubled.

What is to be the effect of this depreciation in the value of gold, and this rapid rise of prices, is the great and serious question in which this whole discussion ends. Both M. Chevalier and Mr. Cobden regard it with great solicitude, and the arguments of the former all tend to show the necessity of substituting silver for gold in the currency of France; permitting the latter, however, to remain as a legal coinage, to be taken at its actual value, subject to frequent readjustment. Mr. Bowen, on the other hand, believes that the fall of gold is not an alarming circumstance; but that it will be of positive advantage to this country. There is, doubtless, so wide a difference between the condition of our own and older countries, that very different effects may be experienced here from those which are to be apprehended in France and England. The fall of gold will certainly be attended with much less of inconvenience and danger to our people than to theirs, while in some respects we shall derive a benefit from it.

It is obvious that, if all prices were to rise uniformly together, wages as well as commodities, no person, whose income depends upon earnings, or the profits of business, would be the loser. Such is the condition of the great mass of the people of this country. Capitalists invest their money either in real estate, in short loans upon real or personal security, or in the stocks of corporations, banks, railroads, manufacturing or insurance companies, all of which pay dividends out of their earnings, and those earnings will increase with the cheapness of money, which enhances prices. Nor will merchants and mechanics suffer, for they are always the first to profit by an abundance of money. Professional men will suffer more; for there is always a jealousy of professional charges. Those services which are the product of the brain, the fruits of learning and education, are ever the most grudgingly paid. The man of suddenly acquired wealth, who lavishes money without stint upon the adornment of his house, upon equipage, and upon the dress of his family, and who is, therefore, a benefactor to merchants and tradesmen, contributes tardily and stingily to his minister's salary, frets at the expense of his children's education, frowns at the doctor's bill, which is the penalty of his luxurious living, and revenges himself upon his lawyer by maledictions out of Scripture. All these professional men will suffer by the enhanced cost of living; for their remuneration will not keep pace with it. Salaried men, agents, clerks, and officers of corporations will also suffer, though in a less degree. The rate of their compensation being dependent in considerable measure on the profits of business, their salaries will rise in new communities rapidly, in old ones more slowly, with the prosperity of their employers. Many, however, of the humbler of this class, especially in great cities, where a life of routine has rendered them almost incapable of other employment, and chained them to the desk like galley-slaves to the oar, will be truly straitened in the endeavor to give to their families the comforts, and to their children the education, they have hitherto been able to afford.

Those who live by the labor of the hands, the dependents upon wages, will fare the most severely. In great establishments, wages fall suddenly and greatly upon a depression of business; but they are slow to rise on its revival. The tendency of factory labor is towards relatively lower prices; and hence the condition of our New England manufacturing towns is rapidly changing for the worse. The places at the loom and the spinning-frame, once occupied for a limited season by the daughters of our substantial farmers, are now filled from a much lower class, either of foreigners or permanent native operatives. The degradation in this respect has been great within ten years. We are rapidly creating in this country a manufacturing class; and though it has not yet fallen to that low estate, which in England ties the laborer helplessly and hopelessly to his machine, for such a pittance of wages as the master chooses to give, we are fast drifting in that direction, and the youngest among us may live to see mere stupid force substituted for that intelligent and skilful labor, which has hitherto enabled us to compete with the foreign manufacturer, who is worse served, but at far lower wages.

In the United States, we have few persons living on annuities or funded property. Annuities, though granted by some of the life-insurance companies, are very little understood by our people. Contracts of life-insurance are happily very common, and becoming more so. An annuity differs from a contract of life-insurance chiefly in this, that the price of the annuity is usually paid at the beginning in a gross sum, while insurance on lives is more commonly kept in force by the payment of an annual premium. The purchaser of the annuity, who paid for it when money was dear, will suffer by a depreciation of its value, and his income may at last purchase only half as much as the sum he stipulated for; but the holder of a life policy, who pays from year to year, gets the benefit of cheap gold in his annual contribution, and his heirs cannot complain, if they are paid, after his death, in money of like value.

France and England have a great public debt. In England, the debt now amounts to $3,876,563,470, and constitutes the wealth of a large body of the people. In France and the other European states the debt is less, but the aggregate indebtedness of all Europe falls little short of $10,000,000,000. As this is substantially permanent, for the principal is never paid, a fall in the value of money relieves the government in paying the interest, but it entails a corresponding loss upon the people. In the United States, we have no permanent debt, and the few public securities which our government has issued are better known to the stock-exchange of London than to that of New York. The States, it is true, owe a heavy aggregate of debt, probably not much less than two hundred and fifty millions of dollars; but most of this is held abroad, so that foreigners, and not our own citizens, will suffer by its depreciated value. As tax-payers in the indebted States, we shall gain by their loss.

Protracted leases of land are not common in this country. A few ground rentals exist in the large cities, for long terms of years; but generally, land and buildings are rented together, on short leases. Long farm leases, such as go to swell the rent-rolls of the English gentry, are almost equally unknown, except in the manorial districts of the State of New York, where they are rapidly disappearing.

There is a very important species of property, which we have not yet mentioned, — railway bonds. Of these a vast amount, estimated at $ 400,000,000, has been issued by the various railway corporations of the United States. Much of this debt was contracted before the influence of the new gold began to be felt, and as the bonds have generally twenty years to run, the railway corporations will profit by the fall of gold. If, at the maturity of the bonds, gold has fallen to half its former value, they will be as well off as if only half the debt had originally been contracted, while the cheapness of money will have swelled their earnings. A large share of the railway bonds are also held in Europe, so that here again, as in the case of the State debts, we must profit by the change.

We have thus endeavored to show the nature of the several species of property in which the wealth of the United States consists, and have endeavored to predict the effect upon each of them of a considerable depreciation in the value of gold. Though not devoid of danger to our people, they will suffer so much less than those of older countries, that we can patiently await the issue. Our relations with Europe are so intimate, however, that we cannot escape injury from whatever seriously injures the European states. In case the relation of gold to silver should be once or oftener readjusted in those states, or should gold be altogether demonetized by them, our legislation must follow theirs. We cannot safely maintain a currency of less intrinsic value than the currencies of Europe. Even now, we fully believe that the inability of our manufacturers to compete with those of Western Europe is largely owing to the superabundance of our paper currency, which is worth less than the specie in which it is by law redeemable, though practically never redeemed. Prices are inflated as well by cheap paper, as by cheap gold; and whatever we import from foreign countries we buy at prices governed by our own currency, — while, unfortunately, we must pay for it in theirs.

Another European war may postpone for a time the operation of those causes which are leading to the depreciation of money. Our reasonings have been based on a state of peace. A long and general war would not only diminish the production of the precious metals, but would increase the demand for them. But we believe that the results which we have predicted will come to pass, whenever the causes to which they are attributed shall be operative in full, and that the views of M. Chevalier, which we have endeavored thus to unfold, will be justified by future history.

Art. IV. — 1. *Farm Drainage. The Principles, Processes, and Effects of draining Land with Stones, Wood, Ploughs, and open Ditches, and especially with Tiles; including Tables of Rain-Fall, Evaporation, Filtration, Excavation, Capacity of Pipes, Cost and Number to the Acre of Tiles, &c., &c., and more than One Hundred Illustrations.* By Henry F. French. New York: A. O. Moore & Co. 1859. pp. 384.

2. *Elementary Treatise on the Drainage of Districts and Lands.* By G. D. Dempsey, C. E., with Illustrations. London: John Weale.

3. *Practical Landscape Gardening, with Reference to the Improvement of Rural Residences, giving the General Principles of the Art; with full Directions for planting Shade-Trees, Shrubbery, and Flowers, and laying out Grounds.* By G. M. Kern. Second edition. Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach, Keys, & Co. 1855.

It was the King of Brobdignag who avowed the opinion, "that whoever could make two ears of corn or two blades of grass to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind and do more essential service to his country than the whole race of politicians put together." Whatever may be said of politicians, there can be no doubt that the scientific farmer is a public benefactor. Government-tinkers and place-hunters may be, like Cardinal Wolsey, men of "unbounded stomach"; but, aside from the "home market" which they furnish in their own persons, they are of very small account in this "working-day world." They are mere consumers. The agriculturist, on the other hand, is the chief, if not the only, food-producer, or, more properly, food-manufacturer for the nation. He it is who turns Peruvian guano and superphosphate of lime into wheat, bones from the Pampas into esculent roots, Russian oil-cake and Syrian locust-pods into beef and mutton. But to do all this he must be intelligent, — acquainted with something more than the manipulations of the spade and the wheelbarrow, with something higher than the vulgar traditions of an ignorant ancestry. It is only under the hand of such men as Robert Bakewell, Jonas Webb, and Josiah Parkes, that long-legged, slab-sided, ill-bred oxen are metamorphosed into small-boned, quick-fattening Devons and elephantine Durhams; that lean, hurdle-backed Norfolk rams become beautiful "firkin-bodied" South Downs; that drifting sand-plains are converted into corn-fields, and shaking fens, from which benighted travellers were once warned by beacon-lights, are transformed into English gardens and apple-orchards.

Every book, therefore, which sheds new light upon the principles and processes of agriculture in any of its departments, we welcome as a contribution to the public welfare. Such is the work whose title we have placed first at the head of this article. Elaborate in its explanation of methods, and lucid in its philosophical statements, it leaves little to be said by others on altogether the most important branch of American husbandry. It is tastefully printed and illustrated; and, if read at every farmer's fireside morning and evening "with judicious care," it would soon renovate the face of the country, clothing the exhausted fields at the East with fresh verdure, and turning the ocean-like prairies of the West, now to a large extent too wet for tillage or for health, into the very garden of the world. The author is one of those versatile, open-eyed men, whose constant and careful observation of minute and disconnected facts is happily accompanied by a rare power of analysis and generalization. He presents a pleasant combination of scholarly culture and practical energy, and is equally at home at the forum and in the field, discharging with singular tact the twofold function of an accomplished jurist and a skilful tiller of the soil. He seems to receive from frequent contact with the earth fresh vigor for wrestling with hard questions of law. For many years associate editor of the New England Farmer, and special contributor to other similar journals, he has devoted the leisure wrung from a laborious profession to the study and practice of agriculture. His articles and addresses are not the mere speculations of a white-handed theorist, but they all have the flavor of fresh-ploughed fields and new-mown hay. As a racy and instructive writer upon the various topics connected with the garden, the orchard, and the farm, he has no superior and few equals in this country. He has the faculty of making all his resources, of whatever nature, contribute to the illustration of the particular subject in hand, no matter what that subject may be. The necessity of "gratings at the outlet of drains," in order to keep out all sorts of vermin, is not a very promising topic for pleasant rhetoric, and yet the pages occupied by him in its discussion sparkle with flashes from Virgil and Shakespeare, Coleridge and Matthew Prior.

"There are," he says, "many species of vermin, both creeping things and 'slimy things that crawl with legs,' which seem to imagine that drains are constructed for their especial accommodation. In dry times it is a favorite amusement of moles and mice and snakes, to explore the devious passages thus fitted up for them; and entering at the capacious, open front-door, they never suspect that the spacious corridors lead to no apartments, that their accommodations, as they progress, grow 'fine by degrees and beautifully less,' and that these are houses with no back-doors, or even convenient places for turning about for a retreat. Unlike the road to Hades, the descent to which is easy, here the ascent is inviting; though, alike in both cases, '*Revocare gradum, hoc opus, hic labor est.*' They persevere upward and onward, till they come, in more senses than one, to an 'untimely end.' Perhaps, stuck fast in a small pipe tile, they die a nightmare death; or perhaps, overtaken by a shower, of the effect of which, in their ignorance of the scientific principles of drainage, they had no conception, they are drowned before they have time for deliverance from the strait in which they find themselves, and so are left, as the poet strikingly expresses it, 'to lie in cold *obstruction*, and to rot.' In cold weather, water from the drains is warmer than the open ditch, and the poor frogs, reluctant to submit to the law of nature, which requires them to seek refuge in mud and oblivious sleep in winter, gather round the outfalls, as they do about springs, to bask in the warmth of the running water. If the flow is small, they leap up into the pipe, and follow its course upward. In summer, the drains furnish for them a cool and shady retreat from the mid-day sun, and they may be seen in single file by scores, at the approach of an intruding footstep, scrambling up the pipe. Dying in this way affects these creatures as 'sighing and grief' did Falstaff, — it 'blows them up like a bladder.'"

In the summer of 1857, Judge French visited Europe for the purpose of acquainting himself with the superior modes of husbandry in the Old World. The few months spent among the intelligent farmers of England confirmed him in his previous impression, that the first duty in American agriculture is systematic and thorough drainage; and the value of the volume before us, treating of "the principles, processes, and effects of draining land," is not a little enhanced by the writer's careful attention to the working, in the mother country, of the various systems of Elkington, Smith of Deanston, Josiah Parkes, and Lord Wharncliffe.

The sixty million acres of swamp lands, given away as worthless by our general government to the new States in which they lie, constitute but a very small portion of the territory in these United States, which might, by judicious drainage, be transformed from unsightly, pestilential "bog-holes" into waving grass and grain fields of exhaustless fertility. If Great Britain, a country of less area than our youngest State, is justified in loaning $40,000,000 to companies engaged in the drainage and improvement of her highlands, certainly the subject so ably discussed by our author cannot be unworthy of the earnest consideration of the American public. It is to be remembered that the agricultural districts of this country are lower and flatter than those of England, and that they receive *double the amount of rain-fall* per annum. We have no doubt that the value of the prairie lands in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Missouri might be at least trebled by a proper distribution of drain-tiles, four feet under ground. The face of the country might in this way be entirely changed. Corn, instead of being dropped into sub-aqueous drills from a raft, in June, with poor prospect of a harvest, might be planted on dry ground, early in May, with an assurance of reaping a hundred-fold. Wheat, no longer frozen out of the clayey soil every winter, might yield, not twelve, but, like John Hudson's on his Castle Acre farm, "forty-eight bushels to the acre." The farmers themselves, now shaking with intermittent chills amidst the noxious miasmata that rest like a pall upon coarse sedge and miry pools, might riot in fragrant clover and luxuriant health.

The present great need in this country is, first, a more thorough investigation of the principles of agriculture by scientific men, and, secondly, a more ready application of these principles to the processes of agriculture by working-men. A better understanding between these two classes would be an advantage to both. It is a pleasant indication of progress in the right direction, that professional men are beginning to take a more active interest in the material affairs of the field and the workshop; that the toil-hardened hand and weather-stained face are now regarded by none, except patent-leather, tape-selling cockneys, as marks of dishonor, but rather as the heraldic emblems, the armorial insignia of Nature's noblemen. Emerson is right when he says: "The first farmer was the first man, and all nobility rests on the possession and use of land." If, as Hebrew scholars tell us, Adam, the parent of all living men, means, etymologically speaking, "dark loam," then are the bonds of relationship between us and this teeming earth fixed in nature, and strong as the ties of blood. We are fed literally from the same maternal bosom, and the theory of a human brotherhood is something more than a dream of philanthropy. It was the boast of the Athenians that they were *αὐτόχθονες*, — children of the soil; that, in the olden time, they, like their olive-trees, sprang out of the ground. Attica, with its vine-clad hills and fertile valleys, was to them, therefore, not merely a territorial possession, but it was, as Thucydides expresses it, "a father and mother land." Every rood of it was consecrated in their affections; and the foreign foe who ventured within its borders was sternly encountered, as an invader of the privacy and sanctity of home; while the citizen who should raise his hand against it was treated, not as a traitor only, but as a parricide. The old Roman, though contemning the subtilties of the poetic Greek, yet, like him, recognized his relationship to the soil. It is a noteworthy fact, that the words *ground* and *man* have, in the Latin language, a common root.

But, leaving to scholars the niceties of philological discussion, one thing we may affirm as certain: A nation is strong only when, like the fabled Libyan giant, it rests its feet upon the solid earth. Land is the basis of our power; the everlasting hills are the pillars of our imperial sovereignty. Men, in successive generations, may give themselves up in mad frenzy to slaughter and extermination; dynasties may follow dynasties in lengthening cycles of misrule and oppression; the refluent wave of barbarism may dash against the broken arches of a former civilization; palaces, temples, capitols, all the trophies of art, may pass away in the ages like the ephemera of a summer morning; but Nature is eternal, and the husbandman is her minister, and should be her interpreter. In dealing with her mysteries he is dealing with the principles and laws which regulate the growth and determine the destiny of a people. The stewardship of our nationality is vested in the men who till the soil; for it depends on them whether our fields shall be yellow with corn, and a wide-spread commerce relieve our bursting granaries, or whether we shall return to the want and savagism of a past age, and worship again the "sacred oak," — *sacred* because it feeds us with acorns. It becomes a question, therefore, of the highest moment, how these men shall be awakened to a consciousness of their position, and furnished thoroughly for the discharge of their weighty responsibilities. How shall agricultural and mechanical labor, tasking as it does the energies of three fourths of the working male population of these United States, be elevated to its highest dignity and efficiency? The answer is as obvious as it is emphatic: By making the man of action a man of thought. Muscle must not be divorced from mind. It was said of Lord Bacon, that he never used one of the hundred hands of Briareus until he had opened all of the hundred eyes of Argus. There never was a great act, whose pedigree might not be traced back to some great thought as its ancestor.

We propose, in the further consideration of Judge French's book, to expatiate a little upon the subject of Educated Labor, incidentally treated by him; and if our readers do not discover a tile-drain running through our article, it will be either because our tiles are laid so deep as to be invisible, or because our discussion, as we proceed, may seem to us so dry as not to need draining.

There are counties in England, in which, not long since, according to governmental statistics, only one person in ten could read; and at a little earlier period, if we may believe pleasant Arthur Young, "not one farmer in five thousand did read anything at all." In these same districts the old Roman plough and harrow still belabored the patient soil, and the cattle were cured or killed by enchantment. The peasants wore charms for the ague; nailed horseshoes on the threshold to keep out the witches; carried around in their pockets pieces of a coffin to ward off the cramp; and tied red strings around the tails of their new-milch cows to prevent the fairies from stealing the butter. In Italy, as we are told in some recent reminiscences of travel, the farmer breaks up his land, not with a double-eagle plough, but with the root of a tree, attached by a grape-vine to his two cows. This remarkable style of tillage, however, is altogether outdone in Egypt, where Stephens assures us that the insulted ground is vexed by a grotesque thing, ycleped a plough, constructed in some pre-Adamitic era, and actually drawn in the furrow by an old woman and a jackass harnessed together. We shrewdly suspect that the modern traveller had been reading Pliny, who made the same extraordinary statement some eighteen hundred years ago.

There are among ourselves not a few whose brawny strength is turned to weakness by their ignorance, and whose stalwart manliness is dwarfed by the hereditary taint of a thousand shrivelling superstitions. They tremble and turn pale at the breaking of a looking-glass, or at the upsetting of a salt-cellar, or at the ticking of a little harmless insect which they have named the death-watch. They would no sooner engage in any important enterprise on Friday, than an old Roman general would go into battle when the sacred chickens refused to eat their dough with the proper relish. They never look at the new moon "over the left" without an indefinable apprehension of evil; nor pass in the evening a retired churchyard without encountering some unhappy ghost, or haunting devil. They will not wean their calves when the sign is in the stomach, for fear the poor animals may pine away over their meal and clover; and the pig whose tail unluckily curls to the left is, they are sure, scarcely worth the raising. They could not be persuaded to plant their potatoes on the increase of the moon, lest they all run to tops; nor to kill their swine on the decrease of the moon, lest the pork boil away in the pot. If an ill-fed or sick ox have nothing in his second stomach to be pumped up for rumination, they are certain he has "lost his cud," and will die, of course, unless they can manufacture a new one for him. If an unfortunate cow, from exposure to storm or cold, should, in the first flow of her milk, have a swollen bag, they thrust a butcher-knife through her dewlap, and insert a garget-root, or else saw off one of her horns.

It is a matter of congratulation that the common school and the agricultural journal are fast driving this whole brood of party-colored superstitions and follies, like spectres of night, to the mountain-caverns and forests on the outer rim of civilization. Let scientific men do their duty to the community, and the time is not far distant when no place shall be found among us for the "sole of their unblest feet." Every profound thought lifts a shadow from the earth. Every good book, whether it treat of "Farm Drainage" or "Celestial Mechanics," helps forward the millennium.

The advantages of intellectual culture are as obvious in those pursuits involving manual labor, as in the learned professions, so called. A good education is of some consequence to the lawyer and the physician; it is of not less consequence to the mechanic and the farmer. We have known professional men who could make a little learning go a great way with the wondering multitude; but such poor tricks cannot be played off upon the hidden forces of nature. It is the finger of Intelligence alone which can touch the secret springs that set the mountain streams to the music of machinery, and clothe the naked fields with waving grain. It is a maxim in New England factories, where a fluctuating and often hostile tariff has taught a wise economy, that they cannot afford to hire cheap, ignorant labor. Not many years ago a factory in Lowell imported a large number of workmen from England. But it turned out that these persons, though paid but half the wages of the better-educated operatives at home, were nevertheless an expensive luxury to their employers. They could not earn their living, and, in a few weeks, they were all, with three or four exceptions, dismissed. A partner in one of the most respectable mercantile houses in Boston, having the principal direction of extensive cotton-mills, stated, a few years ago, in reply to the interrogatories of a Congressional Committee, that, of the twelve hundred operatives annually employed by him, forty-five only were unable to write their names; and that the difference between the average wages of these forty-five and of the remaining eleven hundred and fifty-five was just twenty-seven per cent in favor of the latter. There were also in the same mills a hundred and fifty girls, who had been engaged in teaching school. The wages of these school-mistresses was seventeen and three fourths per cent above the general average, and more than forty per cent above the wages of those who were obliged to make their mark. It is safe to affirm, that there is not a cotton-mill in the country, with operatives, whether native or foreign, too ignorant to read and write, which could be made to yield a profit in the best times. The fabrics would be inferior in quality and in quantity; the machinery would be misused and prematurely worn out; and the stockholders would be soon brought to a realizing sense of the difference between dividends and assessments.

We are not of those who entertain a prejudice against foreigners as such. We care not what may be a person's origin, name, or complexion.

> "Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur";—

a verse unconsciously, though happily, rendered by Robert Burns in his democratic song:—

> "A man 's a man for a' that."

But still, though revering as we do the splendid names in Irish history, we cannot conceal from ourselves the obvious fact, that the introduction of uneducated Irish "help" in the field is working the same mischief to our sons, which its introduction in the kitchen has already wrought to our daughters. It is making labor dishonorable by associating it with ignorance, and is therefore driving our young men away from the old homesteads, — some into mercantile pursuits, some into the over-crowded professions, some into the wild hazards of stock-speculation, or into the still wilder hazards of gold-digging at some far-off Pike's Peak or Fraser River. In this way our farms in the older States, instead of being divided and subdivided, as they ought to be, are growing larger and more unmanageable. The tendency of the times is unquestionably towards immense estates, like those in England, each with a manorial mansion in the centre, and a dependent tenantry crouching in its shadow. We need not say that this is not "a consummation devoutly to be wished." If there is anything which we as patriots should deprecate and struggle against with sternest resolution, it is the gradual division of our people into the two classes of land-holders and tenants, — an educated nobility and an ignorant peasantry, — the wealthy few and the poverty-stricken, grovelling many. The immigration into this country of intelligent foreigners, who, like very many of the Germans and a very few of the Irish, appreciate and admire the freedom of our republican government as intensely as they hate the tyrannies, civil or ecclesiastical, of the Old World, is a matter, not of anxious solicitude, but of national felicitation. But the extraordinary influx of men, bringing with them little wealth and less intelligence, trained to unthinking, servile toil, and accustomed to look with helpless awe upon the glittering pageantry of monarchical institutions, is threatening, as its legitimate result, the gradual transformation of American society. The change, of course, is noiseless in its progress, but, unless arrested, it will be palpable enough in its effects. The laws of social chemistry are as fixed and inexorable as those which regulate the combinations of the laboratory. Athens, though her natural position and unequalled harbor, as well as the character of her native-born citizens, seemed to indicate that she was preordained to be the mistress of the world, yet was not able to withstand the deteriorating influence of vast hordes of unlettered "barbarians," pouring continuously into her streets from petty despotisms or conquered provinces, supplying the Bema and the Academy with the gross amusements and empty shows of the amphitheatre, and degrading a cheerful industry to the reluctant toil of enslaved Helots. If we allow labor on the soil, north or south, to be surrounded with menial associations, we should not be surprised that the Anglo-Saxon, rather than stoop to it, chooses to live by his wits, or to die like a fool in some ill-omened expedition of piratical fillibusters.

We can remember, young as we are, when the farmer's daughter deemed it no disgrace to her to "work out" as "help" for any respectable man, whose son, perchance, in process of time, deemed it no disgrace to him to take her as his wedded wife, if he could get her. But now he would be a bold man who should venture within any farm-house in New England, and attempt to secure, at any price, the services, as cook or chamber-maid, of either one of the half-dozen young ladies working worsted at the front windows, or reading the last orange-tinted novel on the tear-besprinkled sofa. In all probability Bridget would be called from the kitchen, and the rash and unromantic intruder unceremoniously and ignominiously swept out like a muddy boot-track, or mopped up like an unlucky slop. These things ought not to be. Far be it from us to say aught in disparagement of the highest personal accomplishments and the amplest literary leisure. But these, so far from being inconsistent with the industrial pursuits of life, are its most appropriate embellishments. The kitchen and the field alike should be, in fact and in public estimation, laboratories of science, in which the speculations of theorists are daily tested and authoritatively pronounced either wise or worthless, as the result may prove them to be. Labor, to be respected, must be respectable; to be lucrative, it must be intelligent.

Cotton cloth was first made in Hindostan, centuries ago, and its manufacture is still continued there in all its original simplicity. But to-day one Yankee in Lowell or Manchester can spin with the mule as much cotton as three thousand Hindoos can spin with any machinery of their contrivancce. In the sleepy sunshine of that Southern clime, the red brawn of the people lacks the electrifying influence of genius. The inert organism, called a body, is interpenetrated with barely thought enough to "save the expense of salt." The truth is, in every department of human labor, he succeeds best who brings to his work, not the greatest physical strength, but the keenest intellect.

The agriculturist, dealing not merely with inanimate matter, but with the vital forces of nature, needs, most of all things and most of all men, intellectual culture in the broadest and deepest significance of the term. We shall have, however, space only to indicate, in a general way, two departments of knowledge, to which every farmer should give especial attention; — first, he should know how to make his fields in the highest degree productive; and, secondly, how to render his home beautiful. In other words, he should be familiar with the conditions of vegetable growth, and with the principles of good taste in their application to rural embellishments. Let us briefly consider each of these desiderata.

All vegetables, whether grain or grass, trees or turnips, corn or cotton, require, as absolutely indispensable to their growth and maturity, at least six things; namely, heat, air, moisture, food, light, and protection from destructive insects. Of these, we shall see as we proceed, that the first and most important four can be made available to a majority of the farmers in this country only by subjecting their lands to a system of thorough drainage.

No plant can germinate without a certain degree of *heat*. Each plant, however, has its own peculiar range of temperature. Wheat will not germinate when the soil is below 45° Fahrenheit, or above 95°. Corn requires 10° more heat than wheat. Should it be planted, therefore, when the soil does not indicate 55° at least, its starchy portions, if the weather continue wet and cold for a week or two, will be decomposed and diffused, wholly or in part, through the soil, so that when the warmth becomes sufficient to quicken the germ into activity, the plumule, failing to find the proper nourishment at its root, does not appear at all, or comes up a puny starveling, and, after living a few weeks "at a poor dying rate," expires, like the wretched Cardinal, and "makes no sign." This principle is universal in its application to the germinating processes of the vegetable kingdom. The man, therefore, who puts his seed into the ground without any reference to its temperature, is liable both to lose his time and to " beg in harvest."

But heat is quite as important to the growth of the plant as to its germination. It is a very remarkable mathematical law, recently ascertained in M. Quetelet's researches upon the climate of Belgium, that *the increase of growth is as the square of the increase of the temperature of the soil.* If a corn-plant, when the earth in which it grows is 20° above the freezing point, adds to its weight three grains in one day, it will in the same period add twelve grains, or four times as much, when the thermometer is twice as high, or at 40° above freezing. It is obviously, then, of some consequence, in our higher latitudes, to supply by our skill any natural deficiency of heat in the soil. There are three methods of doing this, — two partial, and one general. We may, in accordance with a well-known political principle, select for our premium crop a piece of land, which, like a candidate for some high office in the nation, has a southern exposure, and which will, therefore, receive a greater number of solar rays on a given area than a northern slope or a horizontal level; we may blacken the surface of our soil with charcoal-dust and meadow-muck, and thus increase indefinitely its power of absorbing heat; or we may gain at least a fortnight every spring, and secure a warmer soil through the season, (maturing our potatoes and corn before the rot and frost strike them,) by thorough under-draining, drawing off the superabundant waters, which, by their evaporation, chill the ground, until its " sensible warm motion becomes a kneaded clod," and the root-fibres in their paralysis are unable to supply the plant with its currents of life. It has been found by accurate experiment, that the vaporization of water requires one thousand times as much heat as would be sufficient to raise its temperature a single degree. We should not be surprised, therefore, that the evaporation of one pound of water from one hundred pounds of saturated earth causes a loss of ten degrees of heat; or, as Judge French enunciates the principle, that " the evaporation of every gallon of water requires as much heat as would raise five and a half gallons from the freezing to the boiling point." We say nothing of the familiar fact, that heat cannot be propagated downward in liquids. Every one knows that a cord of the best hickory would not be sufficient to make one small tea-kettle boil, if the wood should be burned above the kettle rather than below it. The surface of a "water-logged bog" may be burned and "shrivelled like a parched scroll," while the saturated sub-soil is as cold as in mid-winter. The warm spring rains run off from the surface of a soil saturated with snow-water, but penetrate a well-drained soil, imparting to it a portion of their own warmth, and enriching it with various elements of fertility. This point, in connection with the laws of heat-propagation in fluids, is thoroughly discussed and happily illustrated by our author in his fifteenth chapter, to which we commend our philosophic readers.

But stagnant surface water, in addition to its chilling effects, hardens and packs the soil so closely as to render it impervious to the *air*, thus preventing the second condition of vegetable growth. If the air be exhausted from a bell-glass, in which any common house-plant has been placed, the plant will die in a few minutes beyond the reach of recovery. If the air be shut out from the roots of the thriftiest fruit-tree in our garden by overspreading the ground for some ten feet from its trunk with a puddling of impermeable clay, the tree will sicken and eventually die for want of breath. On the same principle, cattle, standing in considerable numbers during the hot season under some favorite shade-tree in the pasture, not unfrequently cause its death. Its roots are suffocated under the hard earthen crust which covers them.

The fertility of a field is wonderfully increased by the oxidation or decay of the organic matter existing in the soil. But oxygen is indispensable to oxidation, and the process, therefore, can be carried on only by the presence and frequent renewal of the air. Our success in preserving fruits in glass jars or tin cans, is measured by our success in excluding the oxygen of the air. Without such exclusion, our tomatoes and berries undergo the very process to which we should like to subject them in the ground, but which does not heighten their excellence for the table, — they oxidate, or, in familiar language, they rot. We see, in the light of these and kindred facts, the philosophy of thorough tillage. Draining, by relieving the soil of its excessive moisture, secures its proper aeration, and thus, while facilitating important putrefactive processes, which are checked by the presence of cold water, it furnishes also to the plant-roots the carbonic acid and ammonia always indispensable in "intensive culture." The destruction of weeds among our corn and potatoes is not the highest use of the hoe and cultivator, — their chief function is to render the soil porous and permeable to the air.

The third condition of vegetable growth is a sufficiency of *moisture*. In many countries this can be effected only by artificial irrigation. In Scripture phrase, "the rivers of water are turned" into the fields, or the same thing is accomplished by means of "pots," suspended from a sort of yoke across the shoulders of slaves. This last method is referred to by the writer of the eighty-first Psalm, and a picture of it was made the significant emblem of Aquarius, the eleventh sign of the zodiac. The definition of Oriental agriculture is "valuable machinery for raising water." This definition will answer for New England to-day as well as for Egypt three thousand years ago. But with us the only machinery necessary is, first, an Irish spade, with an Irishman thrown in as a "dative of accompaniment," and, secondly, a Michigan plough, with a good team of horses or oxen at one end, and a skilful ploughman at the other. Let there be a deep and thorough pulverization of the soil and sub-soil, and, except in extraordinary cases, capillary attraction will raise an adequate amount of moisture. Besides this, when the rain fails to come in its season, the warm air, saturated with vapor, will permeate the well-tilled, porous soil, and, coming in contact with the cooler plant-roots, will deposit with them its dewy treasures, just as it does with the cabbage-leaf in the garden, or with the outer surface of a pitcher of iced water on a hot day, or with a frosty axe when held near the fire. The principle is perfectly simple. The capacity of air for moisture is diminished by cooling it; and whenever, therefore, in a state of saturation, it meets a colder body, whether above ground or below, the water is squeezed out of it just as we squeeze with the hand a juicy lemon or a wet sponge. The amount of dew deposited in the soil or on it has been estimated by Dr. Dalton to be equal, in England, to five inches' depth of water in a year. In this country, where the nights are clearer, there must be more, — as much at least as would be equivalent to "one quarter of our rain-fall during the six summer months."

Under-drains are not merely useful in carrying off the floods in a rainy season; they also greatly mitigate the severity of our scorching droughts. They do this in three ways. First, a deep-drained, thoroughly pulverized soil is in just the right condition, as we have seen, to absorb moisture from the air; secondly, it has a greater power both of drawing up water from the lower strata, through its countless capillary tubules, and of holding it when thus drawn up; and, thirdly, it invites the plants to extend their researches to unexplored depths. Wheat, which, like Mr. Denton's, has roots nine feet long; parsnips, which, like Sheriff Mechi's, run down "thirteen feet and six inches"; and lucern, which, like Mr. Cobbett's, "sends its roots thirty feet into a dry bottom," — certainly need have no apprehensions, though "a hot and copper sky" distil no rain upon the earth for a few months.

The fourth and most important condition of vegetable growth is an abundant supply of suitable *food*. It is a fundamental proposition in agriculture, that all plants live by eating, — grow by what they feed on. From the delicate moss, which clings to the hard rock, up to the "high-haired oak," of which Homer sings, every green thing, if it does not, like some human vegetables, live to eat, must eat to live.

The whole outward fabric of nature, whether vegetable, animal, or mineral, is built up of some sixty elements, of which not more than one fourth enter into the composition of our ordinary edible plants. From these dozen or fifteen articles of diet, each particular plant, whether rose or ruta-baga, chooses those adapted to its constitution, as carefully as an epicure at a *table d'hôte* makes his selection from a bill of fare. Unlike the epicure, however, the plant seeks no variety, but is satisfied with its one course of soup, morning, noon, and night, from infancy to old age, only varying the relative proportion of the ingredients in different periods of its growth. Its food, aside from certain invisible gases absorbed by its leaves, is always liquid, and is sucked up by its rootlets or spongioles, not exactly as a "fast" youth sucks mint-juleps through a straw, but by a law of *osmotic diffusion*, classically defined *endosmose* and *exosmose*.

What we call manure is known in the Ionic dialect of science as food for growing crops. There are two general divisions of manure, organic and inorganic; — the former consisting of decayed matter, or *humus*, which had once been organized into some form of vegetable or animal life; and the latter being the dust or detritus worn off from rocks, partly by friction, but chiefly by frost, heat, and the play of chemical affinities. Of these elements the most important are four gases, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, and chlorine; five metals, potassium, sodium, calcium, magnesium, and aluminum; and four metalloids, carbon, silicon, phosphorus, and sulphur. These are seldom found simple, but in various combinations among themselves, and with other substances, such as iron and manganese. Water is a union of oxygen and hydrogen; air, of oxygen and nitrogen; ammonia, of hydrogen and nitrogen; carbonic acid, of oxygen and carbon; sulphate of lime (gypsum), of oxygen, sulphur, and calcium; carbonate of potassa (potash), of oxygen, carbon, and potassium; and so of all the rest. These unions of acids and bases constitute the various neutral salts, which Nature, like an enthusiastic chemist, is constantly forming, decomposing, and re-forming, for her own amusement, in her two laboratories, the soil and the plant. The combinations of greatest interest to the agriculturist are potassa, lime, soda, magnesia, alumina, silica, carbonic, sulphuric, phosphoric, and hydrochloric acids, and the oxides of iron. Of these, potash is supplied in great abundance by recent ashes and by the disintegration of granite, about fifteen per cent of whose felspar, when *orthose*, is potash. Soda, magnesia, and chlorine abound in common salt, and exist also, together with lime, the silicates, and sesquioxide of iron, in ashes, leached or unleached. Alumina is the basis of all the clays, and though no trace of it has yet been detected in any plant, its mechanical value, as a retainer of moisture and of useful gases in the soil, can hardly be over-estimated. Silica is extracted from rock crystal and the quartz of our granite, by the action of the weather and the more effective action of the plough and harrow. Sulphuric acid is furnished in gypsum and in all the sulphates. Phosphoric acid constitutes nearly one fourth of the bones of Mammalia and of birds, and is found largely in guano. Carbonic acid, as well as ammonia, is the universal product of the putrefactive processes of vegetables and animals. It is the result, too, of combustion, both of burning wood and of burning food. Whether discharged from the chimney-top or from breathing lungs, it is brought back from the atmosphere down to the earth in every fall of rain and snow. To intelligent farmers, the application of facts like the foregoing is obvious. If the ashes of potatoes consist chiefly, as in fact they do, of potash, sulphuric acid, phosphoric acid, lime, magnesia, silex, and iron, it is perfectly plain that these ingredients must be in the soil, or there will be no potatoes. A brick house cannot be made without bricks. It was an axiom with the old philosophers, as enunciated by Lucretius, " *De nihilo nihil*," — that is, we cannot create something out of nothing, whether that something be a potato or a planet.

There is one noteworthy peculiarity in plants, as distinguished from animals. They require absolutely and unconditionally certain kinds of food, which cannot be replaced by any substitute. The amount of any one specific kind may be extremely small, — discernible in its infinitesimal minuteness only to the eye of the chemist; but unless that is supplied, the functions of life and growth will not be carried on. The kernel of wheat cannot be developed without phosphoric acid and ammonia; the stalk, in common with that of all kinds of grains, must have silex, or the rapidly ascending sap will burst the feeble tissues, and the promising harvest, in popular phrase, will be " struck with the rust." An eminent lawyer of Maryland, by a liberal application of phosphate of lime to his worn-out lands, under the advice of a book-farmer, increased his yield of wheat from one peck to twenty-nine bushels per acre. Clover, peas, and beans, as well as tobacco, that

> " Indian weed,
> Which from the Devil did proceed,"

are all fond of lime, and should, therefore, be fed with gypsum. Raspberries and blackberries have a hungry appetency for potash, and so they cling to crumbling stone walls, and spring up, as by enchantment, on burnt ground. But we need not pursue this topic further. If our young farmers would spend their rainy days and winter evenings in the careful reading and study of books on chemistry, instead of hunting in the mud for the patten-tracks of their great-grandfathers, the knowledge easily acquired, in spite of the hard names, would shed upon their daily work a light more cheerful than that of the sun. They might not become Liebigs or Boussingaults, but they could learn enough to protect themselves from the imposition of scientific mountebanks, and to conduct properly to their legitimate issue experiments on their farms, whose results might be of incalculable advantage to the agricultural community. Bacon lost his life in stuffing a hen with snow, in order to ascertain the effect of cold in the preservation of meat; but upon the foundation of his experimental philosophy two institutions were established, which still continue perennial fountains of knowledge, — the Royal Society of London, and the Academy of Sciences at Paris.

The relation of "Farm Drainage" to this topic of plant-food is patent enough when we consider that, in much the larger portion of our arable territory, draining is an indispensable prerequisite to an increased depth of soil; and the deeper the soil, the richer and more extensive the feeding-ground for the plant-roots. A horse fastened to a post in a clover-field, by a rope a hundred feet long, would be more likely to "wax fat and kick," than if tied to the same post by a rope of half that length. Just so, a hill of corn, whose roots can expatiate in a soil four feet deep, ranging at will among "fat things full of marrow," will, in the autumn, bristle on all sides with full-grown ears; while one whose roots are compelled, by "hard pan" or stagnant water, to spread like spiders' legs over the exhausted surface of the ground, will wear a "lean and hungry look" through the summer, and finally will yield to the granary a puny handful of cobs.

Another condition of vegetable growth is *light*. All plants are, in the strict Greek sense of the word, *heliotropes;* they turn to the sun. The potato-vine, in the cellar, crawls like a serpent towards a crevice in the wall, through which the light streams in once a day, and the blossoming tree inclines its thousand tinted corols to catch the first ray from the sun in his rising. One of the most important functions in the vegetable economy — the absorption of carbonic acid from the atmosphere, and the exhalation of its oxygen, by means of the leaves — is performed only in the daylight. Dumas, the French chemist, says, that plants absorb carbonic acid with so much avidity, that the air blown with a bellows over a branch of fresh foliage, placed in a glass globe, loses, in its rapid passage over the leaves, every particle of its carbonic acid, provided the sun shine on the process. In darkness this action does not take place. Flowering plants in our houses are, of course, healthful in the day-time, but do no good in the night. If a jar be filled, half with chlorine and half with oxygen, there is no union so long as they are kept in a dark place; but when exposed to the direct rays of the sun, they instantaneously unite, with a violent detonation, and a probable shivering of the glass to atoms. It is the solar ray alone which decomposes the watery sap in the upper surface of the leaf. Without its chemical power, there would be no carbon to form, by various affinities, the starch, sugar, gum, and woody fibre necessary to the development of the plant. The intelligent farmer, therefore, whether cultivating corn-fields or apple-orchards, will do well to remember that he always "stands in his own light," when, from any carelessness of arrangement or any unwise economy of space, he fails to secure to his growing crops an abundance of the blessed sunshine. Never inappropriate for him is Milton's august invocation: —

> "Hail, holy Light! offspring of Heaven first-born,
> Bright effluence of bright essence increate!"

The sixth and last condition of success in vegetable cultivation, to which, though, like the preceding condition, it has no relation to drainage, allusion should be made in this discussion, is the *protection* of our growing crops *from destructive insects*. Every farmer should know, that in the insect world he has his friends as well as his foes; he should know, too, how to discriminate between them. Without stopping to speak of the familiar fact, that insects, besides their chrysalid or intermediate state, have two forms of active existence, the larva and the winged form, we will specify briefly two or three classes whose services deserve our kindly regard.

The Carabidæ are ugly-looking, dark-colored, fast-running bugs, of different sizes, having wings concealed under stiff, horny cases, and living under loose stones or pieces of board. They are hatched from eggs deposited in the ground, and both in the larva and in the perfect state they are fierce destroyers of cut-worms and of the slate-colored grubs, which sometimes lay waste our gardens.

The Cicindaladæ, or tiger-beetles, which we see, in sunny summer days, running and flying before us in the trodden paths, embellished with handsome spotted and striped wing-cases, are as carnivorous as the Fejee-Islanders. Not an insect, which once comes within the reach of their mandibles, ever has another opportunity to eat leaf of tree or stalk of corn.

The mason-wasps are pitiless insect-murderers. They lay their eggs at the bottom of little clay cells, which they plaster to our attic ceilings, or fashion in the ground, and then fill them with immense quantities of spiders, caterpillars, or canker-worms, that their young, when hatched, may eat their way up through successive layers of fresh meat, until their wings are ready for the upper air. Levi W. Leonard, D. D., who contributed to the late Dr. Harris, his classmate, not a few of the most important facts in his published works, and who is undoubtedly at this time the best entomologist in his State, recently told us, that he once found in the six or eight cells belonging to one of these wasps, seventy-nine spiders, not really killed, but so stung and benumbed as to lie still and wait to be eaten, with the glorious indifference of stoics or martyrs.

The Aphides, or plant-lice, which exhaust the juices from the tender growth of apple-trees and the young leaves of peach-trees, are swallowed by the larvæ of the beautiful lady-bug in as great numbers, and with as much relish, as succulent oysters are gulped down by hungry aldermen — when the city pays the bill.

The dragon-flies, or darning-needles, are a predaceous race; and, besides other small insects, they consume such clouds of those summer-evening pests, the mosquitos, as to have won for themselves the significant title of mosquito-hawks.

Certain flies, bearing some resemblance to the common wasp, and called ichneumon-flies, from their practice of destroying insects in the egg, just as their namesake, on the banks of the Nile, destroys the eggs of the crocodile, are most terrible enemies to the maggot of the weevil and the wheat-fly, and especially to the apple-tree caterpillar, in whose back they lay their eggs. "When these are hatched," says Dr. Leonard, who has carefully watched their operations, "the young ichneumons feed upon the fat of their living victims till fully grown, touching in the mean time no vital part, but finally causing their unlamented death."

But without proceeding further in this specification, and without enlarging upon the manifold virtues of the slandered mole and toad, it is pertinent to say, that by far the most efficient allies to the farmer, in his war against destructive insects, are the birds, — the beautiful singing-birds. It has been proved by actual count, that two sparrows, during a single hour, have carried to their nest forty caterpillars. The number of apple-moths, and millers prolific in hurtful larvæ, consumed in a season, by a swallow on the wing, is beyond the reach of computation. The grubs of various kinds, slaughtered by a common robin, in the months of May and June, while tending her young, would far outnumber all the Philistines slain by David in his whole life. Even the much-abused crow, about which the wise Solons of our State Legislatures waste their harmless ammunition every year, digests at least five hundred grubs to one kernel of corn. The lordly raven does not condescend to a vegetable diet when there is any fresh meat to be had. In a word, there is not one of the singing-birds of our fields, woods, and gardens, whether thrush or jay, cat-bird or black-bird, king-bird or blue-bird, wren or pee-wee, martin or bobolink, — not one in the whole range, from the humble ground-sparrow up to that "feathered lyric," the aspiring skylark, which does not deserve the profoundest gratitude and most pains-taking protection of the husbandman.

And yet, though rendering us valiant and voluntary service in our insect warfare, though gladdening our eyes in this dusty, sin-blighted world with forms and hues of beauty, though making our trees as divinely vocal as the oaks of Dodona, and flooding the air with their joyous music, like a vernal shower, they are stupidly, meanly, wickedly shot and robbed of their young by idle boys and empty-headed men.

We said, in the early part of this article, that the farmer should be a proficient in two grand departments of agricultural knowledge; that he should know how to impart to his fields a maximum fertility, and how to clothe his home with beauty. We have occupied so much space in the discussion of the first topic, that we have little left for the second, and, in this country, even more important one. We join, therefore, in Carlyle's prayer: "O for the power of condensation!"

How shall we render our homes more pleasant and attractive? Some one has said that the three most beautiful words in the English language are Mother, Home, and Heaven. They naturally go together, either of them implying the other two. The great error in Plato's Republic is his subversion of the family. No mere "community," whether foreshadowed by a Grecian philosopher or organized by a French Socialist, can develop in men the deepest sympathies and highest energies of their nature. Sunder the ties which unite them in family groups, and the incentive to labor is gone. The distinguished traveller, De Laborde, attributes the utter hopelessness of all attempts to elevate the character of the Bedouin Arabs, and to bring back to the land of Mohammed the social cultivation and national glory of its earlier history, to their indifference to their household gods. The sweet charities and beautiful amenities which spring up and flourish in the magic circle of home, cannot take root by the wayside of a nomadic life. They require "a local habitation." Family and property are correlative terms; the love of the one creates a desire for the other. The incentives which impel men to the drudgery of the shop or field lie in the fact that they "have given hostages to fortune"; that they can in reality, or in prospect, enjoy the fruits of their industry around some warm domestic hearth-stone. The poet appreciated, if he never experienced, the reward of daily toil, as well as the motive to it, when he says: —

> " 'T is sweet to hear the watch-dog's honest bark
> Bay deep-mouthed welcome as we draw near home;
> 'T is sweet to know there is an eye will mark
> Our coming, and look brighter when we come."

There are many homesteads which are not homes. Philosophically speaking, a true home has an attractive outward seeming and a luminous inward life. To secure the former, there must be some architectural fitness about the buildings, and an exhibition of good taste in the grounds. To secure the latter, there must be books, social and intellectual culture, and the hallowing influence of every Christian virtue. Human beings may exist in a habitation whose uncouth ugliness, concealed by no overshadowing tree or climbing vine, is a pain to the eye. They may accustom themselves to its shapeless deformity; to the rude inconveniences, which fruitlessly exhaust their time and strength; to the "ear-piercing fife" of half-starved squealing brutes, looking wistfully from hollow eyes, like animated "anatomies of melancholy," or wallowing in impassable mud before the kitchen door; to the stercoraceous stenches, which, exhaled from contiguous manure-heaps, do not "waste their sweetness on the desert air," but pour through the broken windows, checked by no intervention of "shocking bad hats," and neutralized by no fragrant breath of flowers. Such a place is not a home, but rather a lair for wild beasts; and the children who come forth from it will carry its taint and its barbarism to the grave.

A fine-looking house, on the other hand, like a fine-looking woman, cannot but exert a cheerful and elevating influence upon the community. There is a renovating power in every object of beauty and of worth on which the eye of man can rest. Steele was not extravagant when he said of a certain lady, whom the poet Congreve had admired and celebrated, that "to have loved her was a liberal education." We always grow into the likeness and catch the spirit of our surroundings. Our characters, like chameleons, take their hue from the objects with which they come in contact. But while we are thus material beings, in a material world which is sure to affect us for good or evil, we must not forget that the subtile spiritual nature with which we are endowed was not meant to be simply a passive recipient of accidental influences. It is a positive entity, and aspires to feed on ambrosia and drink nectar with the gods. It is not all of life to live. There are other and higher functions of the human organism than the digestion of beef and bread. The gastric juice is not the universal solvent, vainly sought amid smoke and toil in the laboratories of the old alchemists. We have hearts as well as a digestive apparatus; heads as well as hands. If the stomach of the last Lord Orford did survive the rest of his person, it was a phenomenon not likely to be repeated. For ourselves and our children, the primal duty is intellectual and moral culture. Our sons should be thoroughly trained to some business or profession, so that they may be intelligent and useful members of the community, and not, in the grand epic of life, mere parentheses, which, in the language of the spelling-books, might be omitted without injuring the sense or construction of society. Our daughters should be taught that a genuine woman cannot be made wholly of cotton and crinoline; that the small head, which surmounts her vast circumference, should be radiant with thought, — the dome of a pure and broad-visioned soul; that her heart, striving, perhaps vainly, to beat beneath her encircling zone, was intended for something more than to flutter with hope under the smiling glance of a city exquisite, or to tremble with fear at sight of a spider or a *cow;* that it is her divine right, not only

> "to sing, to dance,
> To dress and troll the tongue and roll the eye,"

but to develop every faculty of the mental and moral nature, to such an extent and completeness that she may always be a sunshine in the shady places of life, the light and joy of home; that it is her sphere "to study household good," to keep the vestal fires undimmed, to elevate the tone of social intercourse, and purify the currents of life at their fountain; that it is her mission, not to be fondled like a passive, painted doll, but to think and act like a living intelligence, conscious of its power and its responsibility.

When each member of the family is thus educated, our homes will glow with a new lustre, because we shall see in them, not merely the embellishments of a cultivated taste, but also the reflection of a beauty first radiated from our own spirits. "We need not then visit the Como Lake or the Madeira Islands." The alluring cry of the gold-hunter and the rifle-crack of the adventurous pioneer will have no power in that "good time coming"; but, laboring with quickened energies and a higher intelligence, we shall illustrate, on the wasted acres where our fathers toiled, the prophecy of the inspired seer, "There shall be a handful of corn in the tops of the mountains, and the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon," and, at the same time, we shall make the spot, which our "young barbarians all at play" call their home, attractive for its artistic beauty, and, in its moral influence, the nursery of every manly excellence and womanly virtue.

ART. V. — *The Age of Chivalry.* Part I. *King Arthur and his Knights.* Part II. *The Mabinogeon; or, Welsh Popular Tales.* By THOMAS BULFINCH, Author of "The Age of Fable." Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 414.

AMONG the complimentary epithets with which our periodical press and public speakers are wont to greet the American people at large, and certain sections of it more particularly, there are few of more constant recurrence than the term *chivalrous.* We have heard much, for years, of American chivalry, and of Southern chivalry. In the one case, the word is supposed to denote the character of the relations existing between the sexes in this country; in the other, to refer to certain qualities which it is claimed distinguish advantageously those of our citizens residing in the South from their Northern brethren. It is not our present purpose to inquire how far the assumption is warranted in either case, except insomuch as its correctness depends upon the meaning of the term employed.

We are inclined to believe that the word is frequently applied with but a vague comprehension of its significance.

It would seem, indeed, that the history of an institution, the memory of which is thus frequently invoked by us, had a special claim to our attention, independently of the necessity for a knowledge of it to enable the reader to appreciate allusions abounding in British poets of all ages, from Chaucer to Tennyson, to many of whom tales or incidents of chivalry have furnished the theme for their most exquisite verse. Nevertheless, it may safely be assumed that there are few subjects with which the majority of American readers are less familiar. How little is commonly known of the origin, rise, and decline of chivalry, its internal organization and its characteristic features, beyond a general impression that courage, honor, and gallantry were among its elements, or of the literature to which it gave birth, and which for centuries constituted the "polite literature," *par excellence*, of Europe! We are inclined to believe, that, among the American readers of Don Quixote, there are few to whom the famous sixth chapter is anything more than an unmeaning nomenclature.

There are certainly plausible reasons for this ignorance. The spirit of chivalry was as remote from that of modern materialistic civilization, as can well be conceived. We do not say that it was better; but it was too widely different to admit of intellectual sympathy with it on the part of the present generation. The *preux chevaliers* of the twelfth and succeeding centuries were much more nearly allied to the old Homeric heroes, and to their own ancestors, worshippers of Thor and Odin, than to their descendants in the nineteenth century; and this naturally enough, since the childhood of different nations has ever more in common than the infancy and adolescence of the same people. Again, to attain anything more than the most superficial knowledge of the subject, requires an amount of research which can hardly be expected of the general reader. It is too much to require him to resort to the original sources of information, even were they readily accessible. On the one hand, chivalry is intimately connected with feudalism, an exceedingly difficult, and to many minds a most unattractive subject. On the other hand, the literature of chivalry is characterized by prolixity and by a sameness, growing out of the continual recurrence of similar incidents, which frequently renders it wearisome in the extreme to modern students.

What has been therefore wanting was a work of moderate size, which should accomplish for chivalry and chivalrous fiction what has been so often and so ably done for classical mythology, — a book which should furnish the general reader with a compendious view of the institution of chivalry, and of the great body of fictions relating to it in different languages, together with such a selection from particular romances as might prove attractive in itself, and adapted to promote the intelligent appreciation of such writers as Chaucer and Spenser, Scott, Percy, and Tennyson.

Accordingly, we greet with sincere pleasure the appearance of Mr. Bulfinch's book, which is, so far as we know, unique of its kind. The scope and object of the volume are thus happily expressed by the author in the opening lines of the Preface: —

> "In a former work the compiler of this volume endeavored to impart the pleasures of classical learning to the English reader, by presenting the stories of Pagan mythology in a form adapted to modern taste. In the present volume the attempt has been made to treat, in the same way, the stories of the second 'age of fable,' — the age which witnessed the dawn of the several states of modern Europe."

In his introduction Mr. Bulfinch gives a succinct account of the origin and principal features of chivalry; he describes the mental and physical training of the knight, his equipment and armor, and the rules regulating tournaments, and briefly explains the manner in which the metrical, and subsequently the prose romances of chivalry, grew out of the lays of the Troubadours and Trouvères. These notices appear to have been prepared with commendable care and accuracy from the multifarious authorities on the subject, and, although unavoidably short, they contain all the information necessary to the comprehension of the tales which constitute the bulk of the volume. The latter are confined almost entirely to the cycle of romances relating to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, which the author probably deemed the most attractive to English readers. They appear to be derived, mainly, from two sources; — the collection known as the "Morte d'Arthur," compiled and translated from the French by Sir Thomas Mallory in the reign of Edward IV., and first published by Caxton in 1485; and the Mabinogeon, or ancient Welsh stories. Of the translation of the latter made by Lady Charlotte Guest from the original Gaelic, Mr. Bulfinch gives an interesting account. He is also considerably indebted to Ellis's Metrical Romances, and doubtless, more or less, to other works with which we are not familiar. The stories are appropriately introduced by a chapter on the mythical or fabulous History of England by Geoffrey of Monmouth, which appeared about 1128–1138, and furnished the old romancers with the materials for most of their fictions relating to King Arthur, as it did Shakespeare with Lear and Cymbeline. The volume contains no mention of the large class of romantic fictions relating to Charlemagne and his Paladins, nor of those of which Alexander the Great, Hector of Troy, and the fabulous Amadis de Gaula and his posterity, are the heroes. These, together with some notice of the old Teutonic cycle of the Niebelungen and the Heldenbuch, or Book of Heroes, of which Attila is the central personage, we trust it is the author's intention to give us in a second volume.

We think Mr. Bulfinch entitled to much credit for the manner in which he has so far accomplished his task. The work of selecting, from the innumerable romances in various languages relative to King Arthur and his imagined contemporaries, those most worthy of preservation, freeing them from their prolixity, and reducing them within reasonable limits, without injuring their character and spirit, was one requiring a cultivated taste and sound judgment, as well as much patience and industry; and it appears to us to have been well done. One of the principal difficulties with which Mr. Bulfinch has had to contend arises from the vein of licentiousness pervading the larger part of the romances of chivalry, which in this respect differ little from the classic mythology. Although obliged, for this reason, to eliminate with no sparing hand passages which are otherwise curious or characteristic, Mr. Bulfinch has judiciously endeavored to let his originals tell their own story in their own way, wherever it was possible to do so; and we thus have in his book the tales nearly in their ancient garb, which is not unfrequently one of much *naïveté*, quaintness, and beauty.

We cannot help believing that many persons will rise from the perusal of this book with the desire to know more of that singular institution which constitutes, perhaps, the most remarkable phenomenon in the history of Europe, since the fall of the Western Empire, — one of which the origin is, to this day, matter of controversy among the learned, while the laws by which it was regulated, the sentiments which it inspired or fostered, and the exploits of its votaries, excite by turns wonder, admiration, and pity. In order to a clear comprehension of the subject, it is necessary at all times to keep in view the distinction between chivalry as a feudal and military institution, and the spirit of that institution, or the aggregate of moral qualities intimately connected with the profession of chivalry, and so peculiar to the members of the order as to have received and retained to this day the epithet of chivalrous. We are not, however, to imagine that the elements of the knightly character were essentially the same from the dawn of the institution in the tenth century to its decline in the fifteenth and sixteenth. The three great principles of chivalry, adventurous heroism, devotion, and gallantry, were not strictly simultaneous in their growth. The knights who overran Southern Italy and fought under Duke William at Hastings, differed in some important respects from those who engaged in the first two Crusades, and these, again, from the chivalry of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. Chivalry in its perfect form, as we are accustomed to picture it to ourselves, dates only from the close of the twelfth century.

The origin of knighthood is involved in considerable obscurity. It has been frequently referred to the ancient Germans, on the strength of a passage in Tacitus relating to the ceremonies attending the admission of the young German to the ranks of the warriors of his tribe.* There is nothing in the brief account given by the Roman historian which appears to us to warrant the importance attached to this practice of the Germans, or to indicate that it was peculiar to them, in contradistinction to other barbarians. In a sparse population, whose pursuits are confined to war and the chase, the reception of a youth among those capable of bearing arms will necessarily be an event of some public importance, and therefore one apt to be attended with some rude attempt at ceremony; and it is equally probable that some preliminary proofs of the fitness of the candidate to undergo the hardships of a warrior's life, and to uphold the honor of his tribe, will generally be required. The existence among the aborigines of North America of something similar to this usage of the ancient Germans, will probably occur to the reader. All, we think, that can plausibly be claimed for the practice described by Tacitus is, that it may have served as a model for the ceremony of initiation or admission into the order of knighthood, in its oldest and simplest form; but that it constituted or promoted the origin of chivalry itself, there is no sufficient reason to suppose. We incline to the opinion, that the order, considered as a guild or association of the higher class of warriors in different states of Europe, with certain common privileges and customs, originated among the Germanic conquerors of the Western Empire at some period subsequent to their final settlement therein, probably between the ninth and eleventh centuries, and that it was essentially a feudal organization, although tempered by the Germanic spirit of independence and equality. The Frank invaders of Gaul were freemen who fought on foot, followed to the war leaders of their own election, and were instigated by the hope of plunder or conquest. The knights, their descendants, were nobles who served on horseback and in heavy armor, generally as the condition by which they held lands of their feudal superiors, with whom, at the same time, they claimed a species of equality, as joint associates in an aristocratic and military order, all the members of which

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* Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum, ch. 13. "The Germans transact no business, public or private, without being armed; but it is not customary for any person to assume arms till the state has approved his ability to use them. Then, in the midst

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of the assembly, either one of the chiefs, or the father, or a relation, equips the youth with a shield and javelin. These are to him the manly gown; this is the first honor conferred on youth: before this they are considered as part of a household; afterwards, of the state." — *Oxford Translation.*

were considered as of equal dignity. The change was wrought gradually, and under the influence of several distinct causes.

The heavy-armed horseman was a combatant not unfamiliar to classic antiquity. According to a distinguished German historian,* the Thessalian cavalry, who composed a part of the armies of Alexander the Great, presented in their equipment and organization, as well as in the circumstance that they were exclusively recruited from the landed nobility of Thessaly, the owners both of the soil and of its cultivators, a striking parallel to the chivalry of the Middle Age. Whether the Romans borrowed it from this or from an Asiatic source, it is certain that they employed heavy cavalry during the decline of the empire, and that, under Constantine the Great, it formed an essential portion of their army.† The horsemen of the Goths, the Alani, and the Huns, in their turn, clothed themselves in complete armor, in imitation of the Romans, with whom they were thus enabled to cope with increased success.‡ That full defensive armor was likewise assumed at an early period by the principal men among the Franks, appears probable from the circumstance that Clovis owed his life, at the battle of Vouglé, against the Visigoths, to the excellence of his cuirass.§ A part of the Frankish division of Charles Martel's army, at the great battle of Tours, is said to have consisted of horsemen in ponderous mail,‖ against whose serried lines the light Saracen cavalry dashed as ineffectually as the waves on a rocky shore, although it is probable that the majority of the auxiliary forces and the bulk of the Christian army consisted on that occasion of freemen serving on foot. The experience acquired in this and other conflicts with the Saracens was favorable to the still more general introduction of the new force; for in Charlemagne's time we find, not only that heavy cavalry was in use, but that the horsemen already constituted a distinct class from the other freemen, and received, under the title of "Caballarii," a separate summons to serve in the army.* A century later, in the reign of Henry the Fowler, the German nobility served very generally on horseback.† To enable them to contend successfully with the Hungarian cavalry, the Emperor subjected the mounted nobles to an improved organization and discipline, in which some German writers have been inclined to discover the rudiments of chivalry.‡ We are not, however, to imagine the nobles of Charlemagne and Henry (*knights* they could not yet be properly termed) as sheathed, horse and man, in the ponderous armor of succeeding ages. The mail of the Roman and afterwards of the Frankish cavalry was composed of scales of metal fastened to a leathern under-garment.§ This scale-armor was worn until the time of the Crusades, when it was replaced by chain-mail composed of rings of steel interlaced,—the "hauberk's twisted mail" of King Edward I.,—which was borrowed by the Crusaders from their Mohammedan adversaries, on account of its greater pliability and the freer use of his limbs which it allowed to the wearer.‖ During the fourteenth century plate-armor, which was found more effectual in repelling pointed weapons, was gradually introduced; ¶ but the ponderous housings of steel which encased the knight and his charger from head to foot, and now excite our curiosity and admiration in the museums of Europe, belong to the declining age of chivalry, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.** The weight of this armor in time became excessive. Sainte Palaye, in his "Mémoires sur la Chevalerie," quotes the remark of La Noue, that in his day, by the time the French knights reached the age of thirty-five, they were apt to be lamed in the shoulders and permanently disabled by the weight of their armor.††

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* Schlosser, Weltgeschichte.

† History of Chivalry and Ancient Armor, by Dr. F. Kottenkamp, translated by Rev. A. Löwy, (London, 1857,) p. 13.

‡ Vegetius de Re Milit., Lib. I. ch. 20.

§ Gibbon, Vol. IV. ch. 38.

‖ Martin, Histoire de France, Tom. II. p. 204 (4ème édit.). The battle is there styled the battle of Poitiers. It was fought between the two places.

This transfer of superior efficiency from the ranks of the in-

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[*] Baluzii Capitularia, Tom. I. p. 460.

[†] Kottenkamp, translated by Löwy, p. 13.

[‡] Menzel, Geschichte der Deutschen, 2ter Band.

[§] Kottenkamp, by Löwy, pp. 83, 84.

[‖] Ibid., p. 86.

[¶] Ibid., p. 87.

[**] Ibid.

[††] Tom. XX. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, p. 845.

fantry to the heavy cavalry was attended with important consequences. The maintenance of a permanent military force, like the Roman legions and the standing armies of Modern Europe, was entirely foreign to the manners of the ancient Germans. When engaged in warfare, they depended, like other barbarians, almost exclusively upon plunder and conquest for the means of subsistence; and so long only as these were to be had, could they keep the field in any numbers. When, therefore, after the subjugation and division of Gaul, the Franks became involved in warfare of a more defensive description, waged as much to preserve their conquests as to extend them, the burden of military duty was severely felt by the less wealthy class of freemen, and this burden was materially aggravated by the greatly increased expense which service in the cavalry necessarily entailed. Only a portion of the freemen could afford to serve at their own cost on horseback, and this class was chiefly composed of the nobles, who were the largest land-owners, and to whom, in process of time, this species of service became exclusively appropriated. In the reign of Charlemagne the privilege of serving on horseback in heavy armor appears to have been already connected with the possession of certain benefices, or fiefs,* although Hallam surmises that the obligation extended likewise to the wealthy allodial proprietors.† During the century of anarchy which followed the death of Charlemagne, there took place in France that great change in the character of the ownership of the soil, by which the system of feudal tenure or fiefs was everywhere substituted for that of allodial or absolute property.‡ The more powerful among the freemen were received into the ranks of the feudal nobility, while the poorer sort were deprived of their possessions, and sank into the condition of serfs or villains. In Germany the change was more gradual and partial, but similar in character. It was completed there during the intestine wars of the reign of Henry IV., or between 1056 and 1106. In Friesland, Westphalia, and Swabia, however, the communities of free peasants retained their independence.§

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* Kottenkamp, p. 13.

† Europe in the Middle Ages, Vol. III. p. 390 (10th edit.).

‡ Ibid., Vol. I. p. 162. Kottenkamp, p. 9.

§ Kottenkamp, p. 10.

The feudal system was in full vigor among the Normans at the time of their conquest of England, and was established by them in their new possessions. "The first, most universal and esteemed the most honorable species of tenure," says Blackstone, "was that by knight service, called in Latin *servitium militare*, and in law-French *chivalry*, or *service de chevaler*, answering to the *fief d'haubert* of the Normans." To create such a tenure, a determinate quantity of land was necessary, which was called a knight's fee, *feodum militare*. Its extent, in the time of Edward I., was estimated at twelve ploughlands, and its value at twenty pounds per annum. He who held this proportion of land was bound to attend his lord to the wars for forty days in every year, if called upon.* Norman chivalry thus appears to have been originally less a personal dignity than a feudal rank, connected with the possession of a fief of certain dimensions.† Such was probably the case in Northern France generally, where the order was long restricted to the nobles. ‡ The transition from this feudal and obligatory to the purely voluntary and personal chivalry, is attributed by Hallam § to the ancient practice of voluntary *commendation*, as it was called, by which the poorer nobles — such as younger brothers and others who were but scantily provided for, and could not claim knighthood as a right — sought to obtain it at the hands of the great vassals to whom they *commended* themselves; that is to say, did homage, and professed allegiance, and in whose service they sought reputation and fortune. The expedition of William the Conqueror drew many such adventurers to his standard from different parts of Europe. Their number was subsequently greatly augmented by the Crusades, which caused an increased demand for their services, and afforded new opportunities of distinction, and also, it is probable, by the institution in Germany of the "Brief-Adel," or nobility, by letters patent, — of which there are traces as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,* — a titular aristocracy which had little but the sword to depend upon for its support. The knighthood thus obtained as the reward of military services was naturally accounted more honorable than that which, being merely incidental to the possession of land, presupposed no particular merit in the possessor; and as the order rose in public esteem, and its privileges and duties were more clearly defined, and assumed a more elevated character, the landholder became ashamed to assume the title without proving himself worthy to bear it.

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* Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. II. p. 62.

† Such was, however, by no means universally the case at the time of the Conquest. Thus William conferred the honor of knighthood on Harold, on the occasion of the visit of the latter to Normandy in 1065. Augustin Thierry, Conquête de l'Angleterre, Tom. I. Liv. III.

‡ Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. III. p. 407 and note; Ibid., Vol. I. p. 188.

§ Ibid., Vol. III. p. 393.

It must have been highly conducive to the extension of chivalry, as a military order of personal merit, that it furnished a common ground, dear to the still-surviving spirit of Germanic independence, on which the powerful baron and the simple knight, master of little more than a narrow tower and a few sterile acres and half-clad and starving serfs, could meet on terms of entire equality.

The spirit of the institution in this its incipient state, before it was modified by the powerful influence of religion and gallantry, was probably little else than the old heroic daring which the feudal nobles inherited from their German and Scandinavian ancestry. The thirst for warlike and perilous adventure, the contempt of suffering and death, the occasional magnanimity and generosity towards a foe, which were among the distinguishing characteristics of chivalry, were in truth but the birthright of the races among which it flourished.† Of these the most adventurous and daring were the Normans, who, at the period when chivalry first begins to attract the attention of the historical student, had just wrested the province of Normandy from the feeble hold of Charles the Simple (A. D. 911), and who signalized the rise of the institution by the conquest of England (1066), and of Sicily and Calabria (1060 – 1090). They were emphatically the heroic race of the Middle Age, and among them chivalry flourished with peculiar luxuriance. It would have been strange indeed, had the individual knights been wanting in the spirit of adventure which distinguished them collectively. We have already alluded to the practice which prevailed among the poorer knights, of seeking their fortune at the various courts of the great vassals. Others were led by the mere love of adventure, or were attracted from a distance by the gorgeous tournaments which, during the flourishing period of chivalry, were of frequent occurrence, and furnished opportunities of acquiring distinction, and even fortune, only second to those to be found in actual warfare.* The extent of the knight's wanderings was greatly facilitated by the fact that, as a member of an association common to the principal European states, he was in some sort a citizen of the world, in time of peace at least, welcome to the courts of foreign princes as well as to that of his own suzerain, and everywhere entitled to claim the sympathy and good offices of all who belonged to his order. In these expeditions is to be sought the origin of the knight-errantry of romancers, so inseparably connected by them with the very profession of chivalry. Refining upon the motives which influenced the warlike adventurer, these writers represented him as wandering through all lands in quest of adventures, redressing grievances, and assuming the protection of helpless damsels and children against the actual violence of recreant knights, and the imaginary assaults of giants, dragons, and enchanters. It has been doubted, with good reason, whether a knight-errant of this description ever really existed; at the same time it is evident that the travelling knight who was faithful to the obligations imposed upon him by his vows must, in those lawless times, have been frequently called upon to draw his sword in behalf of the injured and oppressed.

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* Kottenkamp, p. 16.

† See the remarks of Bishop Percy on this subject, in the Introduction to the Reliques of Early English Poetry.

It is in the assumption, by the recipient of chivalry, of these moral obligations, under the sanction of a solemn oath, that the influence of the Church upon the order first becomes conspicuous. Up to the eleventh century the ceremony of admission into the association of warriors was, no doubt, purely military, such as we have seen existing among the ancient Germans. Charlemagne is recorded to have solemnly girded the sword about his son Louis the Pious, at a public assembly of the people, and Louis in his turn conferred it, with equal publicity, upon his son Charles;* and it is probable that this practice, which had descended from their Teutonic ancestors, prevailed generally among the nobles of France and Germany, and indeed among the great body of freemen, so long as the latter retained any importance. Although the precise period at which the ceremony of inauguration acquired the religious character which afterwards distinguished it, is not known, and the change was not probably brought about at once, since it does not appear to have taken place at the bidding of any ecclesiastical council or decree, it seems to have coincided in France with the religious movement that led to the publication, in 1033, of the Truce of God, by which the Church sought to suspend, or at least to confine within narrower limits, the disastrous right of feud or private warfare.

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* See on this subject the second of the Mémoires de M. de Ste. Palaye sur la Chevalerie, Tom. XX. de l'Académie des Inscriptions.

The importance of obtaining an ascendency over the great military association of the nobles, must have been early recognized by the clergy. It would have been strange, indeed, if ecclesiastical sagacity had failed to perceive the opportunity thus afforded of erecting a bulwark for Christianity against the progress of the infidels without, of extending at home the power and influence of the Church, and of inspiring the stubborn nobles with some practical respect for the precepts of the religion which they professed, and thereby mitigating the evils consequent upon the prevailing practice of private warfare. This right of *feud*, although early ignored by the sovereigns of England, and restrained in some degree in France by the edicts of St. Louis, continued to exist in the latter country until the reign of Louis XI.,† and was fraught with evil, not only to the nobles, but, in a still higher degree, to the oppressed serfs, whose position the Church — to her glory be it said — steadily labored for centuries to ameliorate.

In their endeavor to impress the order of chivalry with a religious, and to some extent even with an ecclesiastical character, the clergy were powerfully seconded by the spirit of religious fanaticism which the knights had inherited from their Frankish ancestors, in whom it had been aroused to an intense degree by their fierce and protracted struggles with the Pagan Saxons and the Saracens of Spain. It is worthy of remark, that among the Normans, whose conversion to Christianity was posterior to these conflicts, the order was at first less under the control of the Church than in the rest of France.* In that country the fusion of the warlike and religious elements of chivalry was accomplished, and the admission into the order had received its sacerdotal character, by the middle of the eleventh century.† The ceremony likewise assumed a religious and symbolical aspect among the Saxons prior to the Conquest, ‡ and in the reign of William Rufus there are symptoms of the change among the Normans. § The nature and extent of the obligations which the Church imposed upon the recipients of chivalry will best appear from the vows taken by them on the occasion of their investiture. Thus they swore: —

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* Du Cange, in voce *Arma dare.*

† Kottenkamp, p. 17.

> "To fear, revere, and serve God religiously, to fight for the faith with all their strength, and to die a thousand deaths rather than ever renounce Christianity;
>
> "To serve their sovereign prince faithfully, and to fight for him and their country most valorously;
>
> "To maintain the just right of the weak, such as of widows, orphans, and maidens, in a good quarrel, to expose themselves for them as necessity required, provided that it was not against their own honor, or against their king or natural prince;
>
> "That they would never offend any one maliciously, nor usurp the

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* Thus, as late as 1065, the ceremony of the admission of Harold and his companions into the order appears, as described by Thierry, to have been of a purely military description, and to have greatly resembled that in use among the ancient Germans: "Le duc les fit chevaliers, c'est à dire membres de la haute milice normande, espèce de fraternité guerrière, où tout homme riche qui se vouait aux armes était introduit sous les auspices d'un ancien affilié, qui lui donnait en cérémonie une épée, un baudrier plaqué d'argent, et une lance ornée d'une flamme." — *Conquête de l'Angleterre,* Tom. I. Liv. III.

† Martin, Tom. III. Liv. XX.

‡ William of Malmesbury, Lib. II. c. 6. Ingulphus in Gale, XV. Scriptores, Tom. I. p. 70, where the practice is said to have been derided by the Normans as effeminate.

§ William Rufus was himself knighted by Archbishop Lanfranc. Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. III. p. 394, note (10th edit.).

possession of another, but rather that they would fight against those who did so;

"That avarice, recompense, gain, or profit should never oblige them to do any action, but only glory and virtue;

"That, above all things, they would be faithful, courteous, humble, and would never fail in their word, for any ill or loss that might thence happen to them." — Guizot's *Civilization in France*, Course II. Lecture 6.

The knight was also bound to fast on Fridays, to hear mass every day, and make an offering, if he had the means.*

It must be borne in mind, however, that the above oaths, and others of a similar description which are quoted by Sainte Palaye and Guizot, merely furnish us with a criterion of what the ideal standard of chivalry in time became under the influence of religion. The discrepancy which existed between this standard and the actual practice of the knights was as striking as the elevation of the standard itself. Indeed, the difference between the principles professed thus publicly and generally in entire good faith by the recipients of knighthood, and their manners and actions as recorded in contemporary chronicles and romances, is so great as to elicit frequent comments from modern historians; but the fact will scarcely excite our wonder, if we consider for a moment the Divine source from which those precepts were derived, and the ignorance and semi-barbarism of the men to whom they were addressed.

The influence thus secured by the Church was exerted to further the Crusades, which, in turn, powerfully reacted upon the character of chivalry, increasing in a high degree the authority of the Church over the order. In the mind of the Crusader, the thirst for adventure and distinction strengthened his devotion to the religion which he was called upon to serve in a manner so congenial to his warlike nature; and he, in turn, identified his religion with his allegiance to that power which consecrated his weapons and promised him remission of his sins in this world, and, should he fall in the enterprise, the martyr's crown in the next.

Under the influence of the feelings and opinions fostered by the Crusades, chivalry came to be considered as a species of church militant, whose most sacred obligation was to assert, by force of arms, the cause of the Catholic faith and hierarchy against all misbelievers. Elaborate parallels were frequently instituted between knighthood and the prelacy, by lay as well as ecclesiastical writers. The knight was assumed to rank with the bishop, his costume was likened to the priestly robes, and the ceremony of his reception into the "holy order" of chivalry was compared to that of religious investiture. It was even proposed to extend to chivalry the obligation of celibacy.*

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* Martin, Tom. III. Liv. XX.

The complete combination of the ecclesiastical with the military character, which was impossible in the case of the general body of chivalry, was attained by the institution of particular orders of knighthood, such as the Knights of St. John, the Templars, the Teutonic Knights, the Spanish Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, whose members embraced an ecclesiastical discipline, and devoted their lives to the forcible defence and extension of the faith in Asia and Europe, or to the protection and support of Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. As an instance of the refined spirit of Christian charity which mingled with the warlike aspirations of the founders of these orders, may be mentioned the rule of the Knights of St. Lazarus, instituted for the relief and cure of leprosy, which prescribed that the grand-master of the order should be himself a leper.†

That the influence thus gradually acquired by the Church over chivalry was of considerable use in humanizing and educating the upper classes, and in alleviating the hardships of the lower, will hardly be denied by the student of history. That it should occasionally have been abused, was perhaps inevitable. The secular arm of chivalry was employed by the Church to persecute as well as to protect. At her command, the weapons which had repelled the tide of Islam invasion, and rescued for a time the Holy Sepulchre, were turned with equal vigor against the unfortunate Albigenses.

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* Ste. Palaye, 2ème Mémoire, and note 12.

† Michaud, Histoire des Croisades, Tom. IV. Liv. XXII.

While the Church was thus employed in engrafting the religious upon the military element of chivalry, other causes combined to develop that third great principle in the knightly character, which was destined in time to overshadow and ultimately to survive the religious element,* and to remain in the minds of posterity the peculiar distinction of the institution.

> "Notre liaison avec les femmes," says Montesquieu, "est fondée sur le bonheur attaché au plaisir des sens, sur le charme d'aimer et d'être aimé, et encore sur le désir de leur plaire, parceque ce sont des juges très éclairés sur une partie des choses qui constituent le mérite personel. Ce désir général de plaire produit la galanterie qui n'est point l'amour, mais le délicat, mais le léger, mais le perpetuel mensonge de l'amour." — *Esprit des Lois*, Liv. XXVIII. ch. 22.

But the gallantry of the knight was something more than a graceful and perpetual affectation of love; it was a romantic homage rendered to woman as to a being in some sort elevated above man, a voluntary abnegation of the superiority which he had hitherto asserted, and to some extent, at least in theory, a reversal of the former relationship between the sexes. It was, however, not in her separate existence, but purely in her relation to man, that woman was thus magnified. The spirit of chivalry proclaimed that women should be reverenced, because, "next to God, they were the source of all the honor which men could acquire." †

If writers do not agree as to the origin and nationality of the institution itself, they agree still less in regard to this, its most singular and characteristic feature. Heroism, piety, honor, courtesy, these are not peculiar to the Middle Age, or to the order of knighthood. Chivalry must yield the palm of heroic valor to antiquity, if we consider that the ancient heroes and the worshippers of Odin braved suffering and death with far less of the moral stimulus, the reliance upon a Divine reward, which nerved the Crusader in his hour of trial. The dying Norseman's dreams of Valhalla were probably as indefinite as the aspirations of the American Indian after the great hunting-ground, and afforded as vague a comfort. There is a self-abnegation in the conduct of the old Greek warriors who offered up for their country the life which was their *all*, save the wretched prospect of a dreary Elysium such as the poets describe, perhaps more sublime than anything in the records of chivalry. The piety of the Crusader pales beside that of the early Christians, and his sense of honor, generosity, and courtesy were not superior to those which have frequently distinguished the nations of the East;* but it is difficult to find elsewhere in history a parallel for knightly gallantry.

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* Ranke remarks that, by the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Spanish chivalry alone preserved any tincture of religion.

† Michaud, Tom. IV. p. 242.

A common mode of accounting for the rise of this sentiment has been, to derive it from the ancient Germans, on the faith of the description which Tacitus gives of the regard entertained by them for their women. Sir Walter Scott, among others, has adopted this theory, and has been at considerable pains to illustrate and support it by instances derived from Northern legends; yet, we think, with but little success.† On the other hand, the Teutonic origin of knightly gallantry has been questioned by such writers as Hallam and Michaud, and entirely repudiated by Martin, who substitutes for it a theory more consonant with French *amour propre*, but quite as unsatisfactory in itself. According to the last-named authority, chivalrous gallantry was a result of the influence of Christianity upon the *Celtic* race.‡ The objections to the Teutonic theory, which has found favor with German as well as with English writers, and which alone we propose to consider, appear to be chiefly these. The description of Tacitus affords no sufficient grounds for supposing that the position of women among the ancient Germans was materially superior to that which they occupied among the tribes of Celtic origin prior to the subjugation of the latter by the Romans, nor to that which

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[*] The spirit of honorable warfare was not confined to chivalry; the ancient code of Hindostan prescribing for combatants regulations which were calculated to preclude every other advantage than such as could be obtained in a fair and equal contest, and most humanely to limit the carnage of war. Miller, Philosophy of History, ch. 19.

[†] Article *Chivalry* in the Encyclopædia Britannica.

[‡] Histoire de France, Tom. III. Liv. XX.

ancient history assigns to them in some other instances, as among the Spartans, and, perhaps we might add, among the Romans in the time of the Republic. Neither were the Germans alone in attributing something of inherent sanctity and prescience to the female sex. According to Plutarch this was equally the case with the Celts, and the Sibyl and the Priestess of Apollo at Delphi are familiar instances of the presence of a similar idea in ancient Italy and Greece. Were, however, the existence among the Teutonic tribes of a peculiar and characteristic reverence for women established beyond controversy, it would still be questionable, in the absence of all direct evidence, whether a feeling which depended upon the simplicity and purity of manners ascribed to the German barbarians can be supposed to have survived the period of anarchy which followed the conquest of Gaul and the death of Clovis, — a period fraught with cruelty, treachery, and lawless violence. It is difficult to imagine that the Franks, who witnessed the crimes of a Fredegonda and a Brunehilda, could retain a belief in the inherent sanctity of their sex, or that female weakness would continue to be respected in the midst of general confusion and injustice.

But we are not without some evidence that the romantic gallantry of chivalry originated at a much later period, being rather a result of the institution than its inheritance, and that in the early or heroic age of chivalry, as it has been styled, this feature was in fact wanting, or was at least undeveloped. Some years ago, by the direction of M. Guizot, then prime minister of France, the manuscript of an old French metrical romance, relating to Roland and the defeat at Roncesvalles, was exhumed from its repository in the Bodleian Library and submitted to the investigations of French critics, who pronounced it to be the earliest poem on the subject as yet discovered, and fixed the date of its chirography at some period in the eleventh century anterior to the first Crusade. Martin is even disposed to claim for it the honor of being the very song of Roland of which Wace related, in the "Brut," that the Norman minstrel Taillefer sang it on the battle-field of Hastings.* The poem itself is purely heroic in its character; it breathes the love of country, devotion to the Christian faith, thirst for glory, and contempt of danger and death; but there is not a trace in it of the gallantry which overflows in similar compositions of a later period. Nothing in the hero's language or conduct makes us aware that there exists a lady of his heart. We learn the fact incidentally through the reproaches of her brother, the Paladin Oliver, who, indignant at the chivalrous pride and rashness of his friend in refusing to sound his famous horn in time, thereby sacrificing the flower of the French army, tells him that, should he (Oliver) live to return to France, his sister shall never see her lover more,—a threat which appears to make little impression upon Roland. Even at the point of death, although the hero fondly recalls to mind his beloved France, and Charlemagne, his lord, he has not a thought for his lady, who, at the news of her loss, expires almost without a complaint or a sigh.* Surely this picture, when contrasted with later legends of the same Paladin, such as that beautiful one of the Rolandseck which furnished Schiller with his Knight of Toggenburg, justifies us in assuming that chivalry in the eleventh century, when Théroulde wrote, was but little tinctured with gallantry.†

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* Augustin Thierry, Conquête de l'Angleterre, Tom. I. Liv. III. The publication of this poem of the minstrel Théroulde, or Turoldus, as he styles himself, if the date

By the close of the succeeding century, however, we find the order imbued with that romantic devotion to women which was thenceforth to distinguish it. The rise of this sentiment may therefore be referred, with much probability, to the latter part of the eleventh and to the twelfth century, or to the period

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attributed to it be authentic, appears to dispose of the ingenious suggestion of Sharon Turner, in his History of England, that the lay said to have been sung by Taillefer referred, not to the exploits of the fabulous *Roland,* but to those of *Rollo*, the conqueror of Normandy.

* See an interesting account and abstract of this remarkable poem in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for June, 1852; and the remarks of Martin, Tom. III. Liv. XX.

† See also the remarks of Hallam on the progressive character of knightly gallantry, as evinced by the difference between the tone of the metrical romances written about the time of the first Crusades, and those of the latter half of the fourteenth and succeeding centuries. It appears largely developed in the tales of the court of King Arthur which Geoffrey of Monmouth gave to the world as early as A. D. 1128 or 1138. Perhaps the noblest picture of purely heroic or pagan chivalry, entirely destitute of gallantry, yet blended with infinite tenderness, is to be found in Ossian. We doubt whether this feature of the poems was of McPherson's invention.

intervening between the conquest of England by the Normans and the accession of Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Its source is to be found, we believe, in the honors paid by the Roman Catholic Church to the mother of our Saviour. The worship of the Virgin had been steadily increasing in favor with the Christian world ever since the fifth century; and, according to Mosheim, had reached its height in the tenth; and nowhere had it found a more congenial soil than in Italy and Southern France.* In the former country it became the source from which Art drew its most exquisite inspirations; and to the impression produced upon the ardent and poetical temperament of the Provençals by the ideal combination of Divine excellence with feminine loveliness, that worship of the sex which distinguished the chivalrous character may, we think, be more safely attributed, than to any hereditary reverence derived from the heathen warriors of Germany. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the gallantry of German chivalry was derived, in a great measure, from France, through the medium of the Minnesingers, who borrowed it, as did the Italian poets, from the Provençal Troubadours. To the character and position of the latter were owing the peculiar exaltation and sublimation of knightly love, as taught by the romancers and professed in theory by the knights, and the refined and fantastic character of their gallantry.

Chivalry was less exclusive and feudal in Southern than in Northern France. South of the Loire, the higher class of burgesses in some of the cities were, by prescription, admissible into the order. Many of the Troubadours themselves were knighted, although not of noble birth, and an humble origin was not considered as disqualifying them from addressing their vows and love-songs to the highest ladies of the land. Many of the most illustrious of the Provençal poets were of plebeian rank. Bernard, styled De Ventadour, was the son of a baker, and Pierre Vidal the son of a fur-dealer of Toulouse, while Elias Clairel was a workman of Sarlat. The origin of Giraud de Bernail was equally obscure. But the immense disparity of station opposed, in most cases, an effectual barrier to a more intimate communion. The passion of the Troubadour was idealized both by his poetical temperament and the distance at which he remained from the object of his homage, and refined by hopelessness as to possession. Whatever the object of his passion might be to those who associated with her on more equal terms, to her imaginative and enthusiastic admirer she remained the representative of ideal purity and loveliness, his admiration being frequently proof against the most glaring misconduct on the part of its object. Bernard de Ventadour continued to address his vows and his poems to Queen Eleanor after her irregularities had led to her separation from her first husband, Louis VII. of France.* In a similar spirit, the Troubadour would occasionally select as a mistress of his thoughts a lady whom he had never seen, on the sole report of her beauty and virtues. We are told that Geoffroi Rudel thus conceived a passion for the Countess of Tripoli, and assumed the cross for the purpose of beholding her; but, falling ill on the voyage, he survived only long enough to expire in her arms at the first interview.†

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* Schlosser considers it indigenous to those countries. Weltgeschichte, 7ter Band, z. 373. But see Martin, Vol. III. Liv. XX. The latter writer considers the fresh impetus which the worship of the Virgin received in the twelfth century to have been, like chivalrous gallantry, a development of that inherent appreciation of woman ascribed by him to the Celtic race. May it not rather have been a consequence of the reaction of chivalry upon religion?

The dictates of the romantic passion inspired by the twofold influence of poetry and religion were reduced to formal precepts and rules of knightly conduct by the so-called "Courts of Love." The origin of these singular tribunals is unknown. The earliest on record are of the twelfth century, but it is maintained by Raynouard that they were probably in existence in the eleventh.‡ It seems probable that they originated in Southern France, although ascribed by the popular fiction of those times, as was almost everything connected with chivalry, to King Arthur and his Round Table.

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* Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours, by the Abbé Milot, Tom. I. p. 30. Raynouard, Choix des Poésies des Troubadours, (Paris, 1817,) Tom. II. p. 90. Miss Strickland, in her Lives of the Queens of England, contends, however, that the Eleanor in question was a daughter of the preceding one.

† Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours, Tom. I. p. 85.

‡ Poésies des Troubadours, Tom. II. This author is the principal authority for most of the statements in the text on this subject.

These courts, consisting of knights and ladies, or sometimes of the latter only, were convened either for the decision of abstract questions of love and gallantry, in the discussion of which the Troubadours frequently played the part of poetical advocates, thus giving rise to the class of poems known as *Tensons*, or for the more practical purpose of hearing the complaints brought by disconsolate damsels against their fickle admirers, or by hardly-used knights against capricious and exacting mistresses. In the second class of cases the sentence of the tribunal was enforced by public opinion, and sometimes by the arms of the knights. The knight convicted of faithlessness to his mistress was solemnly pronounced unworthy of the love of any noble lady, and liable to be defied by any champion who might adopt the cause of the injured fair one. Inconstancy was, however, not an uncommon failing in those times. The following will serve as a specimen of the decisions of the Courts of Love in the case of minor offences against gallantry.

> " A knight who was about to take part in a tournament had a harness and habiliments prepared, which he arranged to suit the taste of his mistress, and which he caused to be adorned with her colors, with horse, lance, and saddle to match. When at the moment of his departure he sought the lady, in order to receive her benediction, she affected illness, and caused herself to be excused from seeing him, alleging that she was unable to speak to him. . . . . The Court of Love condemned the lady to dress, equip, and arm the said lover on the first occasion when he should desire to joust, to conduct his horse by the bridle once round the arena, and to deliver him his lance, saying: Farewell, my friend; be of good courage, and care for naught, for there is one who prays for you." — Ste. Palaye, *Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*.

The court was usually presided over by some lady of high rank.* Those held by Queen Eleanor, when Duchess of Aquitaine, are among the most celebrated. To her tribunal is attributed the enunciation of such maxims as the following, which are certainly sufficiently characteristic of the lady : —

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* Raynouard enumerates, besides Queen Eleanor, Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne, who died in 1194; a Countess of Champagne; and a Countess of Flanders, supposed by him to be Sybille, daughter of Foulques of Anjou, and married in 1134 to Thierry, Count of Flanders.

"Love can refuse nothing to love."

"A new love drives out the old."

"Nothing prevents a woman from being loved by two men, or a man by two women."

We hasten to subjoin a few examples of a more elevated description, from other sources: —

"Virtue alone renders worthy of love."

"No one can have two loves."

"He knows not how to love who is possessed by an insatiable thirst of pleasure."

"True love desires nothing except from the beloved."

From France the Courts of Love spread to Flanders and Germany.

The early education of the knights rendered them peculiarly susceptible to female influence. The necessity for a previous probation which had existed in the case of the young German barbarian before he was considered worthy of admission to the ranks of the warriors, was greatly increased by the change in the character of military service which we have already described. The chroniclers and the romancers of the Middle Age alike bear witness to the severity and the duration of the physical training which was requisite to enable the youth, when arrived at manhood, to sustain the weight of his armor, and to make efficient use of his ponderous weapons.* It was equally desirable that he should acquire, at an early age, the moral qualifications of a warrior. But the situation of the inferior nobles, who dwelt, for the most part, like the eagle in his aerie, each in his own solitary tower, with no other society than that of his family and a few retainers, and who were rarely brought into contact with their equals and superiors, save when summoned to the court or the camp of their suzerains, was unfavorable to the attainment of such an education by their children. The desire for companionship, and a spirit of generous emulation, induced the young aspirants after knighthood to seek one another's society, and that of those among their seniors who were distinguished by rank and warlike prowess. The castles of the suzerains thus became the centres at which the children of their vassals congregated for the purpose of education. The lords, on their side, encouraged the noble youth of both sexes to repair to their courts. The state and magnificence of their households were thereby enhanced; the suzerain became personally acquainted with his future liegemen, and the feudal tie was strengthened by early association, and by their reception, at his hands, of the dignity of knighthood. The presence of the children was likewise frequently a guaranty for the fidelity of their fathers. In return for his hospitality, besides the services of his pupils in various offices of his household, he was entitled by feudal usage, on the occasion of the knighting his own eldest son and the marriage of his eldest daughter, to levy upon his vassals an aid or contribution in money.*

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* See a passage from the Life of Maréchal Bouçicaut in Ste. Palaye, and the details given by Sully in regard to Henry IV.

Under his lord's supervision the page and squire became skilful in the use of his weapons, and a proficient in all knightly exercises. He learned to carve at the board, and to minister with modesty and grace to the wants of his master's guests. He became an adept in the knightly accomplishments of music and chess, and acquired and exercised in daily intercourse with equals and superiors of his own sex the manly virtues of truth, justice, courtesy, generosity, and courage. His religious instruction was confided, partially at least, to his father confessor; but from women alone he learned, from his earliest years, the principles and rules which were to regulate his feelings and conduct towards their own sex. Regarding him as the future protector of female weakness against the violence and lawlessness of the period, they strove, by every art, to inspire the youth with a spirit of devotion to their sex which should insure the allegiance of the man. The precepts which they inculcated they sought to confirm by the acquisition of a timely ascendency over his imagination and his heart. The young page was allowed, nay, expected, while yet a child, to select a mistress of his thoughts among the maidens around him, and the apprenticeship of love began as early as that of arms. A striking illustration of this feature of chivalry is quoted by Sir Walter Scott* from the old French romance of Saintré. The Dame des Belles Cousines questions the hero of the romance, Jean de Saintré, then a page, and consequently under fourteen years of age, as to the object of his affection, and the lad having imprudently confessed that he loved no one *par amours*, she overwhelms him with the bitterest sarcasms and reproaches. "Ah, false gentleman and traitor to the laws of chivalry!" she exclaims, "dare you say that you love no lady? Well may we perceive your falsehood and craven spirit by such an avowal." To escape her invectives, the poor boy names as his lady-love Matheline de Coucy, a child of ten years; whereupon, after laughing at his simplicity, the monitress proceeds to dilate upon the advantages arising from a well-placed attachment, which she demonstrates at great length to be the key to all the cardinal virtues, and absolutely requisite to the youth who aspires ever to become an accomplished knight.†

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* Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. II. p. 63. Ste. Palaye.

It is difficult to over-estimate the influence which this common education of the noble youth of both sexes at the courts of the suzerains had upon their future intercourse. Herein, if we are not mistaken, lies the essential difference between the educational system on which chivalry rested, and all other systems which have prevailed in ancient or modern times. That the prominence given in their early education to the mutual relations of the sexes, and the consequent premature development of the sentiments which bind them to each other, were not without their dangers, will appear hereafter.

It was inevitable that the tastes and habits instilled into the page and squire should continue to characterize the knight. On all occasions of festivity and rejoicing, women were present, and bore a prominent part. The peculiar festivals and the glory of chivalry were the tournaments, which, during the flourishing period of the institution, were of frequent occurrence, and became the occasions of such gorgeous display as materially to impoverish the counts and barons who gave them, and thereby to contribute to the decline of the feudal nobility. While these presented on the one hand to the knights occasions for the display of that hardihood and valor which has such a charm in female eyes, they furnished opportunities to the other sex, which they well knew how to employ, of confirming their empire over their admirers by all those arts of dress and manner, of which they possess the secret.

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* Article *Chivalry* in the Encyclopædia Britannica.

† The renowned Don Quixote de la Mancha is not less explicit on this point than the Dame des Belles Cousines: "'Your conjecture is wrong,' replied Don Quixote, 'a knight-errant cannot be without a mistress; 't is not more essential for the skies to have stars, than 't is to us to be in love. Insomuch that I dare affirm that no history ever made mention of any knight-errant that was not a lover; for were any knight free from the impulses of that generous passion, he would not be allowed to be a lawful knight; but a misborn intruder, and one who was not admitted within the pale of knighthood at the door, but leaped the fence and stole in like a robber and a thief.'"

But it was not only as the companion of man's lighter hours that the position of woman was ameliorated by chivalry, or, perhaps we should rather say, by those feudal habits which were associated with it. The comparative isolation in which the minor feudal nobles dwelt, was adapted to draw closer the bands of family union, and to increase the dignity of the feminine head of the household, on whom its happiness and comfort in so great a measure depended. Thus, not only as the object of the youthful aspirations of the knight, but as the subsequent partner of his home, as the lady of the castle, and, in the absence of her lord, frequently its vigilant guardian against external assault, the high-born dame of the age of chivalry asserted her title to consideration and respect.

Even the religious element of chivalry became in time subservient to the new spirit, and was blended with, and to some extent merged in, gallantry. "Faithfulness to God and faithfulness to the ladies," says Michaud, "were enjoined as one virtue and one duty." The knight who perished in the service of his mistress was sure of salvation, according to the theology of castles, if not of cloisters. A species of heresy which did not escape the satire of Cervantes: —

"'I am of the same opinion,' replied Vivaldo. 'But one thing among many others, which I can by no means approve in your profession, is, that when you are just going to engage in some hazardous adventure, where your lives are evidently to be much endangered, you never once remember to commend yourselves to God, as every good Christian ought to do on such occasions, but only recommend yourselves to your mistresses, and that with as great zeal and devotion as if you worshipped no other deity, — a thing which, in my opinion, strongly relishes of Paganism.'

"'Sir,' replied Don Quixote, 'there is no altering that method; for, should a knight-errant do otherwise, he would too much deviate from the ancient and established customs of knight-errantry.'" — *Don Quixote*, Motteux's Translation.

The growing influence of this crowning principle of knighthood soon made itself apparent in the ceremony of inauguration. "It was now," says Martin,* "ladies who armed the knight; a lady assisted him to don his hauberk; a lady girded on his sword; a lady attached the gilt spurs, emblem of the rapidity with which he must fly to the assistance of the weaker sex, and of all who are oppressed." The recipient of knighthood was admonished in the preliminary exhortation, that "when ladies or maidens have need of him, he is to assist them with all his power, if he wishes to win praise and honor, for women are to be honored, and great labor undergone in the defence of their rights."† The inaugural vows were in the same spirit. The knights swore: —

> "That they would hold themselves bound to escort a lady or maiden; they would serve her, protect her, and save her from all danger and all insult, or die in the attempt";
>
> "That they would never do violence to ladies or maidens, although they had gained them by arms, without their will and consent." — Guizot, *Civilization in France*.

This last vow betrays at once the vast distance between the theoretical refinement and the practical barbarism of the age. The discrepancy between practice and precept, to which we have alluded in treating of the religious character of knighthood, is even more striking in the present instance. Exceptional cases, knights "without fear and without reproach," there certainly were; but there is no disguising the fact, that the gallantry of chivalry was, throughout, deeply tinged with sensuality. "Never, perhaps," says Guizot, "have the relations between men and women been more licentious." German writers have, indeed, sometimes claimed that it was otherwise in Germany, until the old Teutonic chastity was corrupted by the evil example of France and the dissolute lays of her minstrels. However this may have been, the early prevalence of the evil in the latter country, the proper home of chivalry, is too well attested to be called in question. We are inclined to believe that the exaggerated and artificial character of the knightly theory of gallantry, as we have attempted to portray it, was largely conducive to this result. The faithfulness and purity which it prescribed were at once so exalted in degree, and so arbitrary and fantastic in kind, that, with the exception of a small number of ardent and imaginative spirits, few attempted more than an outward conformity to its precepts. This was true of both sexes. It was as difficult for woman continually to maintain herself at the elevation of the *rôle* assigned her, as for man to restrain himself within the strict limits prescribed. After all, the idol and the worshipper were made of the same clay.

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* Histoire de France, Tom. III. p. 337.

† Martin, Tom. III. p. 377, quoting Vulson de la Colombière, *Théatre d'Honneur et de Chevalerie.*

Thus the word gallantry came at last to designate rather a conventional mode of address than a living spirit, and to represent, as Montesquieu styles it, merely a delicate, light, and perpetual affectation of love or admiration. Sir Walter Scott refers to the dissoluteness of chivalry as if it had been only one of the maladies incident to its decay; but such is certainly not the case. Possibly the evil may have increased with the decline of the institution; but there is abundant evidence that it was present from the first. The songs of the Troubadours were often grossly licentious. It is even remarked by Martin, that the spirit of dissolute gallantry is apparent in their poems at an earlier period than the purer sentiment of love, with which it continued to coexist. With the Troubadours, chastity frequently meant nothing more than fidelity to the lover selected. Thus, the Castellan de Coucy, celebrated in romance by the tragic fate of his mistress, the Lady of Fayet,* invokes without scruple, on the eve of his departure for the Crusade, the protection of Heaven for an adulterous attachment, and dwells on the *loyalty* and *chastity* which ladies should preserve to their lovers in the Holy Land.* Among the earliest and most constantly popular of the romances of chivalry were the adventures of Tristram and Launcelot,† both of which are stories of criminal passion, unrelieved by the element of poetical justice, as the evils which ensue fall chiefly upon the innocent; and it was the later, not the earlier romancers, who sought to diminish the odium due to Tristram's conduct, by systematically debasing the character which they attribute to his uncle, King Mark, the husband of the fair Isoude. Launcelot du Lac appears still more hateful, as the romancers do not seem to have considered it necessary to devise for this flower of chivalry any of the excuses by which Tristram's guilt is in some measure palliated. The general tone of the romances of chivalry, which it must be remembered are of high authority as pictures of manners, although not as records of facts, was denounced by Roger Ascham in indignant language, and Ben Jonson, in describing the education of an accomplished gentleman in his day, speaks of his avoidance of such topics: —

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* He died in the Holy Land, and caused his heart to be sent to his mistress, who was induced to eat it by an artifice of her husband; and, upon being apprised of what she had done, suffered herself to starve to death.

> "I waited on his studies, which were right.
> He had no Arthurs nor no Rosicleers,
> No Knights of the Sun, nor Amadis de Gauls,
> Primalions and Pantagruels, public nothings;
> Abortions of the fabulous dark cloister,
> Sent out to poison courts and infect manners."

To the testimony of the contemporaneous literature of chivalry, history adds but too many examples. We have already referred to Queen Eleanor of England and the Castellan de Coucy. Another patroness of the Courts of Love, Elizabeth of Vermandois, was surprised by her husband, the protector of the famous Trouvère, Chrestien de Troyes, in company with a lover, whom the Count caused to be suspended alive by the feet, in savage contempt of the appeal of the culprit to be allowed, in accordance with the usages of chivalry, to prove his innocence by wager of battle.‡

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* Martin, Tom. III. p. 385, note.

† They are given in Mr. Bulfinch's collection.

‡ Histoire des Gaules et de la France, Tom. XIII. pp. 163, 198.

The contempt for the marriage tie which marked the manners of the age of chivalry* is attributed by Martin to the moral revolt produced by the contrast between the elevated rank assigned to women by the theory of chivalry, and their actual degradation consequent on the feudal usages regulating marriages. With remorseless logic, the feudal law often totally disinherited the female descendants where there were male heirs equally near to the ancestor, on the ground that the former could not render to the suzerain those military services which constituted the rent or return for the fief. Nor was the position of the female heir much better where she was permitted to succeed to the land, the selection of the husband who should enter into possession of her estates and assume for her the burden of her feudal obligations, being a privilege of her suzerain, or guardian in chivalry, who not unfrequently made it an object of sale, and was at all times governed in his choice by considerations having little reference to the happiness of his ward. The moral evil of this transfer of women as mere appendages to the land, was aggravated by the insecurity of the marriage tie consequent on the abuse by the Church of its rules in regard to consanguinity, which furnished the husband with a ready pretext for a divorce whenever his interest or his passions rendered one desirable, if he were sufficiently powerful or rich to command or purchase the indulgence. The glaring inconsistency of these practices with the principles of chivalry must, on the one hand, have rendered the feudal marriage frequently intolerable to its victims, and disposed them to throw off its restraints, and, on the other, induced the knights to treat the marriage covenant as a degradation of their idols, which no loyal knight was called upon to respect. It was too much, under the circumstances, to expect that the object of his affection should submit with a good grace, for the sake of moral and religious considerations imperfectly apprehended, to remain in some measure a slave where she was urged to become a queen, and be content to obey a husband whom she had never loved, when she might reign supreme over a lover, although at the cost of her virtue.

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* The first article of the so-called "Code of Love," by which the decisions of the Courts of Love were regulated, is the following: "Marriage is not a legitimate excuse against love," — *Causa conjugii non est ab amore excusatio recta.* Raynouard, Tom. II. pp. 90, etc. The decisions of the court reported by Raynouard indicate an extreme laxity of morals in the twelfth century.

Yet, in spite of this grave drawback, in spite of all that was exaggerated, fantastic, and frivolous in the gallantry of chivalry, it was of essential service in softening and refining the rugged natures of the feudal nobility, and rendering them more susceptible to the influences of advancing civilization. If we are pained by the inconsistency between precept and practice which meets us at every step in our examination of chivalry, we should remember, at the same time, that, in the noble language of Guizot,

> "Partout la pensée morale des hommes s'élève et aspire fort au dessus de leur vie. Et gardez vous de croire que parcequ'elle ne gouvernait pas immédiatement les actions, parceque la pratique démensait sans cesse et étrangement la théorie, l'influence de la théorie fût nulle et sans valeur. C'est beaucoup que le jugement des hommes sur les actions humaines; tot ou tard, il dévient éfficace." — *Histoire de la Civilization en France*, Leçon 36.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, chivalry may be considered as having attained its perfect stature; and it continued to flourish until near the middle of the fifteenth century. Almost every great event in the history of this period was more or less associated with chivalry, while of some it was the leading, if not the only cause. A brief recapitulation of some of the principal transactions of these two centuries and a half will verify this statement.

The period from 1189 to 1431 — that is to say, from the accession of Richard I. of England to the death of Joan of Arc — embraces the Crusades, from the third (1189) to the eighth and last (1270); the career of Richard Cœur de Lion (1189–1199), styled by Sharon Turner the Achilles of chivalry, both troubadour and knight-errant; the daring capture of Constantinople and temporary subjugation of the Greek Empire by a handful of knights (1203); the crusades against the Albigenses (1209–1229); the revolt of the great barons in England, and their successful assertion of the feudal against the monarchical principle (1215); the reign of the noble Louis IX. of France (1226–1270), the model of the chivalrous character in its highest perfection, at once a hero, a saint, and a knight devoted to his lady, who refused to sign a treaty with the infidels without the assent of Queen Marguérite, — "parcequ'elle était sa dame";* the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Order (1231 – 1283); the conquest of Wales and the destruction of the Welsh Bards by Edward I. (1283); the war waged against the robber knights of Germany by the Emperor Rudolph (1290); the defeat of the French chivalry by the Flemings at Courtray (1302); the exploits of King Robert the Bruce, the most doughty of Scottish knights, of Randolph, and of Douglas (1306 – 1329); the defeat of the Austrian chivalry by the Swiss mountaineers at Morgarten (1315); the wars of Edward III. in France, illustrated by the exploits of the Black Prince, Jean Chandos, and Bertrand du Guesclin, and by the victories of Cressy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), and recorded by the greatest of the chroniclers of chivalry, Froissart; the battle of Sempach (1386); the skirmish near Otterbourne, "Chevy Chase" (1388), which has attained in romance a celebrity little in accordance with its historical insignificance; the proposed wager of battle between Henry of Lancaster and the Duke of Norfolk (1398); the death of Harry Hotspur and defeat of the Welsh hero, Owen Glendower, at the battle of Shrewsbury (1403); the overthrow of the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg (1410); the battle of Agincourt (1415); and the career of Joan of Arc (1429 – 1431). The thirteenth century was likewise the age of the Troubadours, the Trouvères, and the Minnesingers; to the fourteenth belong Boccaccio, Petrarch, and Chaucer; and to both, Dante (1265 – 1321), and innumerable romances of chivalry.

At no time, however, was the institution coextensive with civilized Europe. France was the home of chivalry, and next to France we should perhaps place Germany, although the order appears likewise to have flourished in Spain.† In consequence of the protracted struggle between the Saracens and the Christians for the empire of the Peninsula, the chivalry of Spain was more deeply imbued with religious fanaticism, and retained the religious spirit longer than was the case with the order north of the Pyrenees. In like manner the spirit of gallantry was peculiarly exemplified by the chivalry of France, and the military spirit by that of Germany, which was already, in the Middle Ages, a "nursery of soldiers." In England chivalry seems not to have found a congenial soil. It flourished there, indeed, during the wars of Edward III. and Henry V., which brought the English nobility into frequent contact with the chivalry of France ; but when not thus stimulated by extraneous influence, it lost much of its vigor. The purely chivalrous element is less conspicuous in the wars between England and Scotland, and there are few traces of it in the struggles of the great barons with one another and with the crown. The Normans, and, at a later period, the French, introduced chivalry into Naples and Sicily. In the North of Italy it existed, but languished in consequence of the early ascendency acquired by the free republics over the feudal aristocracy.

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* Michaud, Tom. IV. Liv. XXII.

† Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. III. p. 410, note. Kottenkamp, p. 29.

The rank and privileges attached to the profession of chivalry were, however, substantially the same wherever it prevailed.* The knight was recognized in public by the character of his armor, his gilt spurs and ornaments of gold. His dress was of silk, velvet, or satin, and on occasions of state he wore, as the distinctive badge of his rank, a long scarlet cloak, doubled with ermine, or some other costly fur. According to Sainte Palaye he was likewise entitled to wear a gold signet-ring, somewhat similar to that worn by a bishop. He was addressed by titles of honor. Nor was he without more substantial privileges. Many civil offices were by rule and usage confined to members of the order.† Foreign embassies were usually composed of an equal number of knights and ecclesiastics. In time of war, the knight enjoyed peculiar facilities for acquiring distinction and command. Not the least of his prerogatives, however, as remarked by Hallam, was the fact of his belonging to a great aristocratic and military brotherhood, in which even sovereigns were proud to be enrolled, which extended over a large part of Europe, and was everywhere distinguished by its *esprit de corps*.

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* Kottenkamp, p. 30, remarks that, in Italy, although the patrician families were admitted to the honor of knighthood, they thereby acquired no special privileges among the independent republican citizens.

† According to Sainte Palaye, the most illustrious birth originally conferred no personal rank upon the French noble, unless he added thereto the dignity of knighthood.

For the most fascinating picture of chivalry, at its culminating point, we are indebted to the genius of Froissart, the general accuracy of whose delineations there seems no good reason to doubt, although the personal bias to which, as a contemporary chronicler, he was exposed, and the enthusiasm which he felt in his subject, may have occasionally imparted an exaggerated brilliancy to his coloring. In his pages, all those attributes of chivalry on which we have dwelt shine conspicuous. Examples of daring valor and enterprise, of good faith, courtesy, and generosity, of devoted gallantry and rude but sincere piety, alternate with excesses and outbreaks of ungoverned passion, which make us feel that the chivalrous barons of Western Europe in those days were, like the Slavonic nobles of the present time, after all, but gilded and polished barbarians. These perpetual and violent alternations of good and evil constitute the most striking characteristic of the manners of the age of chivalry.

> "In the Middle Ages," says a modern German historian, "life was itself poetical: cruel devastations with fire and sword, alternating with processions, festivals, tournaments and popular rejoicings of all sorts; the same feudal tyrant who enslaved the peasant and plundered the burgher, magnanimously exposed his life to succor oppressed innocence, and exercised generosity, modesty, and mildness in a truly Christian and merciful spirit." — Schlosser, *Weltgeschichte*, 7ter Band, p. 360.

It has been remarked, that in the pages of Monstrelet, the continuator of Froissart, the manners of chivalry present a less attractive appearance than in those of his predecessor. The courtesy and generosity which marked the intercourse between contending parties in the time of the older chronicler, gradually yielded to the animosity following the wrongs and sufferings of a protracted war. Moreover, chivalry itself was beginning to exhibit symptoms of decay.

The decline of chivalry as a feudal institution is referred by Guizot to the fourteenth century, although as a military order it was then at its height. In Froissart there is already evidence that many of its ancient regulations were falling into disuse. Thus, the marked distinction which had once existed between knights and mere squires was, to some extent, obliterated, the latter mixing with the former on a more equal footing, and being frequently placed in command over them. Mr. Hallam accounts for this practice on the ground that the vast estimation in which men held the dignity of knighthood led them sometimes to defer it for a great portion of their lives, in hope of signalizing their investiture by some eminent exploit. To this it might be added, that the duties and obligations connected with the rank were such as might well deter men of slender patrimony and moderate ambition from aspiring to it, even where they were possessed of military talents. According to Sainte Palaye, the decline of chivalry was owing to the changes introduced by the French sovereigns, Charles VI., Charles VII., and Francis I., between the latter part of the fourteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries (1382–1547). Of these, the first was the profusion with which the order was lavished by the princes of the blood royal and the favorites of Charles VI. This was a danger to which, by its peculiar constitution, chivalry had, from the first, been exposed. It was among the fundamental rules of the order, that any one, who was himself a knight, was capable of bestowing knighthood, — a privilege which was of course liable to abuse.* Instances of the wholesale creation of knights, for the sake of temporary advantage, were of common occurrence. The occasions of these promotions were commonly either some solemn festival, to which they were supposed to lend additional pomp;

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* A singular instance of this, as old as the twelfth century, is recorded by Sainte Palaye. He tells us of a peasant, who happened, on his way to the fair with an ox-cart loaded with wax, to arrive in the court-yard of his lord's castle on the occasion of some festival, and who, in return for the materials which he thus contributed to a brilliant illumination, received a fief conferring nobility and the honor of knighthood, and became the founder of an illustrious family. (Cinquième Mémoire, note 23.) The privilege of creating knights continued in France to be common to all the members of the order as late as the reign of Francis I.; but in England, where the authority of the crown at an early period was more considerable, the sovereigns restricted it to themselves from the reign of Henry III. See Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. II. ch. 9, and Sainte Palaye.

or the expectation of a battle, where it was hoped that the ardor of the new-made knights to win their spurs would materially contribute to the success of the day; or the achievement of a victory, which was frequently followed by the promotion of those squires who had particularly distinguished themselves.* Thus Francis I. chose to be knighted by Bayard on the battle-field of Marignano. This conferring of knighthood on the field of battle, although accounted in some respects more honorable than the investiture at a peaceful solemnity, was attended with this disadvantage, that it afforded little opportunity for inquiring into other qualifications of the candidates than personal bravery and military skill. It was likewise attended with little of the ceremony which had served to impress upon the recipient the full extent of his duties and obligations. The candidate knelt before the officiating knight, who struck him a slight blow on the shoulder with the flat of his sword, with the words, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George," or "Our Lady, I dub thee knight," — sometimes adding, "Be courteous, wise, and valiant," or, "Be brave, adventurous, and loyal," and the investiture was complete.

During the insanity of Charles VI. and the youth of his successor, according to Monstrelet, the different factions no longer keeping any bounds, the attachment of a partisan was thought to be cheaply purchased by the honor of knighthood, and the number of worthless and rapacious adventurers thus introduced into the order led to a decline in the estimation in which it was held, from which it never entirely recovered.

Francis I., although himself a warlike and chivalrous monarch, conferred knighthood freely, as the reward of merely civil merit. Thus he bestowed it upon many distinguished jurists, scholars, and men of science, without regard to the ancient rule which required that a knight should be of noble birth.† The effect of these promotions was to impair the former purely military character of the dignity, and to degrade it in the eyes of the nobles, by whom arms were still accounted the only profession worthy of a gentleman outside of the Church. They ceased, therefore, to covet it, and from that time, according to Sainte Palaye, creations of military knights became very rare in France, especially on the field of battle. Something analogous appears to have taken place in England, where James I. brought the title into disrepute by squandering it upon tradesmen and others not of gentle birth. Neither in France nor in England does it appear that chivalry ever conferred of itself nobility upon the recipient or his posterity, although it was frequently coupled with a grant of it. The knights of plebeian extraction, therefore, remained excluded from the ranks of the aristocracy. In Germany, the accolade granted by the Emperor raised a man at once to the rank of nobility; but in the reign of Sigismund, knights were no longer held equal to nobles.*

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* Sainte Palaye mentions, among other instances, that five hundred French knights were created before the battle of Agincourt, and four hundred and sixty-seven at that of Rosebeck.

† Sainte Palaye, Cinquième Mémoire.

Another cause of the decline of chivalry was the experience ultimately acquired by different nations of its insufficiency for military purposes. From the first, its value in this regard was impaired by an inherent lack of order and subordination. The restraints of military discipline and obedience were incompatible with the spirit of an institution, the whole tendency of which was to encourage the individual to rely upon his sole prowess, and to follow the dictates of his own judgment on all occasions. Thus the knight, although a good leader, was apt to be a bad subordinate. So long as knights were opposed only by knights, this was not so material; but from the moment that they came into contact with trained and disciplined forces, the evils arising from their recklessness and insubordination were strongly felt. No country suffered more severely in this respect than France. The disastrous defeats of Courtray, of Cressy, of Poitiers, and of Agincourt, were all mainly owing to the arrogance and insubordination of the Gallic chivalry. It is probable that the bitter experience acquired in these battles of the absolute necessity for a more efficient discipline in the French armies than had hitherto prevailed, was conducive to the establishment by Charles VII., in 1445, of the companies of ordonnance or gendarmerie, the origin of the standing army of France. They consisted of a force of fifteen hundred lances, or about nine thousand cavalry, regularly paid and officered, divided into companies, and usually stationed along the frontiers. The new service soon became popular with the French nobility; the right to command in the corps being conceded to their birth, a privilege which, it is worthy of remark, was no longer allowed to the rank of knight or banneret.

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* Kottenkamp, p. 30.

The institution of this new force is the third of the causes to which Sainte Palaye attributes the decline of chivalry in France. It certainly led to a more general recognition of the superiority of military discipline over that individual prowess upon which the prestige of chivalry depended; but that prestige was still more rudely shaken, and the military efficiency of the order almost destroyed, by a change in the composition of European armies, the converse of that which was described at the beginning of this article. There was one remarkable exception to the comparative inefficiency of infantry as a military force during the feudal period. The archers in Duke William's army contributed to the victory of Hastings, where his rival, it will be remembered, was severely wounded by an arrow. In England, the long-bow soon became a national weapon. The archers were recruited principally from the yeomanry, or petty farmers who were not serfs, and it was probably the want of a similar class in France subsequent to the extinction of the freemen, which compelled the French to rely upon foreign mercenaries (among whom the Genoese crossbow-men were conspicuous*) to oppose the English archers. The skill and efficiency of the latter, from the days of Robin Hood, are a familiar theme of romance, and are likewise attested by history. The fatal battle of Falkirk, between the Scots under Wallace and the English under Edward I., was decided by the archers of the latter, after the chivalry of England had recoiled before the serried line of Saxon spears; and at Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt they contributed largely to the victory. The French were finally driven to imitate their opponents. Charles VII., about the same time that he instituted the gendarmerie, organized a corps of French archers. To compose it, every parish was required to furnish its best crossbow-men, who, in return for their military services, were exempted from civil burdens. This corps continued in existence until the reign of Charles VIII.*

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* At the battle of Cressy, according to Froissart, there were about fifteen thousand of these mercenaries in the French army. Bertrand du Guesclin also kept a large force of them in his pay.

However efficient the English and Continental bowmen might prove against the knights and their horses at a distance, they were entirely unable to stand the charge of the steel-clad riders, or to contend with them hand to hand, except under very peculiar circumstances. At the battle of Bannockburn the English archers, who were galling the Scottish infantry with their arrows, were charged by a body of horse held in reserve for that purpose by King Robert the Bruce, and cut to pieces before their own cavalry could come to their assistance. But infantry armed with spears or bills, and stationed in close order, were sometimes able to repulse the onset of the knights, as was shown at Falkirk, where the Scotch foot were, moreover, almost destitute of defensive armor. At a later period the Hussites of Bohemia, armed in a somewhat similar manner, frequently encountered the German chivalry with success,† and the Italian mercenaries who fought under the *Condottieri* were in the habit of repelling with their broad-bladed spears or spontoons the charge of cavalry.‡ But the most formidable infantry of the Middle Age, and the first to prove themselves more than a match for the steel-clad horsemen, were the Swiss. At Morgarten and at Sempach the confederates overthrew the German, and at Granson, Murten, and Nancy the Burgundian chivalry. In these encounters the Swiss mountaineers not only repulsed the attack of the knights, but mingled with them, whether on foot or on horseback, in hand-to-hand conflict; and their superior agility and the freedom of their movements more than counterbalanced the advantage which their opponents derived from their defensive armor. Nor did this armor prove a sufficient protection against the tremendous blows which the athletic mountaineers inflicted with their heavy two-handed swords and ponderous spike-studded clubs, or "morning stars," as they were called.

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* Kottenkamp, p. 49.

† Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. I. p. 479.

‡ Kottenkamp, p. 64.

The effect of these victories was to excite among the free peasants and burghers of Switzerland a military spirit, which soon made them the most formidable infantry of Europe. "In order to render it capable of withstanding the shock of cavalry," says Robertson,* "they gave the soldiers breastplates and helmets as defensive armor, together with long spears, halberds, and heavy swords, as weapons of offence. They formed them in large battalions, ranged in deep and close array, so that they could present on every side a formidable front to the enemy. The men-at-arms could make no impression upon the strength of such a body." This was abundantly evinced at the battle of Marignano, where the Swiss mercenaries in the service of Sforza withstood for hours the charges of the gendarmerie of Francis I., the fire of his artillery, and the combined attacks of a force four times as numerous as their own, and finally retreated in good order, although with heavy loss. The example of the Swiss was presently followed by the Germans, the Italians, the French, and the Spaniards, all of whom raised and disciplined bodies of infantry for their Italian wars. Of these, the Spanish infantry especially acquired a high reputation.

The reviving efficiency of the infantry in European armies was doubtless owing in a great degree to the better material of which it was composed, and this was a natural result of the gradual enfranchisement of the lower classes on the Continent. The foot-soldiers were no longer recruited chiefly from the ranks of the serfs. These it had been dangerous at all times to intrust with arms, which they had ample motives for turning against their own masters. Nor could it be expected of them, that they should display, as soldiers, either the intelligence or the constancy of the burghers, yeomen, and free peasants, who fought in defence of their own property, and to vindicate their hardly-earned and highly-valued privileges.

As the infantry thus gradually regained its importance, that of the costly, unwieldy, and unmanageable heavy-armed cavalry naturally declined. But it was the general introduction of fire-arms which ultimately overthrew chivalry as a military force.

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* Introduction to History of Charles V., Sect. II.

Gunpowder is thought to have been introduced into Europe by the Saracens. Its use, in engines of war, is mentioned by an Arabic writer about 1249,[*] or nearly a century previous to its alleged discovery by Schwartz of Cologne. Edward III. is said to have employed cannon at the battle of Cressy in 1346,[†] and by the close of the fourteenth century they were in use in England, France, Germany, and Spain.[‡] The first approach towards the musket was a species of small cannon or hand-cannon (*canons à main*), which was used in France as early as 1411.[§] In 1449, according to Sismondi, the Milanese armed their militia with twenty thousand muskets.[||] The French, under Charles VIII., owed their temporary success in Italy, in 1495, partly to the superiority of their artillery.[¶] In the sixteenth century a long musket, more nearly approaching in shape to the modern weapon, was introduced.[**] This was fired resting upon a forked stick, which the musketeer carried with him for that purpose. Previously to the invention of the bayonet, pikemen were frequently intermingled with the musketeers for the purpose of repelling cavalry. The general introduction of the new weapon was fatal to the superiority which the perfection of their defensive armor had hitherto conferred upon the nobles. Against the ancient weapons of attack, the knight and his horse, clad in their iron panoply, were comparatively secure. Especially was this the case after the introduction of the plate-armor, which was impervious both to spear and arrow, so that a single horseman was generally able to contend at once with a number of the ill-armed and unprotected foot-soldiers; but against the fire of artillery and musketry such means of defence were useless. The combatants now seldom engaged hand to hand, and the issue of a battle ceased to depend, to any great extent, upon the individual strength and heroism of the combatants, — a change in itself fatal to the continuance of chivalry as a military institution. Defensive armor did not, however, completely fall into disuse, until the close of the seventeenth century. The cuirass, helmet, and jack-boots still worn by a portion of the heavy cavalry of Europe, more for ornament than for use, are now the only surviving relics of the knightly mail.

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[*] Hallam's Middle Ages, Vol. I. p. 478 and note.

[†] Du Cange, in voce *Bombarda,* citing G. Villani.

[‡] Kottenkamp, p. 78.

[§] Ibid.

[||] Sismondi, Tom. IX. p. 341. But this is doubted by Hallam, Middle Ages, Vol. I. p. 479, note.

[¶] Guicciardini, Hist., Lib. I. c. 15.

[**] Kottenkamp, p. 79.

Besides the above-named external agencies in the decline of chivalry, it was subject to other internal causes of decay. The abuses which crept into the institution, under the influence of wealth and luxury, and the consequent deterioration of the chivalrous character, are described at length by Sainte Palaye. As early as 1351, King John of France was induced to found the order of the Knights of the Star, for the purpose of reanimating and reforming the chivalry of his kingdom, and probably, also, as an offset to the creation of the order of the Garter by Edward III., two years before. Charles VII. likewise sought to encourage the institution of chivalry, and to restore it to its pristine vigor. It seems to us that, with the exception perhaps of the innate licentiousness already described, the evils to which Sainte Palaye alludes were the result of temporary causes, and were not necessarily decisive of the ultimate fate of chivalry. Whether its continuance in its popular form was compatible with greater moral purity in the relations between the sexes, it is now useless to inquire; but we incline to the opinion, that such a result must have been attained, if at all, by the sacrifice of much which, viewed solely through the medium of romance, is now most attractive to the female imagination.

Had these various causes of its decay been removed, chivalry might have endured for some centuries longer than it did; but there was another feature of the order which would sooner or later have led to its overthrow. It was, as we have seen, essentially an aristocratic and exclusive institution. However much its theory might inculcate the duty of affording protection and assistance to the weak and oppressed, its practical effect was, beyond a doubt, to widen the separation between the different classes of society. The treatment by the knights of those not of gentle birth too often presented a deplorable contrast to the courtesy, generosity, and loyalty of their behavior to one another. The harshness of Edward III. to the six burghers of Calais, whom he pardoned at length reluctantly, and only when adjured to do so in the name of his knightly allegiance to his lady, is no less striking than his generosity towards Sir Eustace de Ribaumont, who took part in an attempt to recover the city by treachery. In the skirmish which followed, the French knight twice struck the king to his knees, but was at last overpowered and taken prisoner by his royal adversary. Edward, after entertaining his prisoner most sumptuously at supper, addressed his late opponent with a smile: "Sir Eustace, you are the most valiant knight in Christendom; I never yet found any one in battle who, body to body, has given me so much to do as you have this day; I adjudge to you the prize of valor." And removing from his own head a chaplet of fine pearls, he placed it on that of his prisoner, and dismissed him without a ransom.* The Black Prince rode at the bridle rein of his royal captive, and waited upon him at table; but he put the inhabitants of Limoges to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.† Joinville relates that, a poor knight having applied to the Count of Champagne surnamed the Liberal for assistance to enable him to give marriage portions to his daughters, a rich citizen who was present attempted to free the Count from his importunities by assuring the petitioner that his lord had already distributed so much that he had nothing left. The Count thereupon exclaimed: "Citizen, thou liest in saying I have nothing left to give away, thou art yet my property, — Sir Knight, I make you a present of this bondman." The officious burgher was accordingly compelled to pay the knight five hundred livres for his ransom. But perhaps the most striking illustration of this contrast is presented by the conduct of the Spanish conquerors of America, who, guilty of every excess that rapacity, cruelty, and bigotry could devise towards the unfortunate Indians, were yet capable of the most chivalrous courtesy and generosity in their intercourse with one another. Nor does this exclusive character of chivalry appear to have been susceptible of the modification which the increasing importance of the commons, in most of the states of Europe, rendered indispensable to the maintenance of the institution. The extension of the order to the middle classes, when attempted by Francis I., only served, as we have seen, to hasten its decay. In England and in Northern Italy, chivalry was weak in proportion to the strength of the popular element, and it may safely be assumed, that its prolonged existence was everywhere incompatible with the growth of that democracy, to which, whether for good or for evil, the destiny of the civilized world appears for the time being to be confided.

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* Froissart, ch. 151.

† Ibid., ch. 316.

In France, Bayard, who fell in 1524, may be considered as almost the last of the *preux chevaliers* of the old school; and in 1559 Henry II. lost his life in the last great tournament held in that country. In Germany the title of "Der letzte Ritter," *the last knight*, is still popularly applied to the Emperor Maximilian I. In England, chivalry may be said to have ceased with Elizabeth.

The immediate successors of the knights were the Cavaliers of England, and the French gentlemen of the time of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. "The character of knight," says Hallam, "gradually subsided in that of gentleman; and the one distinguished European society in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, as much as the other did in the preceding ages."* Many of the features of the gentlemanly character were clearly derived from its progenitor. The formal politeness, the ceremonious and licentious gallantry, the fantastic code of honor, ever to be vindicated at the point of the sword, and the taste for arms, which distinguished the brilliant courtiers of the two Louises and of Charles I., all betray their origin. The fact that it was based upon a state of society which has passed away, explains how it is that the gentlemanly, like the knightly character, has gradually fallen into decline, — a circumstance which is occasionally alluded to at the present day in a tone of reproachful regret, as if it were an accidental and remediable evil, rather than an inevitable result of the changes which have taken place, or are in progress, in the political and social *status* of nations. Even so our ancestors lamented over the decline of chivalry.

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* Hallam, Middle Ages, Vol. III. p. 411.

The still existing relics of chivalry are not numerous. The most important are perhaps the different ceremonial orders of knighthood — the stars, crosses, and garters — of modern Europe. As a mere honorary title, unconnected with any substantial privileges, simple knighthood is still occasionally conferred in England, we believe in Germany, and perhaps elsewhere. But the fruits of the institution which have survived to us, for good and for evil, are more important. To it we owe modern courtesy and gallantry, the practice of duelling, and — partly at least — the small regard shown for the marriage tie in some countries of Europe.

For the *origin* of duelling, chivalry is not, strictly speaking, responsible. It is rather to be sought in the ordeal by combat, or wager of battle, which was in use among the ancient Ripuarian Franks, the Burgundians, the Alamanni, and the Goths; but it may safely be assumed, that, but for the encouragement which it derived from chivalry, the practice of settling disputes by a formal appeal to the sword would, in time, have fallen into disuse, like the ordeals of boiling water and heated iron, since it depended upon the same superstition, — that of a direct intervention of Providence to protect the innocent and punish the guilty. Notwithstanding this belief, the greatest care was taken by the judges in judicial combats to secure an equality of weapons to the combatants, and to prevent either from obtaining the advantage by sorcery or by other unfair means, — a practice which was afterwards retained in private duels, — it being entirely inconsistent with the chivalrous idea of honor to attack a solitary adversary at a disadvantage. To the spirit of chivalry, indeed, it is owing that the private duel was resorted to as a means of revenging injuries rather than the practice of assassination, which is apt to prevail among a barbarous people, and which, however repugnant to our ideas, would appear to be a natural corollary of the feudal right of private warfare; since there seems no reason why the noble should not surprise the person of his enemy as readily as his castle. On the other hand, it was entirely consistent with the spirit of feudal independence and chivalrous self-reliance to dispense with the assent of the lord's court to the duel, when either the opportunity of obtaining his judicial sanction was wanting, or it would have been useless to apply for it. Private duels were in process of time multiplied to an appalling extent by the refinements introduced into the chivalrous code of honor, in virtue of which a look, a word, the tone of an indifferent remark, even an involuntary contact of the person, was considered sufficient reason for a challenge, which could not with honor be declined. The practice reached such a height in France, during the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., as to call for its repression by annexing the most stringent penalties, such as death itself, to the offence. A Court of Honor was likewise instituted, whose principal business was to adjust, in accordance with the precepts of the code of honor, the quarrels of the French courtiers growing out of real or imaginary affronts, and thereby to prevent the passage of challenges, — an institution to which Molière has alluded in "Le Misanthrope." *

The evil of duelling was somewhat mitigated by the habits of formal and ceremonious courtesy, and outward deference to the opinions, feelings, and prejudices of others, which our ancestors derived from the same source, and which materially diminished the chances of personal collision. In general, it will be found that this spirit of courtesy survives to the greatest extent among those nations and classes whose connection with the past is least imperfect.† The American people, who in this respect can hardly be said to have a past, are perhaps the least courteous of civilized nations in their intercourse with

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* In the "Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créquy," Tom. I. ch. 10, occurs the following account of this singular tribunal: "Cette autorité dont l'application n'a lieu que sur le point-d'honneur, dont l'exercice n'appartient qu'aux Maréchaux de France, et qui s'étend sur tout le reste de la noblesse, a son origine dans la souveraine juridiction que le Connétable exerçait autrefois sur les jugemens par champions [wager of battle]. C'est un tribunal d'exception s'il en fût jamais, et pour décliner l'exécution de ses arrêts, il est suffisant d'exciper de sa qualité de roturier quand on veut s'en prévaloir."

† The sociability of the French character has been attributed by some of their historians to the institution of chivalry. See, for instance, Lavallée, Histoire des Français, Tom. I. p. 234 (6ème édit.).

one another, — a peculiarity which, with the example of the Athenian republic before us, cannot, we think, be fairly set down to the account of their democracy alone. It is certain that we appear to have inherited to some degree the practice of duelling, without that urbanity of manners which avoids the occasions for it.

As an offset to this, it will perhaps be claimed that we have found means to preserve something of the gallantry of chivalry without that contempt of the seventh commandment which is found among certain classes in France and other parts of Europe, and for which, we have said, we hold chivalry to be in a considerable degree responsible. In view of the radical changes which are taking place in the social position of woman, it admits of a doubt whether the preservation of the sentiment thus far has been productive of unmixed good. However this may be, it appears not impossible that it will ultimately be destroyed by the very sex who once fostered it. Absorbed in the fresh modes of vindicating their claims furnished by a new state of society, women, under a mistaken impression that the privileges originally conceded to them by knightly gallantry are theirs by right, and not by courtesy, may gradually be led to neglect and despise the gentle bearing and feminine graces which called the sentiment into existence, and which alone can insure its continuance.

There is one aspect of chivalry to which we have alluded but incidentally; we refer to its connection with romantic fiction. In the same manner that a familiarity with the institution is necessary to the student of the old chronicles and romances, a knowledge of the fictitious heroes of chivalry is subservient to a thorough appreciation of the order as it really existed. To the childlike and uncritical spirit of the Middle Age the imaginary paladins of Britain and Gaul assumed all the proportions of historical characters and models for imitation, and the exaggerated sentiments placed in their mouths by the romancers were received as authoritative expositions of the true precepts of chivalry.* The influence of these romances was so considerable, that Mr. Hallam has placed the paucity of them in Great Britain among the causes of the comparatively feeble hold acquired by the institution in that island. Did our limits permit, we would gladly add to the present article a brief analysis of the subjects and characters of the principal romances of chivalry; but the attempt must be postponed, the less reluctantly, that it may appropriately be deferred until, by the completion of Mr. Bulfinch's work, our readers shall be provided with a synopsis of the whole ground over which it would be necessary to travel.

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* Don Quixote, *passim.* Much that was exaggerated and whimsical in actual chivalry was mainly derived from this source.

Art. VI. — *The Life and Remains of Douglas Jerrold.* By his Son, Blanchard Jerrold. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. pp. 450.

Douglas Jerrold has passed away forever from the earth; but he has left behind him such memorials of his wit, genius, and intellectual ability, as the world will not willingly let die. Nor are these his only triumphs. Time and death have their separate, inalienable sovereignties, and exercise with remorseless despotism their conscriptive rights over individuals, and all personal and historic achievements, — often diminishing what seemed great in human character, and enlarging what at first sight, and in the common estimation, was regarded as mean and insignificant; but neither time, death, nor eternity can change that which is essentially true in the soul of man, nor rob it of its moral grandeur and sublimity. For, as Cicero devoutly urges, "Truth is unchanged, and unchangeable; not one thing to-day, and another to-morrow, but the same great, eternal, and immutable thing forever."

In truth, in stern loyalty to his principles and convictions lies the crowning glory of Jerrold. Higher trophy can no man have laid upon his tomb than this; higher legacy can no man leave, and none more sacred and vitalizing. We have had many wits in the world, from and before Rabelais, to Swift and Sheridan; but if we except the Frenchman, and can pardon his continents of mud for the sake of his sincerity, his work as a reformer, and those seams of light and truth which burn and flash amidst the torpid corruption, the rotting sensual imagery of his mind, who among these naked and unnamed worthies can lay claim to the moral title of Jerrold? Swift assuredly can make no such pretensions; for he was at the bottom a man-hater, having the intellect and also the heart of Satan, to whom virtue and morality were an idle dream. Neither can Sheridan — welcome as he was and is to all Champagne circles, and, for his wit and talent, to cultivated men in all time — put in credentials high enough to win this highest of all the noble styles of heraldry. Sydney Smith alone among moderns is worthy to compare with Jerrold, not only in the sudden promptness and keen edge of his retort, but in the fine morality of his humor and sarcasm. Jerrold exceeds him, however, in fancy, in the symbolism of truth, and in those grand attributes of intellect and imagination which render this wit equally a man of genius and of profound practical wisdom. It is true that the jovial and learned divine is also a man of genius, and that he possesses faculties and acquirements which cannot be claimed for Jerrold, — elaborate humor, for example, and scholarship; but, large and liberal as he was in mind and character, and ever ready, like his great compeer, to lend his lance for the succor of the oppressed and the punishment of the oppressor, he was necessarily, from his position and profession, walled round by many obstructions to the free play of his intellect, and lacked, as we think, that keen, instinctive recognition and appreciation of truth in its absolute nature, which are so characteristic of Jerrold, in his graver and professedly artistic writings.

Be this as it may, however, one thing is certain; that the obscure player's son has stamped the impress of his genius upon the literature and character of his age and country, with an authentic and royal seal. Like most men who have achieved permanent fame, and won for themselves a definite *status* in the republic of letters, in science, or in art, he had to struggle through long years of toil, poverty, and neglect, before he could command a platform high enough to compel the public to listen to him, and acknowledge the supremacy of his intellect. But bitter and cruel as oftentimes were his disappointments and wrongs, through the mercenary nature of theatrical lessees, and London publishers, with whom he had continual dealings, we nowhere find the record of any complaint from his brave and manly heart. He battled and struggled onward and upward against them all, in the full consciousness of his own power, and the assurance of final triumph.

Fortunately for him and for us, he had great popular talent, and faculty of popular adaptation, superadded to the solid basement of his mind. Hence, while yet unknown to fame, he was at no time in any imminent danger of vulgar want or downright starvation. He could write magazine articles, articles for the newspapers, and astounding quantities of plays and farces for the theatres. It was during these days of hardship and prolific labor, that Jerrold met his best and dearest friend, Laman Blanchard. They were both earnest and enthusiastic men, and events were transpiring abroad which are now imperishably interwoven with the history of Lord Byron. The poet had resolved upon the liberty of Greece, and had written to the London Greek Committee that he was ready to devote his fortune and his life to the enterprise, asking at the same time practical aid from them, as the hour for action had come. The two friends were discussing these things under a gateway, during a drizzling shower of rain: —

> "One is a dark-haired young man, with most sparkling eyes, a broad white brow, and color as delicate as any girl's. He is taller than his companion, who has light, flowing hair, a marked aquiline nose, fiery eyes thatched with massive eyebrows, — a mouth that most expressively shapes itself in aid of the meanings expressed by the voice. . . . . . The noble was their idol of the hour. . . . . . Why should they not follow him, — join him in Greece? The two friends were roused to frenzy with the idea, and the fair, blue-eyed one, suddenly seeing the ludicrous position of two Greek crusaders sneaking out of a shower of rain, dashed into the wet, saying, 'Come, Sam, if we're going to Greece, we must n't be afraid of a shower of rain.'" — pp. 59, 60.

This homely anecdote in the words of his son and biographer is especially interesting, because it presents us with an outline portrait of Jerrold, then a young man who had not reached his majority, and because that "dashing into the wet" from a sudden perception of the ridiculousness of their position, opens to us at once the secret chambers of his mind and character. In the subsequent unfoldings of the history of these young men it also possesses the highest interest. Jerrold, from first to last, was the same leonine man who dashed heedlessly from the gateway cover into the rain; a man qualified by his courage to lead a Balaklava charge,

"Into the jaws of death,
Into the mouth of hell;"

while poor Blanchard, gentle and unobtrusive, although possessed of the finest mental and moral qualities, had none of that iron resoluteness of will which disposes of difficulties as of straws, and bends the world to its purpose.

Blanchard died, alas! — we will not say how — in the spring of 1845. He had been a successful *littérateur*, had edited "The Courier," "The True Sun," and "The Court Journal," and was sub-editor of "The Examiner," when he went unannounced into the presence of his Maker. The death of his friend was bluntly announced to Jerrold by one who could have had no sympathy with human affections.

> "I remember," says his son, "finding my father in a room, alone, at the 'Punch' office. His face was white as any paper, and his voice had lost all its clear, sharp ring. 'You have heard, I suppose?' he said to me presently. I nodded an assent. But though he twitched his mouth manfully, tried to look out of the window, and had resolved to bear the blow stoically, the effort was too much for him. He sank upon his chair, and, motioning me from the room, wept, as children weep.
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> "At his friend's grave his grief was so completely beyond control *that he was carried from the ground;* and for months afterwards, alone in his study, this sarcastic, 'bitter' writer — this 'cynic,' who saw nothing good nor true in the world — was heard by his frightened wife, *calling aloud, in a voice nearly choked by tears, upon his lost companion to come to him. 'I've called him. No, no; he can't come, my boy,'* he said wildly to a friend who happened to drop in on one of these sad evenings." — p. 82.

The vulgar idea of Jerrold, both in this country and in

England, is, that he was a "bitter cynic," whom no one could approach without being wounded by his sarcasm or transfixed by his wit, — that this cynicism was the normal condition of his mind, and rooted also in his moral nature. How far this popular estimate is just, the reader can judge from the affecting relation contained in the preceding paragraphs. Though wit was in him, and would play upon all occasions, like summer lightning in the atmosphere of his presence, there was not a particle of malice or ill-nature in his heart. Nor did he ever wantonly injure the feelings even of his confessed and open enemies. He was one of the kindest and most affectionate of men. His heart overflowed with compassion for misery and suffering, which he was always ready to relieve, and with a stormy indignation against wrong and wrong-doers, which sometimes manifested itself in such terrible outpourings of fiery scorn, and such withering lava-streams of wit, as to become almost appalling. Thus, an extortionate Jewish money-lender being the subject of conversation, Jerrold said of him: "He may die, Sir, like Judas, but he has no bowels to gush out!"

The truth is, that Jerrold was an earnest and sincere man, having solid foundations within him, which reached far below the brilliant surface of his character. He had learned many dreadful lessons in the hard school of the world, which, happily for him, he wisely digested, so that he suffered no harm by them; and he stored them up as experience not too dearly purchased, because of the strength and wisdom which they brought him. This experience empowered and commissioned him to speak, not as a wit only, but as a moral teacher, when the time had come for the people of England to listen to him. For he was not merely a wit; nothing pained him more than to be so regarded and estimated. The central fires of a great Sinai of passion burned within him, and what are called his "bitter sarcasms" and "scathing utterances," so far from being the splenetic offspring of a sour, angry, and mocking nature, were the genuine expressions of a soul surcharged with the sense of human wrong and misery. These were the intellectual weapons wherewith he fought so long and so bravely the social and moral battle of the people against their rulers and oppressors. And it should be remembered to his honor that this savage Berserker "cynic," without "love or pity in his heart," was always to be found in the front rank on the side of virtue and freedom. All his writings in Punch, in the Illuminated Magazine, in his books, and in his innumerable plays, prove the truth of this beyond doubt or question. Like a knight of the old chivalry, he kept his eye ever upon the broad field of the world, for a just occasion of combat. Let Lord Palmerston, who has been chargeable with so many and such atrocious crimes and treasons in England during the last forty years, or Sir Robert Peel, or Lord John Russell, or any other statesman, commit himself by speech or action, compromise the interests of the people at home, or the liberties of Europe abroad, Jerrold nails him to a shameful cross, and pierces him with wounds, whose gaping mouths no emollient can readily close. Let even so small a man as Sir Peter Laurie send a starving tailor to the treadmill for a month as a rogue and vagabond, for having attempted to commit suicide, and he cannot escape the lash of the avenger. "I shall look after such cases in future," quoth Sir Peter. And Jerrold, under the signature of Q. in Punch, ventures to contrast life as seen by the sleek alderman with life as regarded by the "famine-stricken multitudes of Bolton."

> "Let Comfort," Q. concludes, "paint a portrait of life, and now Penury take the pencil. 'Pooh, pooh!' cry the sage Lauries of the world, looking at the two pictures; 'that scoundrel Penury has drawn an infamous libel. *That* life! with that withered face, sunken eye, and shrivelled lip; and what is worse, with a suicidal scar in its throat! *That* life! The painter Penury is committed for a month as a rogue and vagabond. We shall look very narrowly into these cases.' We agree with the profound Sir Peter Laurie that it is a most wicked, a most foolish act of the poor man, to end his misery by suicide. But we think there is a better remedy for such desperation than the treadmill. The surest way for the rich and powerful of the world to make the poor man more careful of his life is to render it of greater value to him."—pp. 211, 212.

It is curious to observe how the critics become themselves perplexed, while attempting to unravel the character of Jerrold. There is as little agreement about him anywhere, as if he were some incarnate rune or hieroglyph. And yet there is nothing difficult in his case, which, indeed, is one of the simplest in biographical history. Notoriously, he "wore his heart on his sleeve," and any competent person could read his last secret. For he had nothing to hide, and there was no guile nor disguise in him. A great, free, impulsive nature, hating restraints and the bondage of conventional life, he was never so happy as when he had gathered his choice troops of friends around him at his own table. He was a man also of thorough, uncompromising independence, and, although he received daily invitations to the palaces of the aristocracy in London, he very rarely availed himself of the courtesy, looking upon them with feelings almost of suspicion, as if, perhaps, neither he nor they were to be trusted. Lord John Russell gave one of his sons a government appointment, and, although Jerrold was an admirer and supporter of his Lordship and of most of his public measures, he accepted it with compunction, fearing that the time might one day come when he should half unconsciously spare the rod for the sake of this personal benevolence. He had no contempt for the aristocracy, nor did he undervalue the advantages of position and influence which spring from a long background of ancestry and good family connections. He was a radical, it is true, but not in the low Chartist sense. No one ever heard him, even in times of the most stormy political excitement, advocate any measures, save those of a peaceful reform, to be won gradually by the diffusion of intelligence and morality among the people.

Indeed, he can scarcely be called a politician, though he wrote many political articles, some of which made Wellington, who stood firm amidst the flashings of Vittoria and the thunders of Waterloo, tremble in his white waistcoat in the House of Lords. He had his political theories, it is true, but he wrote on politics like a moral censor and a man of letters, not as an editor of the Times newspaper, or a leader in the House of Commons. Nor could he, by any possibility, have been converted into a politician. The drudgery would have repelled and disgusted him, and the bonds of party would have chafed his soul so painfully, that he would have cast them from him in open and defiant rebellion.

Although a hard-working, laborious writer, Jerrold was a fragmentary man, and expressed himself best in fragments. Those short, piquant pieces in Punch, how admirable they are! How he adapts himself to the space he has to occupy, and how well he fills it! Some of his magazine articles,— those contributed to Blackwood,—tales, the incidents and machinery of which we feel, while we read, to be but secondary, and care only for the fine fancies and philosophical speculations, in the midst of which they rather clumsily move; and those in his own magazines appear to us to outweigh in value, as idiomatic and genuine performances, all his printed books, except "The Man Made of Money," and "The Chronicles of Clovernook." "The Story of a Feather," so gentle and tender, so sincere and earnest, which appeared in Punch, is one of his highest achievements, although it is easy to see how rapidly it fell from his pen.

A catalogue of his printed performances, including his plays, magazine articles, pamphlets, Punch contributions, and books, would be a startlingly voluminous affair, and we dare not attempt it in these pages. Nor indeed would it be worth the trouble, so far as the literary merit of many of them is concerned; but it would illustrate better than many sounding sentences could the indomitable energy and industry of the author. Jerrold himself set small value upon his plays, although he naturally enough loved the salt-water smack of "Black-Eyed Susan," the flavor of which so well suited the popular taste, and established him, while yet a very young man, as a solid power in the realm. "Time Works Wonders" is one of his most mature plays; but we doubt if it will survive the present century.

His prose writings are far better than his plays. There are whole poems of great beauty in his "Chronicles of Clovernook,"—a book in which is revealed, we think, more of his real nature than in any other of his works. It sparkles with poetic genius,—contains much profound thinking, imaginative suggestion, and wise practical teaching. The style, too, is more artistic than his usual method, which, while it possesses sufficient originality, is sometimes crooked, distorted, and unmusical.

He hated cant and humbug, and hunted that kind of game straight down to death. He was merciless in all such cases, sparing neither high nor low, rich nor poor, when they were brought within the range of his vision. Perhaps he was the most sarcastic man of his time, and, as was said of Pope, men who feared not God, feared him and trembled.

Jerrold was born in London on the 3d of January, 1803. He was the son of an actor and county manager, and his father, Samuel Jerrold, was long the *lessee* of the Sheerness and South End Theatres. His mother, Samuel Jerrold's second wife, was a Miss Reid of Wirksworth in Derbyshire, a lady very much younger than her husband, and possessed of uncommon abilities. In and around Sheerness young Douglas William Jerrold, as he was christened, spent the greater part of his early youth, under the care and guidance chiefly of his grandmother.

His earliest recollections, therefore, are associated with theatrical representation, although the good dame who had the charge of him took him on frequent excursions to the sea-coast and the surrounding pastoral country. While yet at Wilsby, and before his father had engaged the Sheerness Theatre, he remembered well a visit which he paid to the hills of Cranbrook, how delighted he was, and how sweetly the sheep-bells sounded in those rich and flowery dales. Ever afterward the thought or actual hearing of sheep-bells conjured up for him the vision of those Kentish hills, and the beautiful scenery which lay between them and his home. Sunny landscapes and old green lanes; grasses studded with flowers, and hedges garlanded with wild roses and honeysuckles; — such, we are assured, is the first vivid impression which young Jerrold received from nature.

His father's management at Sheerness proved successful and profitable. The theatre was a wooden building, situate on the High Street, Blue Town, bearing a rent charge of two hundred and fifty dollars per annum. "A formidable foe was on the opposite shore. England looked more than ever to her wooden walls, and had just added ten thousand men to her naval service. The Blue Town was crammed with sailors and their officers,"—who of course patronized Mr. Samuel Jerrold's theatre, and thus strengthened his enterprise. The old sexton of Sheerness, who was Mr. Jerrold's door-keeper for three years, is still alive, and remembers that "on the night when the Russian admiral was in port, and gave a 'bespeak,' there was nearly two hundred and fifteen dollars in the house"! Lord Cochrane also frequently visited the theatre, when he was at Sheerness in the Pallas, the old man said, and his Lordship always insisted upon paying double. Young Douglas, too, remembered the naval hero, and looked with admiration and awe upon him as on one scarcely mortal. And strangely enough it happened, long afterward, that the "little white-haired boy who ran about the theatre," paying such reverence to the great lord, had occasion, when he also had won for himself the right of being reverenced, to do his Lordship so high a service as to call from him the following generous acknowledgment: —

"8 Chesterfield Street, 10th May, 1847.

"SIR: —

"Your generous and very powerful advocacy of my claim to the investigation of my case has contributed to promote that act of justice, and produced a decision of the Cabinet Council, after due deliberation, to recommend to her Majesty my immediate restoration to the Order of the Bath, in which recommendation her Majesty has been graciously pleased to acquiesce.

"I would personally have waited on you, confidentially to communicate this (not yet promulgated) decree; but as there is so little chance of finding you, and I am pressingly occupied, I shall postpone that pleasure and duty.

"I am, Sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

"DUNDONALD.

"DOUGLAS JERROLD, Esq."

In the mean while, however, young Douglas has many notable things to do in the world; and at present he is a mere child, whose future is blanketed by the dark. He appears on the stage when the occasion demands the presence of so small an infant, and more than once Edmund Kean, the best tragic interpreter of Shakespeare who has appeared in theatrical history, has borne him to the foot-lights in the play of Rolla. Kean himself was then unknown and unappreciated, but he also has left his mark. At six years of age Douglas was taught to read and write, and the first books which attracted him, when he was sufficiently master of the language to understand them, were the "Death of Abel" and "Roderick Random." His good grandmother was afraid that he would overwork his brain by excessive devotion to these books, and such other literature as fell in his way; but nothing could check his greed for knowledge, except for a short interval, when a proposed walk on the beach would tempt him to give up the enchantment of reading. He loved the sea, and the great ships, — the war ships, called the British fleet, then lying at anchor off the town. He loved, too, the stories which his grandmother told him of Prince William, the royal sailor, of Nelson, and Collingwood, and there gradually and naturally arose within him a strong desire to become a sailor.

> "It is certain," says his biographer, "that the sea, and the glories of the sea, first evoked a passionate longing in his heart; that, sitting prisoned on summer evenings in his bedroom, his blue eyes wandered from the well-thumbed 'Death of Abel' to search over the water; and that great visions of Nelsons afloat under victorious bunting, of flying Frenchmen, and gallant boarding-parties, of prizes in tow, and the grateful cheers from English shores, glowed in his heart. That ardent temper, that white-hot energy, which pulsed through him in after life, and made his utterances all vehement, whether right or wrong, showed in the boy whose daily walks were in the midst of gallant sailors scarred by war, come home to be glorified by their countrymen." — pp. 17, 18.

Accordingly, in 1813, when young Douglas was eleven years of age, and his sea-fever was at its height, he was sent as midshipman on board the guard-ship Namur, then lying at the Nore, under the command of Captain Austen. Here for a time things went on pleasantly enough. The captain was kind to him, and allowed him to keep pigeons, and to read Buffon's Natural History in the cabin. On the whole, however, the few months which he seems to have spent here must have been very monotonous. At length, on the 24th of April, 1815, he was transferred to his Majesty's brig Ernest, with prospect of immediate actual sea-service. It was on the eve of Waterloo, and Napoleon's star was already flickering, soon to sink forever. The Ernest was to convoy transports carrying troops and military stores to Ostend, — a commission which she faithfully executed, — and then go to sea again on a cruise. Bad weather came on, and the brig, being now off Cuxhaven, put into the harbor and anchored there. The captain went on shore and took Douglas with him, leaving him in charge of the boat. Two of the men presently asked leave of absence for a short time, to purchase fruit. The unsuspecting midshipman readily granted it, and only once afterward did he see either of them again. This once was many years later, in London, when Jerrold, struck with the face of a baker who was looking in at a shop-window, paused to examine it. He recognized the man at once. He was one of the deserters; and Jerrold, taking him by the shoulder and looking into his pasty eyes, said to him, with a most comical expression: "I say, my friend, don't you think you 've been rather a long time about that fruit?"

The last duty performed by the Ernest, while Douglas was in service, was conveying some of the soldiers who were wounded at Waterloo from the Downs to Sheerness; for Napoleon's star had now set, and Europe was rejoicing in the anticipation of a permanent peace. On the 21st of October, 1815, Douglas William Jerrold, "volunteer of the first class," recovered his freedom, and went on shore to fight the great battle of life.

Unhappily, misfortunes had in the mean while beset his parents; and when he returned home, if he did not find absolute want waiting to receive him on the hearthstone, he found a most pitiable poverty. His father, too, was old, and incapable of performing the duties of his profession, while his mother, still in the prime of life, had no occupation. Something, therefore, was to be done; and Jerrold, now in his fourteenth year, resolved to do something. He would become a printer, and so earn his own living at all events, in the end. Accordingly he was apprenticed to Mr. Sidney, in the Strand; not without hope, nay, assurance, that he should one day rise from the printer's case to the author's chair.

We know of few things more touching and beautiful than his biographer's account of the quiet and simple household festivity which accompanied his first earnings. The poor, weak old father, sitting there alone in the chimney-corner, his wife and daughter absent on professional duties, shall, this day at least, have an ample dinner, and, better still, the presence of a joyous and affectionate son to cheer him. So young Douglas, after exhibiting his Golden Fleece with honest satisfaction to his father, sallies forth to the butcher's to buy beef wherewithal to make a pie, returning with a volume of Sir Walter Scott in his pocket to read to his father while the pie is baking. "Yes, sir," he would say emphatically, relating this anecdote long afterward to his friends; "I earned the pie; I made the pie; I took it to the bake-house; I fetched it home; and my father said, 'Really, the boy made the crust remarkably well.'"

Political feeling at this time was of the fiercest and stormiest character. The monarch and the court were alike bankrupt both in purse and principle, reckless of their own conduct, careless of the public morality, heedless of the sufferings of the people. The Luddite insurrection had already shown its sorrowful doings in the manufacturing districts, broken costly machinery, demolished mills, and added murder to the dreadful list of their ignorant and misguided proceedings. Reform was the universal cry of the liberal party, — freedom of speech, free institutions, fuller representation, and equal laws for all. Lord Sidmouth was the champion of Toryism against this cry, against the people, against the journalists. Hunt, Cobbett, and Hone fought manfully for the other party, and with what issues we now partly know, from the general course of English history. Young Jerrold, still at his case, is not unmindful of those seething, antagonistic elements; nay, bravely throws himself on the liberal side. This bias never left him during his life. His sympathies were always with the people, never with their oppressors.

He had long felt a desire to compose an original work; and once, when Mr. Wilkinson, one of his father's old subordinates, came to their home, he told him he would "write a piece" for him. And he kept his word; for in his fifteenth year he composed his first play, which he called "The Duellists," and sent it to the English Opera House, where it lay two years, and was finally, through the active interference and kindness of Mr. Wilkinson, brought out with "rapturous applause," under the more attractive title of "More Frightened than Hurt." It was subsequently translated into French, and, singularly enough, *retranslated* into English, and played at Madam Vestris's Olympic Theatre, under the name of "Fighting by Proxy," the manager thinking he had got a good thing from the French.

Edmund Kean was now playing at Drury Lane, with the ear of the capital at his command, and with wealth flowing in upon him like a suddenly-loosened sea. He did not forget the poor Sheerness manager nor his son, and he gave Douglas orders to the theatre, which must have been of great value to him at this time. Mr. James Russell, also, the friend of Sir Walter Scott, and a fine scholar and critic, had discernment enough to see of what rare material this printer's boy was made, and kindness enough to encourage him to further efforts. "Russell," he said, in after life, "was the only man, when I was a poor boy, who gave me hope;" — and God bless him, we say, for throwing this sunbeam over the poor boy's dark way! Douglas was a great reader at this time, especially of Shakespeare, whom he reverently studied, and every line of whose plays he knew by heart, so that it was his pride to boast that no one could repeat a line from the great dramatist which he could not couple with the next following.

When he was sixteen years old his master became a bankrupt, and he was transferred to the printing-office of Mr. Bigg, of Lombard Street, who was both editor and proprietor of "The Sunday Monitor," where his first critical article — it was on *Der Freischütz* — appeared. He dropped it anonymously into the editor's letter-box, and had the pleasure of setting it up himself the next day, with a notice to the correspondent, inviting further contributions.

From the date of the success of his first play he resolved to devote himself to literature as a profession as soon as his engagements would permit. After twelve hours' hard work in the printing-office, he retired at night to his chamber, and produced magazine articles and dramas in abundance; and his subsequent life, for some years, was a dreadful struggle with sordid managers, who grew rich by his performances, and did not pay him the "wages of a carpenter." In 1824 he married

Miss Mary Swann, daughter of Thomas Swann, Esq., of the ancient town of Wetherby, Yorkshire. His poor old father was dead, and he devoted himself to his family until his marriage, rendering them long afterward what help he could. It was not until the year 1829 that Fortune began to look with sunny eyes upon the struggling dramatist. He was now engaged by Mr. Elliston, of the Surrey Theatre, as dramatic writer to the establishment, at a salary of twenty-five dollars per week; and, as the first instalment of his work, he handed over to the manager his nautical drama of "Black-Eyed Susan; or, All in the Downs."

The immense success of this piece, which, though gradual, was surely and solidly accumulating day by day, gave Jerrold a popularity which no dramatist then living had ever obtained. Mr. T. P. Cooke personated the character of William. As "The Athenæum" said, —

> "Cooke became a personage in society, as Garrick had been in the days of Goodman's Fields. Covent Garden borrowed the play, and engaged the actor for an afterpiece. A hackney cab carried the triumphant William, in his blue jacket and white trousers, from the Obelisk to Bow Street; and Mayfair maidens wept over the stirring situations, and laughed over the searching dialogue, which had moved, an hour before, the tears and merriment of the Borough. On the three-hundredth night of representation the walls of the theatre were illuminated, and vast multitudes filled the thoroughfares. When subsequently reproduced at Drury Lane, it kept off ruin for a time even from that magnificent misfortune. Actors and managers throughout the country reaped a golden harvest. Testimonials were got up for Elliston and for Cooke on the glory of its success; but Jerrold's share of the gain was slight, — about seventy pounds of the many thousands which it realized for the management." — p. 91.

This latter fact did not dishearten Jerrold. He was a brave, hopeful man, who would not be killed by the sordid wretches with whom he dealt. Nor did he sit down and rest upon his honors, but worked harder than ever, producing year after year a series of successful plays, unprecedented in the records of the drama. In 1836 he became joint manager of the Strand Theatre with his brother-in-law, Mr. W. J. Hammond, but with no great success. Nor was his attempt to impersonate his own characters at this theatre very flattering to his pride as the creator of them. Not that he was without histrionic ability; for his amateur performances were in many respects creditable, and in some instances appreciative and admirable. But acting was not his forte; he could write dramas, but he could not play them.

From this time to the year 1841, when he became connected with Punch, he wrote not only plays, but whole volumes of fugitive pieces, which appeared for the most part in obscure journals. "The Monthly Magazine" was the chief vehicle through which he communicated with the public. But when Henry Mayhew, Mark Lemon, Henry Grattan, and others, started "Punch, or the London Charivari," and wrote to Jerrold at Boulogne to join them, a field was opened to him, the value and importance of which he certainly could not then estimate, but which has subsequently proved to be second to that of no extant literary enterprise. It was not, however, until the periodical became the property of Messrs. Bradbury and Evans, that it was invested with the commercial facilities and attributes of success, or that it became laden with the intellectual wealth of its best contributors. Then, indeed, it took that high ground which it has since held against all competitors, and on which it stands alone in England, the oracle of wisdom and of wit.

Jerrold set afloat many literary argosies during his long connection with Punch, among which were the "Shilling Magazine," "The Illuminated Magazine," and "Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper." None of these periodicals, however, were permanently successful. The "Shilling Magazine" gave the most promise; but we suspect that it was mainly indebted for the large sale of its early numbers to the Radical reputation of the editor, and to his fine tale of "St. Giles and St. James's."

In 1852 he became editor of "Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper," at a salary of five thousand dollars a year. The paper rose rapidly under his vigorous editorship, counting its weekly increase by thousands, until at last, in that fatal May of 1857, he wrote for 182,000 subscribers.

Jerrold was a man who avoided all public display, as much from principle as from natural temperament. The only occasions when he appeared upon the platform as a speaker were the Conversazione of the Polytechnic Institution in Birmingham, the Athenæum Soirée in Manchester, the formation of the Whittington Club in London, and the presentation of a copy of Shakespeare to Kossuth at the London Tavern. He made successful speeches at all these places, except at Birmingham, where he was so overpowered by nervousness that he was unable to utter more than a few broken sentences. Nature had not designed him for an orator. He had neither the presence, the voice, nor the nerve which are so necessary to rhetorical success. Nor had he the faculty of extemporaneous speech, although he possessed whole mines of material for speech. It is clear from the structure of the speeches already alluded to, which are preserved by his son in the Memoirs, that he had carefully prepared them beforehand. They are like, and yet unlike, his usual style of writing. We see Jerrold in them all, in a sort of familiar undress, which, however, does not sit well upon him, nor become him. His speeches cost him great effort, both in their composition and delivery.

And now, having given an outline of Jerrold's public career as an author, let us visit him at his own home, that we may see and know what manner of man he was in domestic life. The following picture, furnished by his son, from whose charming biography we have taken the main facts woven into this notice, will introduce him to us at once: —

> "It is a bright morning, about eight o'clock, at West Lodge, Putney Lower Common. The windows at the side of the old house, buried in trees, afford glimpses of a broad common, tufted with purple heather and yellow gorse. Gypsies are encamped where the blue smoke curls amid the elms. A window-sash is shot sharply up. A clear, small voice is heard singing within. And now a long roulade, whistled softly, floats out. A little spare figure, with a stoop, habited in a short shooting-jacket, the throat quite open, without collar or kerchief, and crowned with a straw hat, pushes through the gate of the cottage, and goes with short, quick steps, assisted by a stout stick, over the common. A little black and tan terrier follows, and rolls over the grass at intervals, as a response to a cheery word from its master. The Gypsy encamp-

ment is reached. The Gypsies know their friend, and a chat and a laugh ensue. Then a deep gulp of the sweet morning air, a dozen branches pulled to the nose here and there in the garden, the children kissed, and breakfast, and the morning papers.

"The breakfast is a jug of cold new milk, some toast, bacon, water-cresses. Perhaps a few strawberries have been found in the garden. A long examination of the papers, — here and there a bit of news energetically read aloud, then cut, and put between clippers. Then silently, suddenly into the study.

"This study is a very snug room. All about it are books. Crowning the shelves are Milton and Shakespeare. A bit of Shakespeare's mulberry-tree lies upon the mantel-piece. Above the sofa are 'The Rent Day,' and 'Distraining for Rent,' Wilkie's two pictures, in the corner of which is Wilkie's kind inscription to the author of the drama called *The Rent Day*. Under the two prints laughs Sir Joshua's sly Puck, perched upon a pulpy mushroom. Turner's 'Heidelberg' is here too, and the engraver thereof will drop in presently — he lives close at hand — to see his friend Douglas Jerrold. Ariadne and Dorothea decorate the chimney-piece. The furniture is simple, solid oak. The desk has not a speck upon it. The marble shell upon which the ink-stand rests has no litter in it. Various notes lie in a row, between clips, on the table. The paper basket stands near the arm-chair, prepared for answered letters and rejected contributions. The little dog follows his master into his study, and lies at his feet.

"Work begins. If it be a comedy, the author will now and then walk rapidly up and down the room, talking wildly to himself; if it be *Punch* copy, you shall hear him laugh presently as he hits upon a droll bit. Suddenly the pen will be put down, and through a little conservatory, without seeing anybody, the author will pass out into the garden, where he will talk to the gardener, or watch, chuckling the while, the careful steps of the little terrier amid the gooseberry-bushes; or pluck a hawthorn leaf, and go nibbling it, and thinking, down the side-walks.

"In again, and vehemently to work. The thought has come; and, in letters smaller than the type in which they shall presently be set, it is unrolled along the little blue slips of paper. A simple crust of bread and a glass of wine are brought in by a dear female hand; but no word is spoken, and the hand and dear heart disappear. The work goes rapidly forward, and halts at last suddenly. The pen is dashed aside; a few letters, seldom more than three lines in each, are written, and despatched to the post; and then again into the garden." — pp. 273 – 275.

Friends drop in, and join Jerrold in his tent on the lawn. They must stay to dinner of course; for who ever went away empty from his hospitable gates? Simple, hearty, big-boy dinners they were too, sometimes; full of fun, and wit, and the roar of a mighty mirth, — all the merrier because sober guests were present, so that the rule seemed to be, the more intellect, the more noise and jollity. On one occasion Mr. Charles Dickens, Mr. Maclise, Mr. Macready, and Mr. John Forster, after a banquet in the tent, did outrageously perpetrate a practical game of leap-frog, knocking one another heels over head, stumbling, falling, and kicking the air as they lay on the greensward in all the agonies of delightful laughter. Foremost among them all was the small, slight, and active figure of Douglas Jerrold, his hair blowing wildly over his face, which was flushed with animation, and his blue eyes, like Carpathian violets, flashing joyously under the shaggy eyebrows. When there was dancing, although he had not educated legs, he would insist upon a jig, or a whirl, almost tiring his lady partner to death with his grotesque awkwardness, till finally, "convulsed with laughter," he would lead her to her seat.

> "He was the most helpless among men. He never brushed his hat; never opened a drawer to find a collar; never knew where he had put his stick. Everything must be to his hand. His toilet was performed usually with his back to the glass. It mattered not to him that his kerchief was awry. 'Plain linen and country washing,' he used to cite as containing all a man need care for in the matter of dress. . . . . His evenings at home, when not devoted to writing (and in the later years of his life he seldom wrote after dinner), were spent usually alone in his study, with some favorite author." — pp. 277, 278.

He had many true, good friends; but he loved Dickens, after poor Blanchard, best of all. Indeed, the friendship of Jerrold and Dickens, extending through the palmiest years of their lives, so full of mutual affections, good offices, and intellectual encouragements, is one of the most beautiful episodes in the recent history of letters.

Jerrold was generous to a fault, and his check-book was always open to the wants of others. He was often swindled;

but he went on, hoping for better fortune the next time, and believing to the last that human nature was great and good.

> "The last time," says his son, "that he signed his check-book, was to oblige a friend; the last letter he received was one in which the repayment of a loan was deferred. Now he heard of a friend who had lost a wife, and was in difficulties. Instantly a check was drawn, and a tender letter was written." — pp. 292, 293.

Upon the whole, we find that this "heartless cynic" was not altogether heartless; but, on the contrary, that he was a man to be loved and reverenced. On his death-bed he was deeply affected by the golden glory of the sunset. It was symbolical of his own sun, now lingering tremulously on the edge of life's horizon. "The sun is setting," he said, sorrowfully gazing at it. And then his great heart — all the flood-gates of its love broken loose — must give death-bed sureties of his affection. "Tell the dear boys," he said, referring to his Punch associates, "that if I've ever wounded any of them, I've always loved them." "You are friends with H——?" "Yes, yes! God bless him!" He was patient and resigned. "How do you feel?" asked the doctor. "As one who is waiting, and waited for." He died on the 8th of June, 1857, with his wife and children weeping around him, his hands in the clasped palms of his two sons, and his last words were, "This is as it should be."

Friends came and knelt reverently and lovingly by his bedside, kissed his poor, pale hands, and, with sobs of agony, cried aloud, "Good-by, dear Douglas!" But he heard them not. Forever and forever the dark curtain had fallen over the drama of his life; and on the 15th of June, 1857, the cold mortality of this dear, great-hearted, high-souled Douglas was consigned to its last resting-place in Norwood, not far from the grave of his well-beloved Laman Blanchard.

Art. VII. — *Pictures of Nuremberg, and Rambles in the Hills and Valleys of Franconia.* By H. J. Whitling. New Edition. London: Richard Bentley. 1856. 12mo. pp. 610.

If ever a capital subject was spoiled in the handling, it is in this volume of Mr. Whitling. A more feeble, diffuse, superficial, loosely-jointed, and unsatisfactory production it has rarely been our fortune to meet. Never was there better opportunity to make an original book, and never was opportunity more completely abused. The bulk of these six hundred pages is out of all proportion to the material; and of this material, one third at least is twaddling and tiresome talk on irrelevant topics. We are treated to solemn platitudes about home, happiness, and the English Church, including the author's reminiscences of his early days. One chapter is wholly devoted to the subject of "English Protestantism," and of this we may say that the fantastic heading is literally true. The chapter does "end as it begins," does "promise" what is not fulfilled, and does contain "certain digressions," which are not only "unlucky," but preposterous in the extreme. Mr. Whitling thinks it a great mistake that the English Church was not established in America, "in the fulness of power and authority that it possesses in our own" England. He has no doubt that the American Revolution was caused by this religious neglect and mistake, and he is happy to state that the English Church has "saved the Canadas to the British Crown." He even regards the English Church as the salvation of Ireland.

The descriptions of the book are as imperfect as its philosophizing is impertinent. The author has neither the patience to see anything thoroughly, nor the skill to tell well what he has seen. His introductions waste the strength of his chapters, and he says very little of what he announces that he is going to say. He is exhausted by spasmodic efforts to be original. Where we should expect the most, we find the least; and the things in Nuremberg on which he has most copiously descanted, — such as jackdaws and evening parties, — are precisely the things which are not peculiar to Nuremberg. The few pages in Murray's Handbook give a far better idea of the city than this bulky treatise.

Mr. Whitling's book has one unquestionable advantage, which he does not omit to urge. It is a monograph. No other English work has made a special theme of the Burgher City. While the other capitals of Germany — Cologne, Munich, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, Frankfort, and minor cities — have been fully observed and described, Nuremberg has been strangely passed by. Three fourths of the works of tourists in Europe do not mention it at all; and in the notices of the remaining fourth it is dismissed with mere hasty exclamations of surprise at such an odd relic of mediæval time. English travellers do not "discourse" about it; they only "look and pass." In the comprehensive summary of Poole's Index, we have not been able to find that Nuremberg has been the subject of any periodical article, long or short, grave or gay, historic or artistic, in England or America. Longfellow's ballad has really told more about it to the reading public than any book or sketch. The twenty-six stanzas of that exquisite poem contain its most important history and its most characteristic peculiarities.

Germany has been more just to the home of mediæval industry and of Albert Dürer. Forty-six years ago John Ferdinand Roth published a volume of four hundred pages, in three parts, which gave a description of Nuremberg as it then was, with such an exhaustive thoroughness and such a scientific exactness as belong only to a German work. Nothing was left unsaid that could be said. Meyer's Conversations-Lexicon has with equal fulness brought information down to a later period, and makes use of some facts discovered since the publication of Roth's volume. The article in the Lexicon of Brockhaus, though short, is good, and several geographical works, in French and German, have treated of Nuremberg with ability. Yet even in these tongues, it remains true that no city of so much importance has received so little attention.

Mr. Whitling is painfully sensible of this neglect. To remove from England the shame of omitting to celebrate that Continental town, which is the most thoroughly English in its spirit and history, — Birmingham and York and Chester in one, — he has given us this record of a year's residence. Nine excellent reasons are urged in the Preface why such a book is timely; and in spite of the publication, these reasons are still in force. Their suggestion we shall follow in the succeeding pages. We propose to mention some of the things most remarkable in the position, influence, and history of this singular town, as Mr. Whitling calls it, "the centre of German commerce, the nursery of German poetry, the cradle of German art, and the home of German freedom."

We share Mr. Whitling's amazement that any one, with a map of Europe in his hand, should fail to pass through Nuremberg in making the tour of the Continent. It is in the very centre of the region which travellers explore. It is equidistant from the Mediterranean and the North Seas, from the Baltic and the Adriatic. The most direct route from Vienna to London, from Venice to Hamburg, from Berlin to Milan, will pass through it. It lies on what would seem to be the track of travel from every quarter. It is on the water-shed of Central Europe; and only a few miles from its walls are streams which feed the Danube and the Elbe, while a tributary of the Rhine runs through the city. This central position gave to Nuremberg great advantage in the days when foreign commerce was unknown, and when the intercourse of nations was over the land rather than over the sea. Here was the halting-place of the caravans. Here was the mart where the East and the West, the North and the South, the Slave and the Celt, the Dane and the Italian, met half-way, exchanged their goods, and left their money. For many centuries, by its very situation, Nuremberg was able to dictate the traffic of Europe. Its merchants were princes beyond those of any other city. No other capital had a position comparable to this for securing a monopoly in the distribution of merchandise, and the industry of the civilized world was brought to its focus within this castellated enclosure. It was an unfortunate day for Nuremberg when Vasco de Gama found a new ocean-way to India, and emancipated the border nations from the tribute which they had been compelled to pay. Then this fine position lost its former advantage, the seaports supplanted the inland city, and Nuremberg became the centre only of a small local traffic, instead of the wide international barter which it had controlled. Even this local traffic was farther diminished by the introduction of railways, and it has been the bitter complaint of the Nuremberg shopkeepers, that the trains carry trade *by* them instead of *to* them; that their respectable city, where the roads of Europe once converged, is now only a watering-place for Bavarian locomotives; and that Ezekiel's prophecy of Tyre is fulfilled for them, of walls shaking at the noise of chariots, of merchandise become a prey, and of riches a spoil.

This loss of economical advantage cannot, however, destroy the beauty of Nuremberg's position. If it lack the romantic grace of the Italian and Tyrolese cities, it has a grace of its own, hardly less attractive. It breaks the monotony of that great Bavarian plain by a grouping of towers all the more picturesque that the surrounding scenery is so quiet. Not every visitor can separate the hills on which the city is built, or discover that they are precisely *twelve*, — the patriarchal and apostolic number, — the proper number for a city which Christians and Jews have built, and which has no Pagan history. Picturesque as it is when you look upon it from the outside, it is still more so when you are in the streets. No walled city has so many towers. As the story runs that the churches in Rome correspond with the days of the calendar year, so the authentic tale of the towers in the outer wall at Nuremberg gives exactly three hundred and sixty-five, a fact which popular superstition has not neglected. Some of these towers are so masked by the walls as to be invisible to ordinary inspection, which is probably the reason why Mr. Whitling sees only one hundred and ten remaining. These, however, are enough to give it the appearance of a gigantic fortress; and in the outline and general aspect of the exterior, it has a striking resemblance to modern Jerusalem. The stations of the Via Dolorosa, which the pious Martin Ketsel set up on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy City, had a fitness of which he was probably unconscious, suggesting a site for Calvary more probable than the legendary site; and his own house, still standing near the northwest angle of the city wall, recalls by its name (Pilatushaus) the Judgment Hall of the Saviour.

If there are no stones in the wall at Nuremberg as huge as those which remain from the walls of Solomon and Herod, the architecture of both wall and towers is more elegant than the ugliness which the Saracens have imposed upon the foundations of the city of David. The moat, spanned by its drawbridge, is still wide and deep; the entrance is beneath an archway; each corner has its stately gate; and the Spittler Thor, with its quaint surroundings, seems a restoration of the Tower of Hippicus and the Jaffa Gate on the side of Zion. The area which the walls of Nuremberg enclose, about three miles and a half in circumference, is nearly a third larger than that within the walls of Jerusalem.

The immediate surroundings of Nuremberg are not desolate, like those of Mount Zion. The forest has yielded place to human encroachments, and little villages, with their odd old castles, lend to the landscape an air of life and comfort. There are gardens which better deserve the name than the King's Garden in the valley of Jehosaphat; and the "Gottesacker" of St. John, where the history of centuries is written on three thousand monuments, is a more cheerful graveyard than the valley of Gihon, with its shapeless sepulchral piles. Nuremberg is an old city, and has survived its renown; but it has nothing gloomy or forbidding in its aspect. It has, externally, the air of a realized prosperity, of a place where the people have enough to live upon from the accumulation of the past, and can afford to lose modern luxuries in their surplus of heritage, — such an air as have the old towns on the New England coast, from which commerce may have departed, but in which character, respectability, and contentment remain.

This appearance of comfort is confirmed by the interior aspect of the city. Everything here looks old and venerable; yet it is age in excellent preservation, with no sign of decrepitude. The houses are not black with accumulated smoke and dust, like those of Edinburgh, nor do they lean and totter like those of Amsterdam. If the gables, and turrets, and curious mouldings, show the wear of time, the neat doorways, fresh colors, and massiveness of structure give an idea of a wear which has not wasted. The houses stand in solid masses; yet they are not huddled together, as in the old French towns, nor is their individuality lost, as in English towns, by long uniform lines. Every house has its independent character, its own private shape and ornament, while their close union gives to all strength and dignity. Many of the streets are narrow enough to satisfy the extreme of antiquarian fanaticism; others are wide enough for the French Emperor's idea of beauty; and together, they have intricacies enough for delightful perplexity. You may lose yourself for half an hour, but you soon come out upon a broad square, guarded by a stately church, where you can again take bearings and discover your place. The impression of the streets of Nuremberg is that of cheerful obscurity, of orderly disorder, and of youthful age. The visitor does not see the ruin of an ancient town, on which he may sentimentally meditate, but is rather himself carried back to live in a new town of the Middle Age, to see the life which he has read of, not merely to explore in its decaying relics. "Ichabod" may be an inscription for the ruined castle, but is not fit for the palaces or the warehouses. It is rather glory arrested than glory departed, — a beauty which stays as it was, not a beauty which is fading away.

The river, which divides the city into two nearly equal portions, is rather a useful than a mighty stream. It increases, nevertheless, the picturesqueness of the interior outline, and furnishes pleasant traditions of danger and heroism to the store of local tales; — how the floods have risen by night and surprised incautious sleepers who have ventured to dwell so close to the river, and how the drowning have been rescued. Unlike the Seine, however, the Pegnitz has no fame of suicides, and its garniture of bath-houses has not that dreadful ornament of a Morgue. Life is so pleasant at Nuremberg that no one wants to leave it before the time, and, except for occasional deaths by accident, the coroner's office is almost a sinecure. Indeed, it is the boast of the inhabitants, that in their city more than in any other in Europe men can live out their natural lives. The cholera goes round Nuremberg, but will not enter. Consumption has no chance in that clear, fresh air, and this city of the twelve hills is to Germany what Northampton is said to be to Massachusetts. The moral influences are as favorable to good spirits and temper, as the influences of climate are to good appetite and digestion. The medical profession in Nuremberg has plenty of leisure. Excitements are so few and mild, means of cleanliness so abundant, (for there are fountains in every square, aqueducts that are unfailing, and a river which is not only the "paradise of ducks," but of bathers innumerable,) and the intellectual and æsthetic resources of the people so copious, that sickness in such a city is antecedently improbable.

Though the river divides the city into rival halves, it is not a barrier to intercourse or a sign of hostility. It is spanned from east to west by numerous bridges, and the islands are common ground. As you stand on the largest and most central of these bridges, — the Rialto of Nuremberg, and a close copy of the Rialto of Venice, — you see, not only in the style of the overhanging buildings, but in the fragments which float on the surface of the water and make more turbid its never transparent flow, the sign of Nuremberg's present wealth and past enterprise. "The cunning hand," which, according to the distich, "goes through every land," is the boast of this Burgher City. Industry and invention, not deeds of blood, are the sources of its thrift and nobility. Skilled labor, so far from being disgraceful, is here the patent of honor. From the very first, it has been the distinction of this city to anticipate the wants of civilization, and to supply those luxuries which, once used, become needs of common life. Augsburg may furnish the pomp, and Ulm the money, but Nuremberg — so runs the couplet — furnishes the "*wit*" for the world. The catalogue of the various crafts would be a long one; nor is it easy to assign their respective grades of honor. One family can claim that its ancestor set the first paper-mill in Germany on the banks of the Pegnitz, fifty years before Faust and Guttenberg completed their invention. Another can derive its pedigree from Erasmus Ebner, who finished the work of Tubalcain, and gave to the world a better brass than the coin of the Romans. If Nuremberg is not entitled to the credit of inventing pasteboard cards, it certainly could improve upon that Oriental gift to Europe, and the gambling Counts of Germany could depend on the burghers of this moral city to supply them with a better article than Kaiser Rudolph used when he sanctioned the Indian game as a lawful amusement. There is a prejudice still in Germany in favor of Nuremberg woollen cloths, — a prejudice which has lasted for four centuries. Considerable fortunes have been made in the manufacture of cheap lead-pencils. There is in fact hardly any branch of work in metal, wood, wool, or rags, which has not been pursued with success in this industrious city. The discovered sonnet of Gaspar Visconti has taken from Peter Hele, that "deserving youth" of Nuremberg, the credit, which he so long retained, of being the inventor of the watch, and transferred it to a young Florentine, Lorenzo a Vulparia; but the fame of the "Nuremberg eggs," the small round clocks, which could go without weight or striking, and be carried in the bosom, has not been eclipsed even by the nicer mechanism of Geneva. If Rudolph, the inventor of wire-pulling in 1360, is no longer to be regarded as a real personage, it is no less certain that this very necessary branch of industry owes its perfection to Nuremberg artisans, and that the patent which successive Emperors continued to the family of Frederic Held earned for that race a more substantial and merited fortune than is usually secured by the wire-pulling with which we are familiar. And nowhere has clay in the hands of the potter taken more beautiful finish, and more graceful shape, than in the vases and pitchers which illustrate the skill of Nuremberg craftsmen in the art which Hirschvögel brought back from Italy to his native city.

Undoubtedly the Nurembergers claim many inventions which do not of right belong to them, such as the process of casting cannon, and the invention of gun-locks. But, making abatement for their extravagance of claim, enough remains to justify their unrivalled eminence in works of practical art and skill. The ornaments of the churches are proof that Nuremberg was once something more than a toy-shop, which is its stigma to-day. The windows of the church of St. Lawrence, painted four centuries ago, testify, by their extraordinary freshness of color and delicacy of shading, to the skill of the workmen, not less than by their armorial bearings to the pride of the donors. This art of working in and upon glass has been carried to great perfection in Nuremberg.

When the mediæval art seemed to be lost, it was a citizen of this city, Frank, that revived it; and, at the present day, the factory of glass coloring and casting is one of the curiosities there. If the Jews of the city get their living by exporting lacquered mirrors on which the film of metal is as thin as the glass is coarse and brittle, there are those still who can show how to fix the forms of saints and prophets on this transparent substance, and to imitate the works of the old masters. The "blue" of Nuremberg is as celebrated as the "purple" of Tyre.

The curiosities in wood and stone in which Nuremberg abounds, are an equal tribute to the skill of its workers. The Protestant citizens have small regard for good St. Sebald, and very moderate faith in his miracles. They never solicit his intercession. But they have a profound sense of the ingenuity and labor expended in the construction of his tomb, and point out with pride the delicacy of Vischer's carving in marble, though they have no sympathy with his pious zeal. The consecrated wafer has been rejected from the shrine of St. Lawrence, and most who frequent his cathedral have no knowledge of that form of the Lord's incarnation; yet the wonderful *pix* of Adam Krafft — that stately flower of stone blossoming with all the forms of the Saviour's Passion — is kept with religious care, though it holds no longer the sacred emblem. The absence here of an iconoclasm which has destroyed the ornaments of the churches in Holland and England, is due quite as much to this pride of artisanship as to any reverence for symbols. Every one who visits Nuremberg must be surprised to find that the most zealous Protestantism coexists with the preservation of all the old Catholic signs, — crosses on the altars, carvings on the walls, heads of saints, pictures of false miracles; — and not only that these signs have been preserved in the churches, but that they are repaired as they decay, and that new ones, of a similar kind, have been added. Even the pictures which had been placed in the gallery of the Castle have been, within a few years, sent back to the altars from which they were taken. It is a curious fact, that, while Catholic sovereigns in Catholic cities have spoiled the churches of works of art to fill their private galleries, the burghers of an ultra Protestant city have reversed that process, and restored to the churches the pictures they had lost.

The most remarkable instance of this kind is in the restoration of the pendent sculpture of Veit Stoss, which had for three centuries hung from the roof of the choir of St. Lawrence, directly over the high altar. The device on this carving represented, in what was little better than grotesque blasphemy, the form of God the Father, the Angel saluting the Mother of God, and her seven Joys. In the year 1817 this elaborate piece of carving fell, and was so far ruined that the scandal of so profane a symbol might have been fairly banished from the place where it should not have offended the eyes of rational worshippers. But attachment to this work of art and to the memory of its author was too strong to allow the interference of Protestant feeling. The town architect was employed to repair the fracture and restore the figures, and it was hung again in its former place. Local pride dictated a restoration which religious feeling would have forbidden. Such works of art in a Catholic church would be constantly used as illustrations of faith and of religious lessons; but in the churches of Nuremberg their use is wholly secular. The sermons make no allusion to them. Their workmanship, and not their sentiment, holds the regard of the people; and the chorals of Sabbath worship are as incongruous with the splendor of the temple as a High Papal Mass would be in the bare walls of a Scotch conventicle. We witnessed once in this church of St. Lawrence, performed beneath this very carving of the Virgin and the Deity, a marriage service, which was as simple, affectionate, and free from formality as such a service would be in one of our own country cottages.

The pride of the burghers in their achievements of industry and skill may be seen not only in the ornaments of their churches, so carefully preserved, but in the armorial devices which the leading families so conspicuously display. The aristocracy of Nuremberg, unlike the aristocracies of Venice and Genoa, has by no means died out. The chief men of the city are lineal heirs to the fortunes and the fame of the master-workers of the Middle Age, and a fair proportion of the palaces belong to and are occupied by the descendants of the men who built them. In most instances, the trade of the founder is no longer continued by his successors; yet the escutcheon sculptured on the outer and the inner wall, stamped upon the porcelain, and repeated in every form, perpetuates this lost calling. The opulent aristocrat is not ashamed to own, and to have every one see, that his ancestor was a smith, a cobbler, or a tinker, but would rather exhibit the proof that in these callings skill and thrift may make an acknowledged gentleman. No craft which exercises the brain with the hand is deemed plebeian here. He only is poor in lineage whose coat of arms, showing no sign of work done, must borrow some emblem of heathen mythology. The monuments in the Cemetery of St. John, remarkable in so many ways, are especially remarkable in this, that they contain in their armorial devices a history of the labor and skill of the city for six centuries. One may see there more than the names and dates of individual lives, — may see that which exercised the thought of the people, directed their energies, and gave to the city importance and power.

No Old Mortality is needed at Nuremberg, to keep this churchyard in repair. The most ancient piles there are as strong as the most recent, and the lines of their carving and casting are as fresh. The same feeling which keeps the relics of superstition in the churches brings flowers to the graves of the long-buried craftsmen. Nor are these wreaths limited to the more famous graves. We might expect that Hans Sachs and Albert Dürer would be so remembered; but we find that obscure names also receive the same tribute. As we were loitering one afternoon in that graveyard, listening to the fugues of Sebastian Bach, as the touch of an almost inspired organist sent them streaming out from the recesses of the old Gothic church upon the soft air of autumn, a fit requiem for the generations there laid, we noticed a gentleman who had apparently come with his little daughter to pay his tribute of grief for some recent loss. The child bore wreaths in her hand. One of these she left on the tomb where they stood for a time and wept together; the other she carried to a tomb at some distance. When the pair had left the cemetery, we examined the monuments to see if we could trace any connection between them; but the names of neither were given, and only a date of three centuries back, with the emblems subjoined, seemed to indicate that the more ancient monument was that of the founder of the house whose descendant had come there to unburden his sorrow. Nothing in Père la Chaise could show such persistent reverence for humble ancestry. What the Frenchman would forget and obliterate, the German burgher keeps and loves to remember.

The art of Nuremberg is not wholly mechanical. The very mention of the city calls up at once the name of that great genius, the "Evangelist of Art," the more than rival of Benvenuto Cellini, whose mastery in Germany is as undisputed as that of Rubens in the Low Countries, or Raphael in Italy, or Murillo in Spain. Albert Dürer may be less than the boasting epitaph on his tombstone claims. We may doubt his right to be called "sun of the artists, — painter, engraver, sculptor, without example." But in Germany he was without equal, and has remained to this day without equal, for the variety and excellence of his artistic gifts. It is to be regretted that the masterpieces of one whose name is such a treasure should be so scanty in his native city. Dürer, whether as painter, sculptor, or engraver, cannot be appreciated by what the Nuremberg galleries show of his works. We must seek these in the larger galleries of Dresden and Munich. Many of the pictures which bear his name are the work of later artists, who studied in his school and caught his manner. This is especially true of the pictures of Schäuffelin, which are many of them marked with the monogram of Dürer, and sold as genuine works. Dürer's master, Michael Wohlgemuth, was an artist and engraver of very high merit, and the enthusiasm which he imparted to this favorite pupil was transmitted by the pupil in turn to a numerous school. The house which Dürer occupied, religiously preserved, is still the property of a society of artists.

Though Nuremberg has lost many of the best pictures of its great masters, and has even in its small galleries a large proportion of works of foreign painters, yet no city of its size in Europe, on the whole, is richer in the remains of art in various forms. Sculptures, especially, are profusely abundant, and of marvellous delicacy. The "Schöne Brunnen," which stands close to the principal market-place, has an artistic value quite equal to its convenience, and is incomparably more curious and elaborate than the fountains which are so conspicuous in the squares of Rome. The taste of its singular eclecticism of subject is questionable, however it may show a broad toleration. Moses and the Prophets occupy positions in the higher niches, while in the lower, to fill out the nine vacancies in the sixteen compartments, three triads of historic figures have been added to the seven Electors, impartially divided between Pagan, Jewish, and Christian heroes. Hector, Alexander, and Cæsar are mated by Joshua, David, and Judas the Maccabee, and by Clovis, Charlemagne, and the valiant Godfrey of Bouillon. It is pity that such a spectacle of brethren in unity should not have taught the burghers better practical toleration. The Jews have fared hard at the hands of their brother craftsmen. They were expelled in the fifteenth century; and it is only a few years since they have been allowed to return to the city and pursue in quiet their callings. This persecution, unrelenting through many ages, was instigated, we may think, quite as much by jealousy of their rivalry as merchants and artisans, as by religious antipathy.

The beautiful Frauenkirche is one of the most highly decorated of the churches. Its portals and its interior gather many of the finest works of the native artists. Adam Krafft has equalled there his best carvings in the church of St. Lorenzo; Wohlgemuth has painted the altar. Yet the love of art will not induce the Protestant in Nuremberg to enter a church where the old idolatry is a living thing, — where he sees it, not merely carved and painted in wood and stone, but in the forms of kneeling men and women, and in the pageant of the mass. There is a stinging and contemptuous emphasis in the Lutheran's tone, when he answers, as you ask to be directed to the Frauenkirche, "*Ach* ja! sie meinen die Papistische Kirche!"

The somewhat singular architectural designation of the "Gothic Athens" was formerly assumed by Nuremberg. Nowhere in Europe can the Gothic architecture, as applied to palaces, houses, and shops, be so well studied. The King of Bavaria guards by statute what the pride of the people up-holds; and if a house be torn down or fall down, it must be restored in its former style. Not only the form, but the details of ornament and color, must be carefully imitated. The style is fixed, and must not be disturbed, though the houses of all other cities in the realm should become modern. Munich may copy the palaces of Florence and the frescoes of the Vatican; but Nuremberg must confine itself to gables, crockets, steep roofs, and clustering columns. The Gothic of Nuremberg is not, nevertheless, uniform. One can study the progress from the round to the pointed arch; from the tower to the spire; from the frowning, heavy, castellated mass, to the light and sparkling spring of fountain or foliage. The history of Gothic art from the tenth to the sixteenth century is hewn and chiselled on these solid walls, gates, and doorways. It is singular that the chief exception to this remark should be in the principal public building, the Rathhaus,—the municipal hall. This long pile, with its three cupolas and its Tuscan façade, contrasted with the opposite church of St. Sebald, enables one to see the superiority of the Gothic style in giving the impression at once of height, lightness, and solemnity. The stone of the Council-House seems to have caught the darkness without the dignity of the neighboring church, and the statues, allegorical and historical, over the Doric portals suffer a sad eclipse. Alexander and Cæsar here have not the cheerfulness of the figures on the "Beautiful Fountain," and it is difficult to detect in the gloom of such a shadow the proper lineaments of "Truth" and "Justice" in the figures which represent those qualities. The erection of this building, in its present style, is one of the few mistakes made by an architect of Nuremberg.

The mention of this Rathhaus leads us to notice the remains of barbarity and cruelty which are shown, along with the monuments of industry, as curiosities of the Burgher City. It is a singular fact, that the barbaric penalties of the Middle Age should be better illustrated to us in the dungeons of republics than in the castles of robber lords. The strong-holds along the Rhine and Danube show no engines of cruelty so dreadful as those which are seen in the *Leads* of Venice and the "Torture Chamber" of Nuremberg. Many instruments of torture have been removed. Thumb-screws, pulleys, and movable accessories to torment, as far as possible, have been destroyed. The famous iron Virgin, whose embrace was so fatal, has been transported to Austria, where tyranny may yet find use for her false caresses. But the rack and the dungeons, the hooks in the wall, the place where the scribe sat who recorded the sufferer's confession, the whole disposition and method of the secret tribunal, the darkness, the terror, and the despair, still stay in these frightful vaults, even more than in the Schloss of Baden-baden, where they divide with the gaming-houses and the "drink-halls" the interest of that fashionable resort. Nuremberg, like Rome, has its catacombs; but these were not used to save the persecuted from their enemies and to protect Christian altars, but to secure the rulers against the people, and to favor the abuses of a civil inquisition. An oligarchy will always be more severe in its rule, and more apprehensive of danger, than a monarchy or a republic; and Nuremberg, though nominally a free city, was yet, for more than four centuries, one of the strictest oligarchies in Europe. The people were deceived by the show of privileges, and in seeming to exercise their rights as citizens really obeyed the will of a few leading families. The officials were tools of these dominant houses, and were held in check by a constant espionage. So long as Nuremberg continued to flourish, to monopolize the trade of Central Europe, and to maintain its social and industrial supremacy, the citizens were content with this counterfeit of democratic methods. But when the influence of the city declined, then the real spirit of democracy began to show itself, and the old aristocracy were compelled to give the reality instead of the semblance of popular rights. This, among many instances, confutes that pretentious fallacy, that material prosperity is necessary to sustain the free spirit of a people. Too much prosperity, on the contrary, is the bane of a republic, making wider distinctions of class, warranting arbitrary assumptions, and nourishing servility. Misfortune levels society, and reveals to men their rights.

But in addition to the monuments of its republican industry, and its aristocratic severity, Nuremberg has monuments of genuine monarchy. Ever since its foundation, it has been a royal residence. One of the best-preserved castles in Germany crowns its highest hill, and Max Joseph, on occasion, may survey the valley of the Pegnitz from the same tower where Conrad, in the eleventh century, could defy the rebellious barons. The old linden of the castle-yard has shaded more crowned heads, passing in and out beneath its branches, than any tree in the world. Barbarossa girded himself there for the Holy Wars ; Sigismund set out thence on his journey to Constance, where he was to blush before Huss ; and Charles, lord of three kingdoms, rested there when he returned from destroying the liberties of the free cities of Flanders. Thirty Emperors successively dwelt in this castle, for a longer or shorter time. The remnants of the old pile — its towers, round, square, and five-angled, with their figures of idols, the double chapel, above and below, with the carvings in relief of Pharaoh, the Judgment, and the Saints, the terrace of the Freiung, the bastions added from the plans of Albert Dürer — are a not unpleasant interruption of the impression of traffic cleaving to the streets and warehouses which this pile overlooks. This imperial castle has escaped the fate of the other castle belonging to the Burgraves, which was at once demolished when it came by purchase into the hands of the citizens. Nuremberg has never witnessed with pleasure these royal residences, and has endured but impatiently the supervision of foreign powers ; and though the castle is fitted up for the chance visits of the court when it shall please them to come from Munich, most of the buildings within the enclosure are utilized to more satisfactory and characteristic ends. In one hall is a museum of curiosities, of old armor, trinkets, and carvings ; in another, are the annual exhibitions of the artists' school ; and the rooms near Nero's Tower are taken as storehouses for the public grain. That which was once the symbol of fear and oppression to the people, is now its symbol of security. When speculation or scarcity raises the price of bread above its proper level, the town granaries are opened, the market is supplied, and a reduction of price follows. The citizens now take tribute from the castle where they were once accustomed to pay tribute.

Nuremberg has its traditions of battle and military glory. Its industrious citizens, averse as they have always been to the waste and discomfort of war, have borne their full part in the fraternal strifes which have devastated the German land. From the workshops came forth, not only the weapons of war, — pikes, and guns, and cannon, — but men who knew how to use them. The sturdy mechanics were excellent stuff for an invincible soldiery, and no men-at-arms were more prized in the imperial bands. But they were not to be depended on as imperial troops; and in the religious contest of the seventeenth century they allowed their Lutheran faith to ally them to the Swedish king, and were found in arms against the general of the Kaiser. From the ramparts of the castle one may overlook the ground where for three months Wallenstein remained in his vast camp inactive, hoping to starve into surrender the city which he dared not storm. If the record of this siege has a less tragical ending than that of French and Flemish sieges, its consequences were not less disastrous, and were felt for many generations. Starvation had more than decimated the people; the richest families were ruined by their sacrifices, and the satisfaction of having defied successfully the greatest warrior of his age was more than balanced by the long legacy of debt which this heroic obstinacy left. One trial of this kind was enough, and the prudent memory of that dreadful siege has restrained the burghers from a too intimate acquaintance with subsequent military movements. Their single battle-field holds a sufficiency of this kind of glory. The camp of Wallenstein is now one of the chief pleasure resorts of the city; and on pleasant summer afternoons families go out together to the ruined "Alte Veste," and, with the accompaniment of pipes, beer, and peaceful music, fathers point out to the children the spot where Gustavus made his fierce onslaught upon the Austrian intrenchments, and the stone on which the cruel Duke of Friedland was wont to dine.

Earlier martial exploits of the Nurembergers were sung by the "Meistersingers." The mention of this class leads us to remark upon the literary and poetic treasures of which this city of craftsmen is so proud. The city library, in the old Dominican Convent, has gathered the manuscripts and books of several monastic institutions, and numbers now more than fifty thousand volumes. Few collections of its size in the world are more valuable. There are treatises in nearly all the Oriental tongues, from Palestine to China; a Hebrew Codex of the Old Testament, in seven folio volumes, nearly six centuries old; the famous "Machsor" Manuscript of 1331, from which a damning history of the cruelties practised upon the Jews by the Christians might be written, and which the Jews have in vain sought to recover; beautiful editions of Homer, Boccaccio, and the works of the German Reformers, — to one of whom, indeed, the collection owes its origin; but more precious than all in the eyes of the burghers is a manuscript of Hans Sachs, the "cobbler bard." Sachs is the companion of Dürer in the popular reverence. The respect for his name is hardly less than that which Englishmen have for the name of Shakespeare, or Scotchmen for that of Burns. His house and his tomb are marked as shrines; and though his verses are far from devout, and his character was not in all respects saintly, he receives from his townsmen a more genuine worship than either St. Lawrence or St. Sebald. Only Lope de Vega has surpassed him in affluence of composition. When in his seventy-third year he set himself to number his various works, he found, in thirty-four volumes written with his own hand, six thousand one hundred and eighty-one separate pieces, short and long, — comedies and tragedies, songs of love and battle, of craft and fable, — even psalms not wanting in the collection. This amazing mass might seem to suffice for a single life; but the nine subsequent years considerably increased it, and it is probable that this chief of the Meistersingers produced more songs than any man who ever lived. The proverbs and songs of King Solomon, that paragon of the Hebrew history, number less than the songs of this cobbler of the sixteenth century. The actual worth of Sachs's verses is greatly disproportioned to their amount and bulk. Their humor is unquestionable, and their satire is keen. Yet the praise of Goethe cannot rescue them from the neglect in which such coarse and gross effusions deserve to remain. Sachs has been called the German Chaucer; but that comparison fits far more justly to Walter von der Vogelweide, who three centuries earlier was wont to visit this old town of Nuremberg, and to sing to the lords and ladies in its castle. Sachs is rather a German Rabelais, with less of wit and genius, but more music. Though Mr. Longfellow has told how this laureate of the gentle craft,

> "Wisest of the twelve wise masters, in huge folios sang and laughed,"

he has not ventured, in his collection of German poetry, to translate any specimens from the laureate's verse. Wackernagel, in his Kirchenlied, published as late as 1851, has included the psalms and spiritual songs of Hans Sachs; yet we doubt if those sacred verses will hold the place in Nuremberg homes and Nuremberg religious meetings which the verses of Dr. Watts hold in the churches and homes of New England.

Hans Sachs was only the most eminent of a numerous fraternity. His craft became a guild, was regulated by statute, its number of members limited, the number of stanzas in each poem fixed, and the lines cared for even to their length and the character of their words. The "Tabulatur" gives the rules and orders prescribed for this trade. The sign of the order was a silver chain with a badge representing King David and his harp, and from any calling one who could compose a suitable song might become a member. Hans Felz, the barber, was a companion to Hans Sachs, the cobbler, and, in the language of Mr. Whitling, "shaved and sung." Wagenseil, in his *Commentatio de Civitate Noribergensi*, has given a pleasant account of these "Meistersingers"; but the most characteristic description of their craft is in the book of Puschmann, the cobbler of Goerlitz, who learned his art directly from the renowned master.

Nuremberg has no prose writer of equal reputation with Sachs, none whose name has more than a local and provincial fame. If Albert Dürer had not been so eminent as an artist, he would be better known as a writer. His work on "Human Proportions" has a high value. In no city of Germany is more attention paid to education, and nowhere are reading clubs more common. Nuremberg has no university, yet its system of schools is most thorough and admirable. From the elementary schools to the Gymnasium and the Polytechnic Institution, all the branches of a complete education are provided for.

This last institution, numbering in its four departments more than a thousand pupils, offers such instruction as is given in the highest professional and scientific schools of America, and at such rates as to bring the highest education within reach of all but the poorest classes. The classics and foreign languages, the principles of drawing, engineering, practical mechanics, practical agriculture, practical chemistry, even of trade and mercantile life, are made the themes of precept and drill, and the whole bearing of this higher teaching is utilitarian enough to satisfy the most matter-of-fact Englishman. The Germans are stigmatized as a race of theorists and dreamers, and even Mr. Whitling cannot conscientiously advise an English father to send his son to the land where there is so much fantastic speculation, and so much freethinking on sacred themes. Nuremberg, however, is practical enough to form an exception, and the influences of commerce there neutralize the influence of rationalism and mysticism. All classes can share these educational benefits. Roth's summary of forty years ago, which we presume is still a fair description of the schools of the town, speaks of *pay* schools and free schools; Catholic, foundling, and orphan schools; industrial schools for girls; model or normal schools, in which teachers are trained; and even Sunday schools, which we had supposed to be an English idea. Singing and dancing are taught in many of these schools as a part of the regular system. The supervision, too, is fully provided for. There are school committees, sub-committees, district agents, and over all a royal "Board of Education." All the details of education which here we have been elaborating so slowly are found in greater perfection in this decayed city, flourishing within the walls and among the relics of mediæval superstitions. It may be that Nuremberg does not realize all the results which might be expected from a plan so thorough, and we can hardly understand why, with such training, more scholars have not been sent out. But in Nuremberg, as in our American towns, the prevailing idea is that education is but a stepping-stone to wealth and a preparation for business. The burgher will collect a library as he is able, but does not care to have you mistake him for a scholar. There is in Nuremberg no proper literary aristocracy, as there is no aristocracy of title or military honor. Ancestry, wealth, and talent are the grounds of social distinction.

This subordination of intellectual attainments to material gains is aided in Nuremberg by the extraordinary public prudence in regard to the means of health and security. Rigid statutes regulate all branches of trade which are likely, when neglected, to create a nuisance. Preventive municipal laws so order the traffic of the breweries, the wine-shops, and the places of public resort, that drunkenness in the city is hardly possible. The national beverage is enjoyed, but is not, as in Munich, abused. A single can of beer satisfies the burgher for his evening refreshment, and there are no such tales of miraculous powers of suction as make the staple of conversation in the capital of the kingdom. The people, as a whole, are temperate enough to satisfy all but the extreme demand of our American workers in the cause, and use the flow of their aqueducts more freely than any fermented product. The mass want nothing stronger than water; and no proverb is more popular among them than that which their city doubly illustrates: "Wasser ist's das stärkste Getränk, es treibt Mühlen." Mr. Whitling, indeed, favors us with a description of Nuremberg *punch*, and gives a minute receipt for the composition of this most delicious of mixtures; but he characterizes it as agreeable, mild, and perfectly innocent, and allows that no "headache is in the bottom of the bowl," or rather of the teapot,—for this is the shape of the Nuremberg punch-bowl. The punch is made of oranges, sugar, and old French wine, without lemons, rum, or brandy.

We have already mentioned the remarkable cleanness of this old city. Even the open-air markets are scrupulously neat, and the "Trödel Markt," the Rag Fair, if less amusing than that of Glasgow, has less to offend the nostrils. The Town Council is very jealous of anything which endangers the physical welfare of the city, whether fire or water, dust or corruption. Aqueducts wash the streets, and machines are in readiness to send streams, in case of necessity, even to the highest gables. So early as the year 1544 there were printed regulations concerning the extinguishing of fires, and half a century ago the fire-insurance capital amounted to twenty three and a half millions of florins, or nearly ten millions of American dollars. Associations for guarding against inundation have prevented at Nuremberg such loss as the French cities have met from this cause. In laws concerning deaths and burials, this city gave the example which the larger cities have slowly and recently adopted. When the crypts of churches were sepulchres all over Europe, Nuremberg had its extra-mural enclosures. The Churchyard of St. John, half a mile beyond the walls, bears the date of 1457; the Churchyard of St. Roch, that of 1518. Nobody is allowed to be buried within the walls, whether of rich or poor; — of prince or beggar, we might say, were it not that both these classes are unknown in Nuremberg. Precautions, too, are taken to prevent premature burial; and the custom of watching a corpse for two or three days is not a superstition, but a wise sanitary regulation. Eight women have this task assigned them, and it is their duty to see that the body shall neither be buried too soon nor too late, to look closely for signs of life and for signs of decomposition. Since 1778 there has been in the city a house of resuscitation for those who are taken up for dead. If Nuremberg is less remarkable than some other cities for its almshouses and its hospitals, it is because there are so few to use such institutions. The perils of childbirth for the poor are provided for in special establishments, and the profession of midwifery is guarded most carefully, and filled only by respectable and trustworthy women.

But more than anything else do the ample means of reasonable recreation secure health and good digestion to the citizens of Nuremberg. The universal dinner-compliment — "Ich wünsche ihnen wohl zu speisen" — finds an answer not only in the quantity and quality of the food, but in the variety of sober amusements. Steady workers and hard workers as the Nuremberg artisans are, none know better how to take their ease, and to profit by their play. Sunday brings to them, as to their Catholic neighbors, a season of enjoyment as well as of worship. If the music at the places of resort is not of the best quality, and has less of elaborate science than the performances of Berlin or Dresden, it is, at any rate, better than the popular music of England and America, and is abundant and cheap. For a few kreutzers, one may hear from an orchestra of forty instruments passages from all the best operas, and from time to time original compositions of native artists, with a treat of "Lebkuchen," or sweet-cakes, added as a gratuity. There is open-air music on the bastions in summer, and in the winter the halls of the several musical unions are almost nightly filled. Tea-parties are very common, although the decoction which gives them their name does not suit Mr. Whitling's English ideas of that article. So long as snow remains upon the ground, sleighing-parties are perpetual, and the excursions frequently reach to the Franconian mountains. The theatre, sustained by domestic talent, satisfies even the fastidious tastes of one accustomed to the play-houses of London and Paris, and has this great advantage, that its performances are finished at an early hour, rarely lasting much beyond nine o'clock, and also that ladies can safely attend without an escort of the other sex. In seeing the moving lanterns, which are as sure a protection to the weaker sex as the arm of a husband or a brother, one is reminded, in the streets of Nuremberg at evening, of Cairo and Damascus. The people are too economical in their tastes to waste money upon equipages, and almost all, high and low, go on foot to the places of amusement. The stuff of the holiday-clothing is not, to be sure, very costly; but the colors are bright enough to supply the lack of cost. Nowhere do the maidens affect more show of ribands, and more brilliancy of bonnets and artificial flowers. Mr. Whitling ungallantly hints that the bonnets are more comely than the faces which they adorn.

Into the celebration of Christmas and New-Year's holidays the citizens of Nuremberg enter with an amazing enthusiasm. Every family has its Christmas-tree, the boughs of which are loaded with fruit as substantial in value as it is showy in color. In this indulgence, economy ceases to be a virtue, and the burgher, careful of his kreutzers on other days, on this is lavish of his florins. The tree which many select for this service is the horsechestnut, branches of which, carefully nourished with sun and water in a warm room for a few weeks previous, are made to wear a precocious foliage. New-Year's eve is a time of joyful watching, enlivened, not by prayers and psalms as in Methodist meetings, but by jokes and gingerbread. The morning is ushered in by the ringing of bells, and the salutation of "Prosst Neue Jahr!" is shouted all along the streets, and in the houses from attic to basement. On New-Year's day every one goes to church, and it is universally observed as a religious holiday. Easter day, also, is appropriately kept, and the native wit is abundantly exercised in finding devices for the "Easter eggs." On the 11th of November, St. Martin's day, that venerable man himself, clad in a robe of fur better than the traditional skin and sackcloth which girded his anchorite limbs, comes to prepare the way for the *Christ-child*, and to dispose the hearts of the young to receive the *Christ-child's* visit. He brings sugar-plums for good children, and a rod for bad children. The "Pelzmärtel" is the Santa Claus of Nuremberg.

The moral standard of trading and manufacturing towns on the continent of Europe is not, in general, very high; but Nuremberg has a reputation for good morals quite other than that of towns of its class. In spite of the hindrances in the way of marriage by the civil regulations, illicit connections are comparatively infrequent, and the proportion of unlawful births is small. The characteristic vices of Venice and Vienna are here almost unknown, unless we except the custom of asking foreigners a double price for every article which they wish to buy. The tricks of trade flourish as well under Gothic gables as under Italian arcades, and a testy Englishman, beguiled into the purchase, at an exorbitant rate, of pasteboard and tinsel gimcracks, will probably go away cursing these shopkeepers as a tribe of sharpers. But residence among them will mitigate this judgment, and show that the people are to the full as honest as the tradesmen of London. Manners are less polished than in the best society of Munich; but one does not see in Nuremberg, what may be seen in some other cities, a cigar in the mouth of a woman. An ingrained decency keeps the moral tone of the Burgher City up to a respectable level; and if the habits of the small tradesmen are, in some respects, those of the Connecticut pedler, a sense of propriety hinders the use of the Frankfort proverb, — "Ein Krämer, der nicht Mausdreck für Pfeffer aufschwatzen kannhat sein Handwerk nicht gelemt."

We have already mentioned, that the religious feeling of Nuremberg is intensely Protestant. Scarcely any of the descendants of the ancient burgher families are found within the Catholic communion; and although, at the last census, the adherents of the Roman Church numbered more than five thousand, — a full tenth of the population, — this Church is wholly without civil or social influence. It is barely tolerated for those who are new-comers within the gates, and who serve as the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Most reluctantly, too, have the burghers yielded to the spirit of concession in admitting Jews within the walls. Nothing but the rivalry of the neighboring city of Fürth, which Israelite industry has built, could bring them to this tardy justice. Like the Scotch, with all their love of thrift and their mercantile shrewdness, the people of Nuremberg are passionate in their religious antipathies, and stubbornly constant in their religious prejudices. Unlike the Scotch, however, they are not given to theological discussions, and do not bring questions of dogma or church government into their recreations. Their fanaticism, though rooted, is not easily aroused, nor are they given to much disputing. Their speculation on religious topics is superficial rather than acute. Heine, in one of his "Reisebilder," curiously fancies the fat citizen of Nuremberg, his white cap on his head, and his white clay pipe in his mouth, seated before his door on a warm summer evening, and thinking at his ease what a nice thing such an eternity as this would be, *inventing* an immortality and a heaven of this calm, vegetative sort. This quiet religious musing suits the convenience of the good burgher better than any wrangling. He holds to his notion, but does not care to defend it by argument, or to bring it into controversy. "Two hard stones never grind well," is his professional motto, — "Zwei harte Steine mahlen nicht reine."

The registers of Nuremberg show some strange passages of popular fanaticism; and the records of some quite recent trials will fairly match, for blind injustice and bigotry, the witchcraft causes of the seventeenth century in Old and New Eng land. Whether the people are captivated by the seductive eloquence of the most recent form of pseudo-spirit intercourse, we have not heard; but we should presume that the rappers would find ready welcome in a city so fond of gossip about mysteries. The latest hero of the city of Albert Dürer and Hans Sachs is a being whose mystery remains still, as it will probably forever remain, unsolved. Such a story as that of Caspar Hauser is a treasure in a dull manufacturing town; it gives the people something to fall back upon. This poor victim of unnatural confinement, in the curious physiological and psychological study which his case has offered to the learned of Europe, has glorified the city where for some years his name and history were the daily theme of conversation, and the children stopped to look as he passed in the streets. It was a severe blow to Nuremberg that the poor boy should be murdered in such a barbarous way, and in such an inferior town as Anspach, and murdered just at the time when the wise men of the city were hopeful of restoring him to full intellectual strength, and of penetrating the secret of his birth. No mystery of this century has excited more and more various interest than this of the dumb foundling of Nuremberg, the successor to the Man in the Iron Mask. Stout octavos by the dozen, and dissertations by the hundred, were issued in various tongues, to show who he was and who he was not, and nicely-elaborated theories were built on his incoherent expressions. Counsellor Merker undertook to show that he was probably an impostor, — perhaps the most difficult hypothesis in such a case; Feuerbach, Daumer, Schmidt, and Frey wrote at length in defence of his genuineness; Fuhrmann exposed the intrigues of his ghostly watchers and priestly confessors; Seiler undertook to prove that he was the rightful heir to the throne of Baden; Singer wrote a minute history of all his doings from his "beginning" to his grave; and Lord Stanhope, whose interest in the case had made him Caspar's patron, published, after the murder, his own impressions and notes of interviews. It is strange that any denial should have arisen concerning a case so well attested; yet, as the argument went, many even of the Nurembergers who had seen and known and talked with Caspar were cajoled into doubting their memories and the evidence of their senses. But it was a cause of sincere regret to all that the St. John's Churchyard at Anspach should contain that epitaph which ought to belong to the St. John's Churchyard in Nuremberg,—"Ænigma sui temporis, ignota nativitas, occulta mors."

But these rambling and fragmentary sketches have been already extended, we fear, beyond the patience of our readers. We have refrained from speculation concerning the name and origin of the city, and its relation to the rival sovereignties of Austria and Prussia, and have aimed only to bring out some of the more characteristic features of past and present life in the place whose manners are to-day more primitive than those of any other German city, and whose history is more peculiar and honorable. Æneas Sylvius could write, more than four centuries ago, that the citizens of Nuremberg were better lodged than kings;—"Quot ibi civium ædes invenias regibus dignas! Cuperent tam egregie Scotorum reges, quam mediocres Norimbergæ cives habitare." And certainly the heir to the ancient throne of the Stuarts, if in his journeyings he should chance to claim the hospitality of the old Norican town, would find there to-day more comfortable lodging than in the palaces of his ancestors at Edinburgh or Scone. If there be any city in Europe which can justly claim honor from one of Saxon lineage,—one who rejoices in

> "The nobility of labor, the long pedigree of toil,"—

it is this. Longer than any other it has maintained its freedom. More steadily than any other it has preserved its public customs, value, and virtue, and has retained that which was good of its former life. And its memorials of the past bear prophecies of the future; they symbolize that union of utility with beauty, of labor with freedom, which the civilization of this nineteenth century seeks and longs to reproduce. In the City Library, among other curiosities, is the globe constructed by John Schoner, in the year when Luther burned the Pope's bull at Wittenberg, and Magellan found a way through the southern strait to the islands of the Pacific Sea. On that globe the Isthmus of Panama appears divided, with a passage carefully marked from ocean to ocean, predicting thus the enterprise which modern science is now bending all its energies to fulfil, in the interest of profitable commerce and of Christian civilization. Such a relic as this seems to show the old town going before, as well as preparing the way for, our age of conquest in the forces of nature, and to warrant the adoption for his native city of the word on the great artist's tombstone, — "Emigravit;" and, with wider appreciation of the charm and glory of this shrine of mediæval art, may an American use the fragment of a song which Mr. Whitling prefixes to his volume: —

> "Wenn einer Deutschland kennen
> Und Deutschland lieben soll,
> Wird man ihm Nürnberg nennen
> Der edlen Künste voll;
>
> Dich nimmermehr veraltet
> Du treue, fleiss'ge Stadt!
> Wo Dürers Kraft gewaltet
> Und Sachs gesungen hat."

Art. VIII. — *Message of the President of the United States communicating, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, the Correspondence of Messrs. McLane and Parker, late Commissioners to China.* 35th Congress, 2d Session. Ex. Doc. No. 22. pp. 1424.

Here is a volume of fourteen hundred closely-printed pages, being the enormous record of the doings of two of our diplomatic agents in the East, and extending over the space of but three years. Looking through it, one need not wonder that archives of this sort are beyond the reach of ordinary readers, or that diplomatic communications are not always read, even by the Secretary to whom they are addressed. Yet there are in this huge volume many matters of interest, illustrative of our diplomatic relations with China, which we shall endeavor to evolve, and which, precisely and intelligibly stated, cannot fail to attract attention. It completes the documentary history of our Oriental diplomacy down to Mr. Reed's special mission in 1857; and it is to what occurred before that gentleman's arrival in China that we desire to direct our readers. Nothing has since been given to the public, either in this country or in Great Britain, except Mr. Secretary Cass's instructions, with the letter to Lord Napier, and the correspondence of Lord Elgin and Yeh anterior to the attack on Canton. The new treaties have not been officially promulgated. We mention this as a reason for abstaining from any notice of recent events, which might be supposed to be more interesting than the ineffectual diplomacy which preceded them. Still it is absolutely essential to understand what had been previously done, or attempted, before anything like a safe judgment can be formed on the results of 1858.

The outline of American diplomacy in China may be easily traced. On the conclusion of the war of 1842, our government determined to open diplomatic intercourse with the empire, and selected as its first Envoy Mr. Edward Everett, then Minister to the Court of St. James. On his declining the post, Mr. Caleb Cushing was appointed, and reached China in the spring of 1844. The sound of English artillery was in the ears of the frightened Chinese; the marks of the ravages of an English invasion in the south and centre and along the coasts of China were very fresh; and, what was still more propitious, the official to whom was intrusted the duty of pacificating the foreigners was a man of relatively liberal views, or, at least, one who saw that the only way to get rid of them, or to circumscribe the sphere of their intrusion, was to make prompt concessions, and to seem generous and conciliatory. Such was Keying, with whom, at Waughia, near Macao, on the 3d of July, 1844, Mr. Cushing signed a treaty of "peace, amity, and commerce," which has regulated our intercourse from that day to this, and which, we infer, is the basis of the new compact of 1858. Keying's character is yet a mystery, and his story, as we understand it, quite a romance. During the negotiations, last summer, at Tientsin, he reappeared on the scene, was kindly treated by the neutral ministers, roughly repelled by the belligerent allies, suspected and watched by his colleagues, and then he suddenly disappeared from view, in all probability terminating his career by suicide or on the scaffold. How just this punishment was, — how far Keying deserved well or ill of his imperial master, or of those with whom he once negotiated on terms of apparent friendliness, — it is not easy yet to determine.

The English and French officials assert with vehemence, that in the negotiations of 1842 – 44, and in his subsequent conduct, he was loyal to his own country, and false and hostile to foreigners. They claim to establish this on the evidence of intercepted documents, found in Canton. On the other hand, it is very certain that Keying was never able, for any length of time, to command confidence at court, but from 1842 downward has been the sport of all sorts of political fortune, with a pretty uniform and steady tendency towards the catastrophe which has determined his fate. The truth would seem to be, that he was neither the very liberal and enlightened statesman foreigners imagined him to be, nor the arch intriguer the English have latterly described him. Unlike Yeh, who believed nothing and feared nothing till Captain Key seized him by the collar and a Jack-tar grasped him (no easy task) round the waist, and then was frightened out of his wits, Keying, when sent to avert the storm, had sense enough to see that peace on any terms was preferable to such a war, and shrewdness and good manners to impress favorably all who met him. Mr. Cushing, after he had concluded his negotiations, spoke of him as eminently " a liberal-minded statesman ;" and Sir John Davis, — not the most friendly commentator on Chinese conduct, — in the second edition of his very clever book, published as late as 1857, refers to his " estimable and pacific character," speaks of him as " a man of wisdom, and alive to the real interests of his country," and says that, " with him and his Tartar colleague Elipoo, moderation, humanity, and comparative sincerity took the place of blustering, cruelty, and evasion." That the change of opinion as to Keying, in consequence of the new revelations at Canton, has had some policy about it, — or, in other words, that the belligerent plenipotentiaries deemed it expedient, for some temporary reason, to overrate his anti-foreign feelings, and treat him as an enemy, — we further infer from Mr. Reed's guarded but very intelligible language on this subject, in the speech he made at Philadelphia, on his return, last summer, from China. " I look back," said he, " to the strange scene of Keying's advent to Tientsin and his flight, with entire contentment that I extended courtesy to a broken-down old man, and that no share of responsibility for this poor heathen's fall rests on me." Be all this as it may, it was very fortunate that Keying continued in favor till the American and French negotiations were concluded, in 1844–5. Mr. Cushing met him in the true spirit of firmness and conciliation, and, reviewing, as we are able to do, the whole history of our diplomatic relations with China with entire freedom from prejudice, we take especial pleasure in recording our admiration of the discretion and ability shown by our plenipotentiary at that time; and this we do with the more emphasis, as Mr. Cushing's diplomacy has been so unkindly and unjustly criticised in the "Thirty Years' View" of Colonel Benton.

Mr. Cushing was fortunate in being able to despatch his work in six months, and he took passage across the Pacific to the west coast of Mexico in 1845. And here one may well pause and note the changes of the fourteen years which have elapsed since, his work concluded, he came homeward by the Pacific route. In 1844 there was not on the western coast of America, except in some trapper settlement, a spot where the English language was spoken, or the American flag was raised; and Mr. Cushing made a journey of adventure and peril, by the most available route, from San Blas to Vera Cruz. There were then no actual railroads or immediately prospective canals, — no thought of Pacific railways, or mails in twenty days from one seaboard to another. A year later, in 1845, Mr. Webster, in a speech at Faneuil Hall, speaking of the settlements on the Pacific, and especially of Oregon, said that "no sensible man could imagine that settlements so distant could be governed either by the American Congress or the British Parliament, — could be an American state or territory, or an English colony." "I look forward," said he, prophecy kindling in the blaze of his rhetoric, "to the period when they will raise a standard for themselves — as they ought to do — as not so far distant but that many, many now present, and those not among the youngest of us, will see a Pacific republican nation. There will exist at the mouth of the Columbia, or more probably farther south, a great Pacific republic, — a nation where our children may go for a residence, separating themselves from this government, and forming an integral part of a new government half-way between England and China, — too far remote from Europe and from this side of the American continent to be under the governmental influence of either country.” Alas for prophecy! Alas for all reasoning as to the future, in our part of the world, at least! Lord Granville, in reply to some dismal vaticinations the other day in Parliament, said, very neatly, that it was “ a great comfort for public men to reflect, that the most fallacious guide in the world for political conduct is uninspired prophecy.” The Pacific republic is indefinitely postponed; California and Oregon are as loyal States of this Union as New Jersey and Connecticut; and New Caledonia, bating a little gold-hunting exorbitance, is as submissive a colony as any under the care of Sir Bulwer Lytton or the Duke of Newcastle. Across the ocean where Mr. Cushing sailed in the little brig Perry there is a great tide of Oriental travel, and thousands of Chinese are willingly seeking a new home and a new field of industry in that wonderful Anglo-Saxon community of California, which fourteen years ago was not.

To Mr. Cushing immediately succeeded Commodore Biddle, who exchanged ratifications with Keying, and Mr. Alexander H. Everett, who died at Canton soon after his arrival, and whose desolate and ill-secured grave is pointed out to the traveller, near Whampoa. Mr. John W. Davis succeeded Mr. Everett. His despatches have not been published; but it is well known to those conversant with our affairs in the East, that it is to Mr. Davis's attention and modest exertions we are indebted for the consolidation, as far as it has gone, of our peculiar judicial system in China, and the enactment of the statute that regulates it. How peculiar and comprehensive that system is, and what responsible duties it delegates to our chief diplomatic officer in China, is evident from the provision of the act of Congress, which, in the exercise of these functions, clothes him with almost unlimited legislative powers. The leading incident of Mr. Davis's diplomatic service was his interview — the only one since Keying's time by any foreign minister — with the Imperial Commissioner at Canton. This was in 1848, when Seu met our Commissioner at Howqua's suburban residence, and Yeh attended as a subordinate official. Mr. Davis left a very high character for intelligence, discretion, and devotion to his duty.

Mr. Humphrey Marshall was appointed by Mr. Fillmore, and his action in China, to which we wish we had space more particularly to refer, (for it was in every way creditable,) has been fully illustrated by the unreserved publication of his despatches. So unreserved, in fact, or so careless, was this publication, that Mr. Marshall's most confidential letters to his government — those which he marked " Confidential," and which, because they contained very strong and unfavorable criticisms on the action of other powers, he desired might not appear in print — were all published. Happily there was nothing in them to give just offence; but the system is a very mischievous one, and might lead to untoward results. Aside from individual and political embarrassment, it has another bad effect. It is an inducement to a foreign minister to be always writing for the public and for effect. There is always more or less of this under the English and American system of Parliamentary supervision; but there will be nothing but ambitious rhetoric and declamatory diplomacy, if all that ministers write to their governments is to be put in print.

Mr. Marshall's year in China (1853) was one of great political confusion, when the star of the Taeping revolt culminated, and the imperial dynasty seemed tottering to its fall. Shanghae was taken by the rebels, Peking was threatened, and Nanking fell. Yeh, engaged in deadly conflict with the Kwangtung revolutionists, had a better excuse than before or since for not attending to foreign affairs and receiving ministers; and Mr. Marshall was doomed to be an anxious looker-on in the North, and never to meet a plenipotentiary properly authorized to receive him. On the 4th of July, 1853, he had a formal interview, attended by no definite result, at Knaonson, three days' journey from Shanghae, with Eliang, the Governor-General of the central provinces, and brother to the Prime Minister Kweiliang, who negotiated the treaties of 1858. It ended in nothing but new evasion, and new reference of everything and everybody to the seat of mischief and perplexity at Canton. During his whole mission Mr. Marshall was actively engaged in protecting the interests of his countrymen, and had leisure enough to write a mass of despatches to Washington of great interest, and of a bulk surpassed only by the volume lately issued. To one chapter —

and a very painful one — of Mr. Marshall's experience, as revealed in his correspondence, we feel it our duty, by way of warning in the future, specially to refer. We allude to the constant difficulty, entirely unprovoked on his part, with the naval commanders. We have all heard and read of the traditionary incompatibility of naval officers and ambassadors; and we remember the stories of the English Plenipotentiary — Lord Ponsonby, if we mistake not — who was arrested for coming on deck in his slippers; of Mr. Rodney's filling up a frigate with tools of husbandry, and his quarrel with Commodore Biddle; of Chancellor Livingston and Captain McNeill; of John Randolph's exploits on his way to Cronstadt; — but until we read these papers we did hope that such discreditable conflicts between public officers serving one government had long since ceased. Mr. Marshall went to China by the overland route, and on reaching Hong Kong or Macao found the corvette Saratoga, whose commander agreed to take, and did take, the minister to Whampoa. For this act of courtesy, Commodore Aulick, then in command, reprimanded the unlucky officer, and, if we mistake not, brought him to a court-martial; and when the minister, passing by with great dignity the first discourtesy, asked for a ship of war to take him to the northern ports, the Commodore flatly refused, unless the minister would confer with him, and tell him exactly what he meant to do, and his own judgment should approve it. The conclusion of Mr. Marshall's reply to this deserves to be quoted, for it tells the tale of wrong very clearly.

> "There can be no discussion between us as to our relative rank and power. There is no foundation on which to rest such a question, and I am not disposed to allow myself to be entangled in any dispute of the kind. When it shall become my duty, as the Commissioner to China, to demand the ships of war you command for a service whose object is not communicated to you, it will be a proper occasion to question my power, and, if you choose, to refuse obedience on your official responsibility. In this case, your anxiety to preserve your official prerogative from the appearance of submission has led you into the presentation of your topic of discussion prematurely. I shall not argue with you as to your duty. Your long official experience and exalted position have accustomed you to act in view of your responsibility to public authority

at home. To that I shall leave your case. There remains for me only to yield most reluctantly to the necessity under which your determination places me, and to close the diplomatic intercourse between China and the United States until the means are placed within my control to proceed to deliver my letter of credence to the Emperor through the channel exhibited by the treaty. I shall retire by the first opportunity I find to Macao; there await the arrival of your successor, your retirement from command, or the order from the Department to which you belong, enabling me to proceed to my post. My exposure to the discourtesy you have shown; the unfortunate impression which must be left on the minds of the Chinese officials by your withdrawal of the Saratoga, and your refusal to supply her place; the procrastination of impending questions; the loss of important advantages in political arrangements, and whatever of sacrifice of public or private interests may ensue, — will belong to the catalogue of errors flowing from your unfortunate estimate of your official obligations and privileges, and from no fault of mine."

The change that soon after took place in the command — Aulick being relieved by Commodore Perry — brought no relief to the afflicted minister. The new Commodore was a plenipotentiary himself, and deeply impressed with the importance of his diplomatic trust. What was China, with its material interests, its great staples, its millions of pounds of tea and silk, its factories and rich godowus, its vast American capital and its fleets of American clippers penetrating every accessible nook of its coast, — what were all these practical, substantial things in comparison with Japan and its exploration? For the short interval between Commodore Aulick's departure and Perry's arrival, the command devolved on a very gallant and worthy gentleman, Captain John Kelly, who, as senior officer, acted in a most accommodating spirit, and sent Mr. Marshall north in a steamer; but the moment Commodore Perry arrived, all these facilities were withdrawn, and the same ground taken, aside from the Japanese necessities, as by Captain Aulick, though in rather less offensive language, — namely, that where the minister ought to go, and what he ought to do, should be matter of joint conference and decision. This discreditable conflict lasted during the rest of Mr. Marshall's sojourn in China.

Now it seems to us that there is nothing clearer than that the diplomatic representative of the country, when, as nine times out of ten is the case in the East, there is no military emergency, ought to be regarded as the superior. There is a perfectly well-defined line beyond which this superiority cannot go, and ought not to go, without injury to executive action. If the minister were to ask or direct the commanding officer to take him from any point where there was a military emergency or necessity for his remaining, or to any point the navigation towards which might endanger his ships, he ought to, and no doubt would, refuse; but for a naval officer, when there are no such purely professional reasons, to say that he will not send or accompany a minister until his judgment is satisfied as to the necessity or expediency of the movement, is to reverse rank with a vengeance. With the discreditable and unofficer-like system of newspaper scribbling now prevalent in our naval service, diplomatic secrets would have a poor chance. Between sensible men, — that is, men whose judgment on questions of public duty is not clouded or perplexed by tenaciousness, suspicion, and the exaggeration of etiquette, — difficulties of the kind can hardly occur, and we are far from intimating that the fault is always on one side. There are captious, overbearing, troublesome ambassadors, as well as admirals and commodores; but the government at Washington ought to bear in mind the differences that may arise on such questions of rank, and to provide against them by very precise instructions. This was done in the case of Mr. Marshall's successor, at whose disposal was placed first the Susquehanna, which took him up the Yang-tse-Kiang, and then the Powhatan, in which he visited the Gulf of Pechelee. In the case of Mr. Reed, as we learn from the published instructions, the government fortunately went still further, and not only furnished him with a home on board the finest frigate in the service, but specially instructed the naval commander-in-chief to consult freely with the minister as to the movements of the squadron, and to pay the highest regard to his wishes. "If," the Secretary adds, "it should become necessary, in order to accomplish the objects of Mr. Reed's mission, that the squadron should be concentrated at any one place, upon his communicating his wishes to you, you will promptly proceed to the point designated and co-operate with him." The effect was, that, in these two instances, there was a perfectly good understanding and kind feeling all round. Mr. McLane had the use of two frigates in succession, as he needed them; and in 1858 the squadron was, from time to time, without detriment to the naval service, concentrated at the request of the minister, and, by the prompt and judicious distribution of the force under Flag-Officer Tatnall (the law compels us so to entitle him), the negotiations both in China and Japan were facilitated. Mr. Marshall had no such assistance.

President Pierce offered the Chinese mission to Mr. Robert J. Walker, by whom it was at first accepted, but ultimately declined; and then to Mr. Robert M. McLane, our present Minister in Mexico, who, taking the overland route, reached China and entered upon his duties in March, 1854, Mr. Marshall having previously returned to the United States. No better fortune attended Mr. McLane in his attempts at personal intercourse with Yeh than his predecessors had found. It may amuse our readers to see the variations of this perverse man's discourtesy. Irritated, and justly so, as the recipients of such letters must have been, we doubt if even they can read them now without a smile. To this collection we have added Yeh's letter to Lord Elgin, the whole presenting a very odd display of gems of Chinese diplomacy.

"We," wrote Yeh and his colleague to Mr. Marshall, "are delighted fully to understand that the honorable Commissioner has received the superintendence of trade at the five ports. We have heretofore heard that the honorable Commissioner is mild and even-tempered, just and upright, and that he will manage everything in strict conformity with the treaty, and all will be in the highest degree proper and harmonious; and we, the Minister and Governor, are exceedingly gratified at the thought. As to the subject of setting a time for an interview, we, the Minister and Governor, are also exceedingly desirous of a mutual interview, when face to face we may converse, in order to manifest the good correspondence of our respective countries; but I, the Minister, am at present at the Saou-Chow Pass, and I, the Governor, having the superintendence of everything, have not the slightest leisure, and can only await the return of the Minister, after which he will select a felicitous day, and address you, and meet you at a pleasant interview."*

To Mr. McLane he wrote:—

"I am delighted to learn that the Commissioner has arrived in the south of China, to receive the management of the commercial affairs at the five ports. Certainly everything must be conducted in the highest degree justly and harmoniously, and I, the Minister, am exceedingly comforted in my mind. As to appointing a time for presentation, I, the Minister, am also desirous of an interview, in order to manifest our friendship and good correspondence; but just at this moment, I, the Minister, am superintending the affairs of the army in several provinces, and day and night have no rest. Suffer me, then, to wait for a little leisure, when I will make selection of a propitious day, that we may have a pleasant meeting."

In 1856, when Mr. Parker announced his advent, Yeh answered, rather more curtly:—

"It is a matter of satisfaction that you, the honorable Commissioner, have returned to Canton to oversee the mercantile affairs at the five ports, which will be now well managed; but as to the transmission of the letter from your country to the Emperor, and the request for a personal interview, to deliver it for transmission, of which you speak, I have to reply that, as you have been many years in Kwangtung, where I have already seen you, in a personal interview, there is no need of further argument on this point. Furthermore, owing to affairs in Kwangsi requiring the despatch of troops, and other details respecting supplying the forces, I have not a moment's leisure. If you wish to send the President's letter, it can be made up and duly sealed, and sent to me, and I will forward it to court by a good opportunity, which will be fully sufficient."

To Lord Elgin — and this, too, in answer to an earnest and peremptory admonition of what would be the certain consequences of any evasion — Yeh replied that Sir George Bonham, in former years, had been moderate in his demands, and Sir John Davis exacting; that Sir George had been made a baronet, and had the Order of the Bath, — "a badge of honor to be borne on his person, very goodly to behold."

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* When, in January, 1854, Mr. Marshall announced to Yeh his intention to return home, after all his vexations, Yeh replied, "I avail myself of the occasion to present my compliments, and trust that, of late, your blessings have been increasingly tranquil."

> "Thus," said he, "your Excellency's nation showed that they thought the Plenipotentiary Bonham right, and the Plenipotentiary Davis wrong; and it is the duty of your Excellency, who is come here in obedience to your instructions, to imitate the conduct of the Plenipotentiary Bonham. It is equally imperative that you should decline to imitate the conduct of the Plenipotentiary Davis. The propositions in your letter have been suggested by some mischievous person at your side; they are not your Excellency's own conception," &c., &c.

In less than a fortnight after this, Canton was bombarded and assaulted, and Yeh a prisoner on board the Inflexible. Poor Yeh! Very little, if at all, worse than his fellows, he has earned an ugly name in history, and is looked upon by that vast mass of people who take their opinions from English newspapers as the incarnation of all that was ferocious and truculent. Yet the very same revelations which are supposed to prove Keying's complicity in anti-foreign policy show that in all that Yeh did or wrote he was the obedient servant of his imperial master, and did nothing without instructions. We are not his apologists, but mean merely to hint that, like another illustrious being, he is not quite as black as he is painted, and was really but a representative man. As we write, the news of his death has been received. The Colonial Press of Hong Kong (the fit exponent of that detestable community) describes the bringing back of his corpse in a business-like manner, a happy combination of the merchant and the undertaker. "There will be no ceremony over him. The Emperor has taken away all his titles. He is no more than the commonest coolie in the streets. The body was found in a fair state of preservation, though by no means sweet. So much for Yeh. Seven hundred dollars' freight-money from Calcutta to Canton was a good deal to pay for such a result." The English, in one respect at least, seem to have thought that Yeh was a sort of Chinese Napoleon. Not only did they send him to die in dismal exile at Fort William, but, exactly as they did forty years ago, when O'Meara wrote indecent letters about Bonaparte to be read in the low revels of Carlton House, they caged up with Yeh, on board the Inflexible, a caricature correspondent of the "Times," who entertained the British and American public with descriptions of his eructations and his vomiting (literally), and all his personal habits, — and this when he was a prisoner of war!

Repelled from the south of China, Mr. McLane at once went on board the Susquehanna frigate, and reached Shanghae within a few weeks, if not days, after the military escapade in which the residents of the foreign settlements came into bloody conflict with the imperial forces, then besieging the city. Everything was in confusion, and there seemed little prospect of a restoration of tranquillity; the rebels being in possession of the city, and what may be called its suburbs, and the imperial forces and authorities hanging round the foreign settlement only, it would seem, for purposes of annoyance.

The result of this state of things was the agitation of a very grave question as to the collection of duties on foreign ships. This had arisen when Mr. Marshall was minister, though the final decision was made by Mr. McLane. Its history is curious, if only for the illustration it affords of the different modes of action by ourselves and the English towards Orientals. In the autumn of 1853 the city of Shanghae fell into the hands of the rebels, and the Chinese custom-house authorities, in no causeless terror, fled from the neighborhood, the Taoutae taking refuge in an American counting-house. The first idea which suggested itself to the mercantile mind was, that a chance for increased shipments to great advantage was thus presented, if Shanghae could for a season be converted into a free port; and, though we have no access to the "Circulars" of the day, one of the documents now published (p. 370) shows that instantly on the news, as communicated by mercantile correspondents at Shanghae, reaching the United States, not only "heavy purchases of merchandise at high prices were made, and goods shipped at hitherto unknown rates of freight and exchange, but heavy sales of tea and silk were effected at home, on the assumption that the export duties were at an end"! It is not at all unlikely that the vision arose before the eyes of many, of Shanghae once a free port always one, and of release thenceforward from the inconvenience of paying duties in whole or in part. The mysteries of "long price" and "short price," by which, according to the bargain, the Chinese or the foreigner compromises the duties, would be needless. It is difficult, with all the papers before us, to understand how this expectation could have arisen; for the American minister lost not a moment's time, on the suspension of the imperial authority, in establishing a provisional regulation, by which the actual payment or ultimate security of the duties was provided. The merchants, or at least a number of them, remonstrated at this decision, resting their objections mainly on the ground that the Vice-Consul, Mr. Cunningham, (a gentleman whom these papers and all concurrent testimony show to have been a man of great energy and integrity,) to whom the manifests were to be delivered, and the duties paid or secured, was a rival merchant. Mr. Marshall reiterated his decision, in terms which admitted of no evasion, denying that such a suspension by violence of custom-house control annulled the treaty obligation to pay duties, and the system (the British Consul at the time agreeing to the plan) went into successful operation. The duty obligations of American merchants accumulated at the consulate, at the end of the interregnum, to the amount of 354,149 taels, or 524,000 dollars.*

"What possible advantage," said Mr. Marshall, in his reply to the merchants, "can result from a failure to pay duties according to the treaty? Who is to be benefited by the success of such a project? If you do not pay the duties here, the Chinese seller of tea or silk must pay them in the interior, and the prices will rise by the amount of the duties. The American consumer will never be benefited by the operation. Your correspondents in the United States will receive no advantage. I cannot fancy any reason for anxiety upon such a proposition, or any sufficient motive for its adoption. The effect of such a course as you propose would be, I fear, to expose the United States to the charge of being controlled by sordid calculation, and to cause the Chinese government to estimate the future promises of the United

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* Our readers may form an idea of the importance of this great port of Shanghae to the Chinese revenue, when they learn that in three years and a half — from 1854 to 1857 — the aggregate duties collected were $10,820,075, thus divided: British, $6,847,407; American, $3,183,668; other nations, $778,981. At this rate, the unpaid English duties of 1853 must have amounted to upwards of $1,100,000.

States as valuable or valueless according to the opportunities our countrymen might have of profit or loss, and not according to a sense of moral obligation."

It is very clear that the British authorities did not adopt, nor the British merchants acquiesce in this system, so obviously just and honest, as readily as the Americans did. They seem to have had a shrewd guess that the home government, whenever the time came to decide who should bear a pecuniary loss, the Chinese government or the English merchants, would take care to make it fall on the Chinese. But besides this, the English residents took what they called justice into their own hands; for when, on September 7, 1853, the Chinese custom-house in the foreign settlement was sacked by a rebel mob, an English resident, with his coolies, was at work leading the onset, and no English authority interposed. When a rebel leader from the city of Shanghae sought an interview with Mr. Marshall, then residing in the foreign settlement, the British Consul interfered to prevent it; but he seemed to have no force at his command to protect the Chinese custom-house from plunder. When the Taoutae first returned and re-established a provisional custom-house, the British Consul refused to recognize it, though the American Commissioner was willing to do so.

Mr. McLane on his arrival found the question of the actual payment of the duties still undetermined. The merchants were reluctant to see their obligations enforced, and urged many plausible reasons against this measure. It formed the subject of elaborate correspondence between them and the minister. It was then not settled as definitively as it has been since, by the action of the Executive at Washington, that the Consular Courts were not open to suits against American residents by the government of China for duties; but there was a very great reluctance on the part of the merchants to submit to that jurisdiction. In his political character, the minister had no right to determine the question. At last the idea was suggested, — by whom it does not very clearly appear, — that the controversy should be submitted to the arbitrament of Mr. McLane, and this course was at once cheerfully acquiesced in, first by the American firms, and then by the Taoutae. Nothing could have been more creditable to the merchants than this mode of adjusting the difficulty; for it shows that, although for themselves and their constituents they had a large pecuniary interest in withholding the payment and delaying the adjudication, they recognized the duty of observing the obligations of the treaty, and the obvious policy of protecting the Chinese revenue. Mr. McLane examined the subject with great care, and finally made an award, by which he affirmed the binding force of the treaty upon the American merchants, and, after deducting certain abatements for losses on exchange, &c., decided that there was due to the Chinese government the sum of about one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, every dollar of which has since been paid. When, on the 20th of November, 1854, Mr. McLane held his final interview with the provincial governor, the following conversation is reported: —

> "*Governor Kieh.* How about the duties?
>
> "*Mr. McLane.* I have filed a decree in the United States Consulate awarding 118,049 taels.
>
> "*Governor Kieh.* How as to the English duties?
>
> "*Mr. McLane.* I do not know. Sir John Bowring has informed me they will not be settled till he hears from home, and the Queen's answer has not been received. Heretofore we have acted in concert; now I act alone. I have no doubt the English will pay in the same proportion as the Americans, and their amount will be much larger than ours. This, however, is a mere opinion.
>
> "*Governor Kieh.* Better make this matter clear to the Consul. If all foreign officers were like you and Dr. Parker, *and all Chinese like me*, there never would have been any difficulty.
>
> "*Mr. McLane.* I have given a just award, but the amount is not so great as it would have been in time of peace."

Relatively small as was the sum secured by Mr. McLane's award, — and it was somewhat reduced afterward by mismanagement in the investments, — it was, as this dialogue shows, gratefully received by the Chinese authorities, who were, however, sadly disappointed in their expectations from the British, and, we must admit, had a narrow escape as to the Americans. Sir John Bowring, to do him justice, was anxious to see the British duties paid, or at least adjudicated. In July, 1854, Mr. McLane wrote to Secretary Marcy to that effect, but at the very time a despatch was on its way from Lord Clarendon repudiating the whole arrangement, and directing the Consul to return and cancel the obligations given by the merchants for the duties; and while the Americans, almost without a murmur, paid, as we have seen, one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars to discharge obligations which in law could scarcely be enforced, not one dollar was ever paid on English account.

It is fair to say that, but for Mr. McLane's award, nothing would have been collected from the Americans; for on the 8th of November, Secretary Marcy, adopting Lord Clarendon's view, or agreeing with him without concert, instructed our Minister to have all the obligations for duties cancelled and returned to the parties, and to rescind absolutely the provisional regulations. When this reached China, in the winter of 1855, the award had been made, and filed in a somewhat irregular manner, and the proceeds of the obligations had been collected and invested, though not paid over. Mr. Parker, who had succeeded Mr. McLane as acting Commissioner, or *Chargé d'Affaires*, advised the merchants of this decision, but, naturally embarrassed by the position in which he found himself with the Chinese after the submission and award, adopted the middle course of directing the Consul to return the obligations, and take new ones to pay the amount when the decision of the home government should be made, on a full knowledge of the facts.

> "If," Dr. Parker wrote to the Shanghae Consul, "on the receipt of this, the money paid by the merchants conformably to the award has been received by the Chinese government, then there the matter ends. On the other hand, if you have been officially notified that the imperial government decline to abide by their agreement, and to receive the money awarded and tendered, (as has been intimated,) the merchants are absolved from all obligations growing out of their agreement to the arbitration."

Luckily for Governor Kieh and the Chinese, Mr. Parker had rather a mutinous Consul at Shanghae to deal with, — a gentleman who, as appears from these papers, on one occasion wrote to his superior, "When his Excellency, Mr. McLane, was here, I did all in my power to forward his views, without reference to my own. But so soon as he left, I have fallen back on the supreme law of the land, — the treaty, — and there I propose to base all my movements"; which, being interpreted, meant that he had obeyed Mr. McLane reluctantly, and did not mean to obey Mr. Parker at all. Accordingly, when Mr. Parker gave his directions as to the duty obligations, Mr. Murphy, the functionary in question, peremptorily refused to obey till he should receive instructions directly from Washington. The acting Commissioner, justly incensed at this refractoriness of his subordinate, threatened him with suspension; but it was only when the Consul did receive orders from the Department that he sullenly obeyed. The correspondence is very discreditable to this gentleman, and illustrative of the necessity of a clear understanding of the true mutual relations of our representatives abroad. There is more than one painful instance in these papers of consular insubordination, amounting almost to "bullying." This special difficulty passed away pleasantly; for when Mr. Parker, in January, 1856, returned to China as a Commissioner in full, he and Mr. Consul Murphy met in Hong Kong and settled their personal controversy. Mr. Parker was evidently a kind-hearted man, and the Consul seems always to have made a very clear distinction in measuring his duty of respect between commissioners and acting commissioners, ministers and *chargés d'affaires*. In the mean time, Mr. McLane and Mr. Parker had both been at home, and explained fully the duty question, which was referred to the Attorney-General, Mr. Cushing, and so decided that, while there was no redress for the Chinese government in the Consular Courts, Mr. McLane's award was as obligatory as that of any other individual to whom a valid submission has been made; and, as we have stated, the money was paid, and gladly, if not gratefully, received by the Chinese.

As we look at the question at this distance of time, and with the distinct impression that our gentle and generous treatment of these singularly astute and perverse Pagans, in contrast with the selfish course of our English friends, does us very little good, there can be no doubt that the McLane award was a mistake, and that it cost our merchants an amount of money which might have been saved. Exorbitancy of action, (we use the words in a strict, and not at all an offensive sense,) on the part of officials, diplomatic or other, is always wrong, and never does any good in the end. Most of all is it apt to do harm when the action is judicial or semi-judicial, and where, as in China, there are judicial functions which are very extensive, and yet very precisely defined; and it is enough to make a lawyer's hair stand on end to read these documents, and see the intricacy and perplexity in which this whole business was involved, — how hard it is to unravel it, or to see on what precise principle the decision was made. We repeat that the settlement was very creditable to the American merchants, who for a long time had half a million of money virtually locked up, or subject to demand, and finally paid nearly half that sum, while not a shilling was ever paid by the English or French traders. We do not know whether, when Lord Elgin settled, if he ever did settle, the question of indemnities to British subjects, any claim of equitable set-off was hinted at by the Chinese negotiators, on account of these repudiated duties of 1854. If it was, it would not have been at all unreasonable.

In the state of things which we have described, at greater length than we intended, originated that which, in its past and prospective influence on the commercial relations of China, is of commanding interest. We mean what is commonly known as the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs, which, at first limited to the one port of Shanghae, has, we learn, by the late treaties been extended to all the ports, and is now in full operation. It does not appear who first suggested the plan; but its initiation is mainly due to Mr. McLane and Sir John Bowring. In 1854 the Chinese, seeing how terribly mismanaged their custom revenues were, and what a universal system of corruption and evasion of law, outside of their own iniquity, was springing up and rapidly becoming a normal state of things, either themselves suggested, or gladly received the suggestion when made by others, that three Inspectors, foreigners, one to be named by the Minister or Consul of each of the treaty powers, the United States, France, and Great Britain, should be appointed, and paid by the Chinese, whose duty it should be to supervise the customs, and see that the duties provided by the treaty tariffs were collected. In this plan the merchants, without exception, gladly acquiesced, — though they changed their minds afterward, when the pinch of regularity came to be felt by them, — and it went at once into operation, and has been continued ever since. The Chinese cling to it as their only protection. Of course, were it not that everything in China is said to be and is exceptional, such a system or principle could not be upheld. It was objectionable, at least in its original form, under which the nominations for these inspectorates were made by the consuls, — and their official oaths, and, for aught we know, their official bonds, filed in the consulates, — in making foreign governments responsible for the collection of Chinese revenue. It was objectionable in giving jobs and patronage to the consuls; and this was illustrated when Mr. Parker, supposing that he had the power to nominate, and that a vacancy had occurred, was told by the Taoutae that he had promised to keep the place vacant till the Consul, then absent on leave, should bring some friend from the United States to fill the place. It was objectionable, too, as it seemed to implicate the United States officials in connivance at the great smuggling operations in opium; for while every other article of import was subject to the supervision of the foreign inspectors, and the tonnage dues on any other than an opium-ship were collected by them below the anchorage at Woosung, opium and opium-ships were expressly withdrawn from their control, though every one knew that a duty was secretly levied on each chest, and that the drug was stored on board the hulks at Woosung, into which the steamers, English and American, regularly discharged it, within the limits of the port of Shanghae, or what we may call the collection district.* If the inspectors had done their duty faithfully, they would have seized every chest of opium, and confiscated every ship that brought it; and their neglect to do so was to make themselves and their governments responsible for the connivance. This, in the case of the United States, whose treaty of 1844 expressly forbade the importation of opium, was a monstrous inconsistency. The difficulty is now removed by the Conventions of 1858, which make opium dutiable, and get rid of the miserable masquerade which for years has been enacted on the coast of China. Still, in principle, the appointment of foreign inspectors was wrong; and the act of Congress of August 18, 1856, puts an end entirely to the intervention of either minister or consul in these extra-territorial nominations to office, so that the inspectors are now, without any express nomination, selected by the Taoutae. Practically, the system has worked very well, in spite of the clamor raised against it by those who fancied they were interested in a loose and irregular system. Considerate and conscientious merchants — and there are many such — knew that, in the long run, it was better that the Chinese revenue should be maintained, and the scandal of violation of treaty obligations avoided; and the result, as we understand it, is, that while no responsibility for appointment or for the performance of duties is assumed by the treaty powers, the Chinese government has not only pledged itself to what is most desirable, a uniform collection system at the ports, but to the appointment of citizens of the treaty powers as inspectors. We regard this as one of the most important results of the late negotiations, and believe that it will, if fairly carried out, do more to "moralize" our commercial relations than anything that could have been done.

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* The foreign inspectors always shut their eyes to opium, except once or twice during the war with Russia, when, it being whispered that saltpetre was smuggled from Calcutta to Shanghae in opium-chests, they opened them very scrupulously.

Beside this, which may be described as sedentary diplomacy, Mr. McLane, in the spring of 1854, made an exploratory trip up the great river in the Susquehanna, as far as Woohoo, about seventy miles above Nanking, and of course farther than any Western voyager had ever gone before. The English and French ministers, Sir George Bonham and M. de Bourbalon, had previously visited Nanking without effecting any very important results. They had seen the rebel camps, the rebel cities, and the marks of rebel devastation; and perhaps the only fruit of all the expeditions, including ours, was that it put an end forever to the delusion of the superior liberality and friendliness of the insurgents. The revelations made in the correspondence, to which we have space only thus incidentally to refer, are quite enough to extinguish the last spark of hope or confidence that may yet exist in the mind of the most zealous and sanguine of missionary sympathizers, and to strengthen the conviction that, bad as the imperial government may be, it is the only organization with which foreign governments can safely deal, or on which foreigners can rely for the very moderate protection to be expected from any government in China. Until this year, Mr. McLane's expedition was the most adventurous ever made up the great river. Lord Elgin has, it seems, gone much farther; and it remains to be seen whether this farther progress has done anything substantial for the general interest. His Lordship evidently adopts the same opinions that we have expressed as to the relative results of the rebel and imperial organizations; for in some remarks by him, in August last, in the House of Lords, he said: —

> "Beside considering the convenience and interests of those colleagues who were associated with him as the representatives of other nations, he was bound to consider likewise the interests of the Chinese government itself; for his conviction was, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain than that the resources of the Chinese government should be so crippled as to prevent their keeping up their position in the country. Nothing was more observable than the way in which the value of British imports was affected by the rise and fall of the imperial party. Their value rose and fell with the influence of the imperial government, just as certainly as the mercury in the thermometer was affected by the temperature."

Mr. McLane, like his predecessor, Mr. Marshall, had a fruitless interview with the Viceroy Eliang, and in the fall of 1854, leaving Shanghae in the month of October, he set off in company with Sir John Bowring to make an effort in the north. The French Minister was to accompany them, but his ship, the St. Jean d'Acre, grounding off Woosung, and being damaged, he gave up the enterprise, Mr. McLane taking the French Secretary of Legation with him on board the Powhatan. The expedition consisted of the American steam-frigate Powhatan, accompanied by the exploring schooner Fenimore Cooper and the steamer Hancock, and the British steamer Rattler.

This was a dismal diplomatic experiment in its results, though Sir John and Mr. McLane did all that men could do, dealing with bad weather — the approach of winter threatening to drive them back — and with a set of singularly acute and perverse officials, who were deputed to meet them, and who happened at this time to have a little right on their side as to the revision of the treaties. Sir John Bowring had taken up the idea that, by virtue of the "most favored" clause in the British treaty, he might claim the benefit of the privilege of revision at the expiration of the twelve years secured by the American and French treaties of 1844. We do not pause to point out the fallacy of this notion, which the Chinese discovered, and which we believe, though of this we do not speak positively, the Foreign Office disavowed. It is carrying derivative rights much too far; for really it seems to follow that, if it were sound, and had been admitted, Mr. McLane might, in his turn, under the "most favored" clause, claim the same privilege, and thus annul the express words of the contract itself. He did not, however, but justified his visit to the north on the ground of the grievances of which the United States complained, being willing, no doubt, to take his chance of making a new treaty, if his brother minister succeeded.

The English and American squadrons, if such they may be styled, anchored in the Gulf of Pechelee about the middle of October. This, as respects navigation, was comparatively an unknown region, and certainly a less propitious season than the allies now were forced to select could not have been found. The Lion, with Lord Macartney on board, had been there in the summer of 1796, and Lord Amherst in the Alceste in 1816. On two occasions afterward, once during the war, had British steamers been there; but on a coast where every now and then a great river turns from its ordinary course and makes a new outbreak into the ocean, there is not much help from such transmitted experience. Still, there was, with the aid of steam, no great risk, and the Powhatan and Rattler found themselves off the bar of the Peiho without any serious impediment. The secretaries, Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Parker, were sent on shore on a sort of diplomatic reconnoissance, the details of which, with their various and sometimes rather grotesque annoyances, are set forth in the documents before us. On one occasion Mr. Parker writes: —

"The hardest part of the day's adventures remains to be mentioned. We started to return in the Chinese boat that brought us, and were chilled through, 'stuck in the mud' waiting more men to pull us through it. No sooner was the boat shoved off from the shore, than she was taken by wind and tide to seaward. We were in no small peril. However, we managed to fetch up on the mud-flat of the opposite shore, a quarter of a mile below the point of our embarkation. All efforts to stem wind and tide were futile. The sun was setting, and our only alternative was to remain in the boat all night, exposed to cold and hunger, and to being driven out to sea in a small boat, or to leap at once into the water and endeavor to wade through the long extent of mud-flat (which at low water makes out some miles) to the dry shore. We resolved on the latter expedient, and had taken off our boots and made ready to jump into the water, when we saw Captain Stevens, of the John Hancock, approaching us in his boat. He very kindly, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, and the distance he had come and had to go before reaching the steamer beyond the bar, took us to a point from which we hoped to be able to reach the bank opposite our lorcha. This he effected with much difficulty, his men scarce able to stem the tide. We had now at least one mile to go through mud, through stubble-fields, across dikes, and over the parapets of the forts. In leaping one of the dikes we both sunk to our knees in the mire; and on approaching the fort the soldiers turned out *en masse*, as though they feared we had designs upon the fortress. We soon explained our situation, and they were satisfied. By the time the last rays of twilight were departing we arrived abreast of the Chusan, to which we were taken in one of her boats, grateful for the merciful providence that had rescued us from a night of great discomfort and some peril."

The scene of these amphibious adventures was the mouth of the Peiho, where it is guarded by what have since attained some notoriety as the Taku forts; for although some of these documents are dated Tientsin, yet that city is at least sixty miles up the river, and was never reached in our time till 1858. The arrival of the ships at the outer anchorage produced great excitement and alarm at the imperial capital. The Russian missionaries, in an elaborate report to the authorities at St. Petersburg, described the popular, and, so far as they could observe it, the official agitation, and gave a very odd account of the devices suggested to resist an invasion, and to destroy the ships. One plan was to employ divers, who were to be sent down in junks, and, swimming off to the frigates, were to bore holes in their bottoms and destroy them! At last, however, all modes of evasion being exhausted, and the weather for the time of year continuing moderate, the imperial court so far condescended as to send down a special Imperial Commissioner, Tsunglun, to meet the plenipotentiaries; and on the 3d of November, 1854, in a wretched tent near Taku, — the touching representations of Mr. McLane's ill health and Sir John Bowring's age having failed to secure better accommodation, — an interview was held. It lasted nearly all day, and was utterly fruitless. "I have not," said the Commissioner, "the slightest full powers to do anything;" and this he repeated over and over again. With such a disclaimer, it was idle to expect any good result; and how utterly desperate it was, and how little worth while was any attempt of the kind, may be understood from the revelation since made, that but a few months previously the Emperor had degraded a high officer, because in a memorial to the throne he had suggested that it might be well so far to humor the outside barbarian as to concede some of the privileges he sought, "*which were absolutely beneficial to China.*" Even such a concession was intolerable at Peking.*

It is in reference to these attempted negotiations of 1854 that the intercepted documents found by the English and French in Canton have their special interest. We understand them to be — for they have not yet been made public — the official reports of Tsunglun to the Privy Council of his repulse of Sir John Bowring and Mr. McLane, and the imperial orders with regard to them sent to Yeh at Canton; and we infer them to be of value from the very earnest language in which Mr. Reed, in his Philadelphia speech, referred to them, and to the rather shabby manner in which they were withheld from him. We quote the passage, not merely in illustration of our sketch, but in order to express our entire sympathy with the feeling which prompted its utterance: —

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* The delay off the Peiho was turned to very good account by our naval men, and a most admirable survey, with soundings of the whole anchorage, was made by Lieutenant John Rodgers, commanding the United States steamer John Hancock. When, in December, 1858, the assault on Canton was made, the only topographical map of the city and suburbs in the possession of the allied commanders was one made by the Rev. Mr. Vroornan, an American missionary. Off the Peiho, and in the attack on the Taku forts, the admirals had no other guide than Lieutenant Rodgers's chart, a manuscript copy of which, sent by the Russian Minister at Washington to St. Petersburgh and thence forwarded, happened to be in Count Pontiatine's possession. No copy of this chart was to be found in the American squadron, though equipped expressly for the China seas!

> "And here, arraigned as I have occasionally and thoughtlessly been, for a want of fidelity to my co-operators, (I have to use the word for want of a better,) I must refer to a matter of interest, and which, I confess, in some of its relations is yet a mystery. In the Yamun of Yeh, in Canton, were found many important documents, throwing much light on the past relations of the empire to foreigners. These were translated, and were in the hands of the allies. Some, of minor importance, were shown to me. One, however, purporting to be the report made by the commissioners who met Sir J. Bowring and Mr. McLane in 1854, and the imperial comments or *rescripts*, — a document of great and painful interest, as illustrating the habitual faithlessness of Chinese officials, — was in the hands of the allies during the whole of the difficulties at the Peiho, and was never shown to or seen by me. I never saw the document till three months afterwards, at Shanghae, when all was over, and it had but a faint historical interest. I do not venture to affirm that this was purposely withheld. It may have been forgotten. It related largely to important American affairs. It would have enabled me, in the difficult complication which arose, to regulate my conduct by a full and accurate knowledge of the whole truth. In one view I am sincerely rejoiced that the inadvertence or intention to which I refer kept these documents from me. They were certainly the most painful revelations of the mendacity and treacherous habits of the high officials of this empire yet given to the world. They cannot be read without contemptuous resentment; and I have no such confidence in my equanimity and self-control as to determine what might have been my inclination before and after the fall of the Taku forts, had the contents of these papers been known to me. Nothing, of course, that the Chinese authorities, high or low, could say or write, would have materially influenced my course of action, under or without instructions; but had these papers been seen by me, I am quite sure the moderate confidence I had in their professions would have been lessened, and my conciliatory tendencies not a little embarrassed. If it be, as I think it was, a mistake on the part of the English and French ministers, concealing or omitting to communicate these things, it was not without its good fruits in allowing my peaceful inclinations to have full scope. I do not at all regret what was done or omitted last summer; but I

deprecate any criticism on the course of the United States, when, either intentionally or inconsiderately, information to which we were entitled, in the friendly co-operation to which we supposed we were invited, was withheld."

Mr. McLane was naturally incensed at this result, and in a despatch to Mr. Marcy, of the 19th November, 1854, (p. 285,) he expressed his disappointment very plainly, in an urgent suggestion that what he called a "more positive policy" should be adopted by the United States, and that, if the Emperor should, on a new and direct appeal by the President, continue obdurate, the Peiho, the Yangtse, the Min, and the Canton Rivers should be at once blockaded by the united naval forces of Great Britain, France, and the United States, and held until "all the commercial privileges demanded by the foreigners should be conceded." Happily, in our judgment at least, cooler temper prevailed at Washington; but it will, we think, be very evident, that it was in the communion of English, American, and French diplomatists in 1854, and their sympathy in disappointment and a sense of wrong, and in these threats of war and blockade, so inconsiderately talked of, maturing, as we shall see, in Mr. Parker's suggestion, a year later, that there should be reprisals by an actual seizure of territory, that we may find the origin of the absurd expectation, on the part of the English and French cabinets, that we were willing to unite with them, even to the bitter end of actual war with China,—an expectation which, but for the discretion and good feeling predominant last summer, when the crisis came, might have led to very unpleasant results. Mr. McLane, whose health was much impaired, returned home in December, 1854, leaving Mr. Parker in charge. Mr. Parker left China soon afterward, on leave of absence; but in the summer of 1855, receiving the appointment of Commissioner, on Mr. McLane's resignation, he returned, reaching Hong Kong on the last day of December, 1855.

Mr. Parker's term of service proved to be a very troubled one; for it was a period of war, and, however we may differ as to some of the conclusions at which he arrived, no one can read his correspondence without being impressed by its revelations of high patriotism, singularly amiable temper,—sometimes sorely tried by those about him,—and most zealous devotion to the public trust. It is not easy, let us say, in passing, to judge of the exact merits of diplomatic agents without seeing both sides of their correspondence, and especially the instructions under which they act. Here we have but one side; for the Secretary of State did not, at the time when the call for papers was made, deem it proper to lay before Congress the letters of the Department. We can only infer their substance, and a reference to dates satisfies us that few indeed were the communications made from Washington, and that the Minister in China was pretty much left to his own imaginings. "Excepting," wrote our Minister on the 7th of May, 1856, "the encouraging note of the Secretary of the Navy, no government despatch has been received for the past four months"! Mr. Parker, all things considered, was fully adequate to his work. It was, we think, his misfortune to go to China by the way of Europe, and in his transit to have interviews and conferences with the two distinguished statesmen who then administered the Foreign Departments of Great Britain and France, Lord Clarendon and Count Walewski. There is no use in denying that a peer of the realm, an actual nobleman in the flesh, has very great influence on a fresh democrat,—using the word in its widest and not its party sense,—such as Mr. Parker was when, in 1855, after a life of devoted missionary and professional labor, he became an ambassador; and it is not easy to read his elaborate despatches and minutes of interviews in Downing Street and at Count Walewski's hotel without a smile. The war with Russia was over, and the enlistment question, though a little soreness remained, was pretty well healed; and it was in entire good humor that Lord Clarendon seems to have welcomed Mr. Parker. They talked blandly together about "concurrent action and co-operation" in China,—a phrase which means nothing or everything. They talked of "a common language and a common literature,"—those ancient, convenient, almost smoothly-worn stereotypes. They spoke of the Times's leader of yesterday, and the Morning Post of to-day; and Lord Clarendon (we can fancy the twinkle of his eye) assured Mr. Parker, "upon his honor," "that the London

Gazette was the only organ of the government." Then Mr. Parker told the Earl that it had always been "his sentiment, that England and America united have it in their power to maintain the peace of the world, and to bless the world"; and then the Earl, "with much earnestness," rejoined, "These are my sentiments exactly," and added, — so says the record, — "I always feel differently towards America than towards any other nation"; and then "he expressed himself most favorably towards the President and Secretary of State"! They then diverged to Spain and Greece, and thence back again to China, Lord Clarendon saying idiomatically, that as to piracy in China "there was no use being mealy-mouthed about it." "He followed Mr. Parker to the door," by way of pleasantry observed that "he should have great pleasure, on opening of Parliament, to speak of the *triple alliance*," and so, "with a very cordial shake of the hand, they parted." Mr. Parker's interview with Count Walewski is described with the same accuracy; and we honestly think that our plenipotentiary never entirely recovered from this aristocratic contact. "Concurrence and co-operation" were his leading ideas, ever afterward.

The impression which these interviews, so faithfully recorded, leaves on us, is that China was not much thought of at the time by the politicians of London and Paris, though it very soon after assumed quite an important position in the politics of the West; for, as we all remember, in less than twelve months from the time when Lord Clarendon and Mr. Parker were interchanging generalities and platitudes, there was a ministerial crisis, and what was regarded as a popular triumph of one party in England on this very China question.

As we have already stated, Mr. Parker had no better success than his predecessors in bringing Yeh to a personal interview. When his letter first went to Canton, Yeh's title as a cabinet minister was inadvertently omitted, — it was returned unopened, so sharply punctilious are these Orientals; and when it was at last acknowledged, the negative answer was given which we have already cited. Mr. Parker, who seems to have entered on his duties with great earnestness, determined to go north and visit the open ports at once; but it was not until July, 1856, that he was enabled to do so, owing to the inability of the naval commander-in-chief to furnish him with a suitable conveyance, Japan and Siam still interfering with our great material interests in China. On the 1st of July, 1856, he sailed northward in the Levant. On reaching Foochow, the intelligence was received of the homicide of a young American of the name of Cunningham, who had been fatally stabbed in a street brawl a few days previously. To this subject of " grievance " he gave most earnest and efficient attention; and these papers show that, though thwarted by every conceivable device on the part of the Chinese authorities, and obliged in the end to have recourse to the extreme measure of stopping the duties, he at last succeeded in bringing the supposed murderers to justice. We say the " supposed " murderers; for, under the voluntary or compulsory vicariousness of the Chinese system, no one can be quite sure that substitutes do not undergo the penalty of crime. In the blue book laid before the House of Lords, in 1857, we find (p. 218) that the British Vice-Consul at Foochow wrote to Sir John Bowring that, as Mr. Cunningham's murder was " purely an American affair," he was doing his best to prevent British subjects from meddling in it, and Lord Clarendon expressly approved of this policy of " neutrality." It seems, therefore, that it is only when Englishmen are outraged that " concurrence and co-operation " are desired. Mr. Parker proceeded to Shanghae, where we find him in August and September, 1856, anxious to act, helpless from want of facilities for motion, and a little despondent as to the practical and active co-operation which he anticipated. We infer this from the following extract from a despatch to Mr. Marcy of the 3d of September, in which, with most commendable resignation, Mr. Parker says: —

> "The contemplated plan of concurrent action on the part of Great Britain, France, and the United States never appeared to me more wise or desirable than at this moment, and with our present knowledge of the state of the empire; yet the causes that have operated to frustrate that plan thus far seem not to be the result of policy or choice on the part of the two former powers, but the effect of influences superior to the will of even sovereign states. That the extraordinary impedi-

ments hitherto to the accomplishment of this threefold concurrent policy and action emanate from an all-overruling Will, may yet become manifest."

On his way north, Mr. Parker landed at Amoy, and there, in an interview with the Governor-General of the Fukien and Cheh-Kiang provinces and an Imperial Commissioner, delivered for transmission to Peking his credentials, and a letter from the President to the Emperor. While he was at Shanghae, in the autumn, this letter was sent back, under some frivolous pretext, with the seals broken. It is entirely uncertain whether it ever left the hands of the local authorities, though Mr. Parker seems to have been of opinion that it went to Peking, and was there copied. Had the American squadron been available, it was our Minister's intention to proceed at once to the Peiho and make a new attempt at a revision of the treaty, — the twelve years having fully expired. The ships were not, however, at his command; the season was far advanced; the English and French co-operators were hanging back; and Mr. Parker, after an ineffectual attempt to reopen negotiations with the Viceroy of the Leang-Kwang, returned to the south of China in November, 1856, to find everything in confusion there, and that chapter of woe upon woe to China, and perplexity and annoyance to every one else, opened, the end of which is not yet. The lorcha Arrow had been boarded, and redress refused; the wretched suburbs of Canton had been bombarded; Yeh's Yamun invaded by Admiral Seymour and his marines, and plundered; and war was practically existing between Great Britain and China.*

We have no inclination to discuss anew the merits of the controversy which Sir John Bowring began, and which Lord Elgin is supposed to have terminated. Who would now care to read or think about a petty Oriental conflict, when he can refresh himself with the stronger interest and deeper blood-shed of Magenta and Solferino? Yet, in its day, this China war was a leading and stirring incident. It was the occasion, as we have said, of a ministerial crisis in England; and perhaps never in our day has there been a more remarkable spectacle of Parliamentary gladiatorship, and, we must add, of intense party spirit, than was exhibited in the debate on Mr. Cobden's motion of censure on Lord Palmerston's China policy. It gave that veteran tactician a chance for an appeal to the people, as it is called; the result being a victory by a sort of huzza, — "Palmerston forever!" — and a new lease of power to his party. But on the question itself, in its origin and its consequences, we have a very clear opinion. It seems to us that the case of the lorcha Arrow involved the assertion of something clearly akin to our American doctrine of the sanctity of the flag, and we therefore should think that the English authorities were, in the outset, right. The wrong of which Sir John Bowring complained, and for which he made the first reprisals, was nothing but an insult to the mere flag; for the British license under which the Arrow sailed, had expired eleven days before she was boarded by the Chinese. In fact and in law, she was not a British bottom; but the British flag was flying, and it was the British flag that was ignominiously hauled down; and when Sir John Bowring said, in his despatch to the Consul, that it made no difference as to the license having expired, inasmuch as the Chinese did not know it, he uttered no such iniquitous doctrine as Lord Derby and Mr. Gladstone attributed to him, but simply stated a fact which he thought illustrated the Chinese *animus*, the insult of the flag being precisely the same, whether she had a sailing license or not. "We have heard," said Lord Palmerston at Tiverton, "a great deal of technical argument about registers, and colonial ordinances, and imperial laws; but the question is a very broad and simple one. *Here was a vessel with the British flag flying*." If the English were right in the first instance, they were, it seems to us, as clearly wrong in expanding the ground of quarrel with the Chinese by seizing the occasion for asserting a claim to entrance to the city, under the supplementary agreement of 1847; and they were very soon made to appear more in the wrong by the failure of the military operations at the outset. Sir John Bowring and Admiral Seymour were compelled to admit, that, so far as any diplomatic result was attained, every step they took was a disappointment. "Take an imperial junk," said Sir John to the Admiral, "and Yeh will yield." The junk was taken, and Yeh laughed at them. "Seize the river forts, and all will be right." The Dutch and French Folly were taken, and no good came of it. "Assault the Barrier forts, down the river," cried Sir John. They were taken, though not dismantled, and Yeh was as obstinate as ever; and in less than a fortnight the guns on these very forts were remounted, and their capacity for mischief was as great as before. Even the breach of the walls, the assault of the city, and the entrance of the Yamun of the Viceroy, did no good; and the close of the year saw the English virtually driven out of the river, the factories burned to the ground, and Yeh actually engaged, in his ferocious fashion, in attempting operations against Hong Kong, and the passenger steamers between that colony and Macao. As early as the 6th of November, Mr. Parker wrote to Sir John Bowring, "The Admiral has now attacked the Chinese government in all the principal assailable points, and it remains, in the event of our meeting with further opposition on the part of the Imperial Commissioner, to consider the importance and the manner in which we are to maintain the position in which we now find ourselves, and from which it would be infinitely dangerous for us to recede"; and yet they did recede. Again, on the 14th of November, in a printed circular, the Consul said: "The Admiral sees no immediate prospect of a restoration of quiet. *The security of the foreign position will be as well cared for as heretofore*, but the nature and object of the measures now to be resorted to, his Excellency deems it desirable to keep to himself." In less than a month afterward, the factories were burned to the ground, and every foreigner driven from his position.

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* "I arrived upon the ground," says Consul Perry, in his official report, (p. 996,) "about half an hour after the walls were carried. I found the English in full possession of the place, — the officers, the soldiers, and the sailors helping themselves to what they pleased. I met Admiral Seymour within Yeh's palace, who kindly gave me permission to take a few articles as mementos of the occurrences of the day."

All this time American commercial interests were paralyzed, and, what might have been much more serious, there was great and increasing danger every moment that we should be politically embroiled in what, as the Consul had said of Mr. Cunningham's murder the year before, was "no affair of ours." Let us briefly state the dangers and the escape. When, on the 29th of October, 1856, the Admiral entered Yeh's palace, not only was Mr. Consul Perry there, helping himself to "mementos," but another consul, Mr. Keenan from Hong Kong, was in the breach, in very suspicious proximity to an American flag, that was waved about by some one, for the purpose of protection or display. Commander Foote, then on duty with his marines at the Factories, at once, and earnestly, disavowed these acts. This, however, was an incident of no moment in comparison with what followed soon after. Among the papers laid before Parliament were one or two documents of great interest, as giving the Chinese version of what was going on. We specially refer now to a paper entitled "An Address of the Inhabitants of the whole City to the British Plenipotentiary," and dated on the 5th. It came from Howqua's house, and probably was got up by his agency. It is very cleverly done, and we regret we have room but for a brief extract.

> "There is one point of which you lose sight. You do not remember that our authorities are subject to promotion, translation, and similar changes of office, which may remove them from Kwangtung; in the twinkling of an eye its whole establishment may be changed. But the native trader has been here, generation after generation, from father to son, from grandsire to grandson, for hundreds and thousands of years, without interruption of the line. You do not reflect upon the distant future, that, to inflict injury on the Canton people, is to make enemies of thousands and millions of men; that the longer the feud endures, the deeper-rooted it will be; that the more protracted the struggle, the more impetuous will be the zeal for it. Is it in your power to go the extreme length of injury that can be inflicted? To resolve on this, is truculently to contemplate the extermination of every living being in Canton, — is to contemplate the total abandonment of its trade. What, in that case, would be your gain? And, if resolved to go this length, how are you to dispose of the French, the Americans, and other foreign nations? This is the unanimous declaration, made with sincerity and earnestness, of the Cantonese. We submit it in the hope that your Excellency will deign to consider it, and we respectfully present our wishes for your Excellency's peace and prosperity."

This document had no effect, as the British plan of operations was determined. But, knowing Howqua's intimate relations with some of the American firms, and his friendliness to Americans generally, it is not difficult to trace a connection between this attempt at conciliation and the determination formed a day or two afterward by the Americans, to withdraw from the scene of conflict, and to give no countenance to what might be done or attempted. The Chinese seem, however, to have the knack of frustrating all friendly action; for, as is well known, it was while one of the leading American merchants (Mr. Sturgis) was actually on his way, in one of the man-of-war boats, to request the Commodore to withdraw the sailors and marines from Canton, that the flag was fired on by the Barrier forts, and a conflict most unexpectedly precipitated. There is no better, or certainly no more lively account of what then occurred, than that contained in Lord Palmerston's hustings speech, from which we have already made an extract.

> "We are often told," said his Lordship at Tiverton, "to look to our cousins in the United States as models of conduct, and there are some things in which they might just as well look to us [A laugh]; but if we beg of the advocates of peace to address themselves with 'eyes right' to the United States, pray what did their commander do, in this very difficulty in China, in comparison with our officers, civil and naval? Why, there was a boat belonging to one of their ships of war fired at. Well, that was a great insult; but there might have been an excuse made for it, that we were engaged in these hostilities with China, and it might have been said that this American was taken for an English boat. It is true, the officers in that boat waved the American flag; but the Chinese might have said that is a well-known strategy of war, and you wave the American flag to deceive us, — we believed it was an English boat, and therefore fired at it. But did the American commander, like Sir Michael Seymour and Sir John Bowring, demand an apology, and demand that a similar thing should not occur again? Not the least in the world. He inverted the usual course, which is said to be characteristic of energy, — a word and a blow; he put it thus, — a blow and a word. [Cheers and laughter.] He began to knock down the fort; and, after destroying that fort, he sent to the Commissioner to say an insult had been offered to his flag, and he hoped for an apology [Cheers], and an assurance to the effect that it would not happen again [Cheers]; and he gave twenty-four hours for this apology and explanation to be sent to him; but before these twenty-four hours had expired,

the ship which was lying near this fort saw something or other going on, which the officers shrewdly imagined was for renewed defence, if not for renewed attack. Well, this American officer, without waiting and writing to the United States to know what to do, — without waiting for orders from Washington, — he did not wait even for the twenty-four hours to expire, but he said, 'No, no, Mr. Chinaman, this won't do; you are throwing up fresh batteries and putting in fresh guns;' and he commenced the demolition of the fort, and took possession of these guns before the time had expired which he had given the Chinese Commissioner in order to make his apology and explanation. [Cheers.]"

This, though jocular, is a very fair account of what occurred; but we should do much injustice were we to omit to add, that the whole affair of the Barrier forts was eminently creditable to all concerned in it; — to Mr. Sturgis and his commercial friends, who, the moment they saw their country's flag insulted, were most anxious to see it promptly and thoroughly vindicated; to Commodore Armstrong, who authorized the movement, and so directed it that the "blow and the word" proved to be the true policy, — for Yeh neither then nor afterward uttered a word of complaint; and especially to Captain Foote, (one of the most gallant and distinguished officers of our service,) who carried his beautiful little corvette, the Portsmouth, into close action under a heavy fire, without touching the shore, in all the intricacies of those most vexatious tide-ways, and kept her there until he had silenced the four batteries. "The fire," wrote the British Consul, "was kept up with great animation on both sides until night closed in, when first the fire of the forts, and then that of the ships, slackened and ceased"! On the second day afterward, the forts were assaulted and destroyed; and no traveller now passes up the Canton River, and sees the heavy masonry of these forts thrown into utter and remediless ruin, without high admiration of the decisive gallantry by which it was effected. "During their protracted and arduous service," Admiral Seymour wrote to the Admiralty, "the American officers and men displayed their accustomed gallantry and energy."

This brush seemed a perfect godsend to the English authorities, consular, military, and diplomatic, who took it for granted that we were now completely involved, and had drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard; and they have never yet been able, we think, to comprehend clearly how we managed, for a special grievance of our own, to hit the Chinese so hard a blow without entangling ourselves in a protracted struggle. Sir John Bowring sent special reports home of the whole affair, telling Lord Clarendon that "the relations of the United States to China were in a most unsatisfactory state"; and, without a moment's delay, sought Mr. Parker, before the American blood could have time to cool, in the following note, which we find in these documents, dated on the very day when the Americans were blowing up the forts.

> "British Canton Consulate, November 20, 1856.
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> "My dear Dr. Parker: —
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> "I think it is of the greatest importance that you and the Commodore should visit our Admiral and me.
>
> "Yeh is inexorable, and has returned a most unsatisfactory answer to my communication.
>
> "If Commodore Armstrong and yourself could come up, that would be the best plan, perhaps; if not, Sir M. Seymour and I would come down to you to-morrow. Pray let me know which it shall be.
>
> "We have thrown shot and shell into the Pagoda, and beyond the wall of the city into the camp, — also among the yamuns of the governor and Tartar general; but all in vain.
>
> "We can hardly fail in effecting much, if we move harmoniously together. Very truly yours,
>
> "John Bowring."

Of the conference held in pursuance of this cordial invitation, we have, in these and the Parliamentary documents, two rather different accounts, tinged no doubt by the hopes and feelings of the writers. Mr. Parker describes his action and that of the Commodore as cautious and circumspect, and especially alludes to his disavowal on the part of the United States of any countenance to the claim of intramural intercourse, even to the extent of disclaiming Sir Michael Seymour's demand of it on behalf of "all foreign officials"; while, on the other hand, Sir John Bowring — "the wish," no doubt, "father to the thought" — wrote to the Foreign Office that the American officials "expressed the most cordial sympathy with his proceedings, and the earnest desire to act, as far as possible, in harmony with his policy." This despatch was received in London on the 16th of January, 1857, shortly before Lord Clarendon's letter to Lord Napier, directing him to invite the active co-operation of our government in the Chinese hostilities.

But the seeds planted in London and Paris were, in spite of all caution and repression, germinating in the heated atmosphere of the Canton River, and we seem to have been pretty rapidly drifting into the vortex of "co-operation"; for we find among these papers a despatch to Secretary Marcy, dated December 12, 1856, in which Mr. Parker makes what he himself describes as the "startling" suggestion of reprisal on the part of the Western nations, by hoisting the French flag in Corea, the English in Chusan, and the American in Formosa, and retaining these territories till the Emperor should come to terms. That we may do no injustice, and that our readers may see how near the edge we were, we quote Mr. Parker's very words.

> "Firm, friendly, and determined policy must be adopted, and I here venture confidentially to suggest, for the consideration of the President and his cabinet, the propriety of *each* of the plenipotentiaries being authorized by their respective governments to adopt, *as a last resort*, any of those measures authorized by the laws of nations 'when a state refuses to fulfil a perfect obligation which it has contracted, or to permit another nation to enjoy a right which it claims.' (Wheaton's Elements of International Law, p. 362.) Were the three representatives of England, France, and America, on presenting themselves at the Peiho, in case of their not being welcomed to Peking, to say the French flag will be hoisted in Corea, the English again at Chusan, and the United States in Formosa, and there remain till satisfaction for the past and a right understanding for the future are granted, but being granted, these possessions shall *instantly* be restored, negotiation would no longer be obstructed, and the most advantageous and desirable results to *all* concerned secured. Nothing could be more alarming to this government, and justly so, than the apprehension of the possession of any of its territory by foreigners. This will be a legitimate, effectual, and *humane* policy, far preferable to the destruction of forts, the bombardment of cities, and the destruction of life and property. It is only the extreme state of foreign relations with China to which we

have arrived that authorizes the suggestion of such a startling policy. Treaty obligations have been violated, just claims are treated with contempt, the lives of foreigners are wantonly sacrificed, the supreme authorities of Western nations, as well as their representatives in China, have been treated with contempt by the imperial authorities, commerce has been impeded, and hostile and deadly collisions have been brought about, so that some decisive measures on the part of Western governments have become inevitable. It is as a *last resort*, not to be adopted till friendly application has been made at Peking, that the above suggestion is made, and with a strong probability it will not be necessary; that a mere intimation to the authorities at the North will suffice; that, if by them compelled, the measure will be adopted, the intimation being made in a way that they shall understand the foreign ministers are empowered and ready to carry it into effect, if need be. If unfortunately driven a step beyond the threat, to its execution, the presumption is still stronger that *that* will certainly prevail, and the *last* resort of injured nations will thus be avoided, which, unless superseded by the success of these intermediate measures which are short of actual hostilities, may be the deplorable issue."

And again, on the 12th of February, 1857, he writes: —

"The subject of Formosa is becoming one of great interest to a number of our enterprising fellow-citizens, and deserves more consideration from the great commercial nations of the West than it has yet received; and it is much to be hoped that the government of the United States may not *shrink* from the *action* which the interests of humanity, civilization, navigation, and commerce impose upon it in relation to Tai-Wan, particularly the southeastern portion of it, at present inhabited by savages, to whose depraved cruelties we have every reason to believe many Europeans, and among them our own friends and countrymen, have fallen victims; and unless prompt measures are adopted to prevent, under the already vast and annually increasing commerce of this part of the world, the number of savage massacres will be greatly augmented. The correspondence embraced in exhibit G, relating to this subject, is respectfully commended to your special notice; also despatch No. 34, of December 12."

This policy of taking islands and commencing colonies in the Eastern seas may perhaps seem startling to some of our conservative readers at home; and yet it would be quite interesting to see how often this notion has been broached, and what favor it has occasionally found. Sometimes it is presented in the modest form of a coal-station or a guano deposit, and sometimes in the more ambitious shape of a great colonial settlement in Formosa. Just at the time when the English government — unhappily, we think, for the interests of humanity — were turning the cold shoulder on new colonies in Asia and Africa, on Borneo, Natal, and New Zealand, some of our public men were thinking and talking about what, after all, are but colonies in distant regions.* In 1852, Commodore Perry suggested to Mr. Fillmore's government the propriety of "securing" one of the Lew Chew Islands as a place of refuge and supply for our whaling-ships, and hinted at his own great success in past years "in subjugating towns and communities in other parts of the world"; and the idea was not altogether discouraged. When, a year later, Commodore Perry renewed the suggestion, on the ground of reprisals for some alleged wrong done by the Japanese, Mr. Secretary Dobbin thus extinguished it: —

> "Your suggestion about holding one of the Lew Chew Islands 'upon the ground of reclamation for insults and injuries committed upon American citizens,' should the Japanese government refuse to negotiate, or to assign a port of resort for our merchant and whaling ships, is more embarrassing. The subject has been laid before the President, who, while he appreciates highly the patriotic motive which prompts the suggestion, is disinclined, without the authority of Congress, to take and retain possession of an island in that distant country, particularly unless more urgent and potent reasons demanded it than now exist. If, in future, resistance should be offered and threatened, it would also be rather mortifying to surrender the island, if once seized, and rather inconvenient and expensive to maintain a force there to retain it. Indulging the hope that the contingency may not arise to occasion any resort to the expedient suggested, and that your skill, prudence, and good judgment may enable you to triumph over the ignorant obstinacy of the Japanese without violence, it is considered sounder policy not to seize the island, as suggested in your despatch."

That all such acquisitions (annexation has of course a different meaning) are unconstitutional, utterly and absolutely so, and could only have had their origin in the minds of untrained public men, is very clear to us; and we might turn over such adventurous political speculators to the law on this subject, as laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States in a case which, on this point at least, we hope may be considered as binding authority.

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* Congressional Documents 33d Congress, Commodore Perry to Secretary of the Navy, Dec. 14, 1852. Mr. Everett to Commodore Perry, Feb. 15, 1853. Mr. Dobbin to Perry, May 30, 1854.

> "There is certainly no power," said Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, "given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States, or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure. No power exists to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently in that character. Whatever is acquired must be acquired so as to become a State of the Union, and not to be held as a colony." — 19 *Howard*, 446.

In what way Mr. Parker's recommendation of territorial reprisals was received at Washington, these documents do not expressly show. It must have reached the Department early in February, and we have no further light on the subject than the remark made incidentally in Mr. Reed's Philadelphia speech, that, "during the latter days of Mr. Pierce's administration, Mr. Secretary Marcy instructed our Minister in China that the United States had no cause of war with China, and that there was no obligation, perfect or imperfect, on China to negotiate a revised treaty at or near Peking, or any particular place that *we* might find it expedient or convenient to select." This was sufficiently repressive.

The remainder of the year 1856 and the early part of 1857 were filled with matters of interest, to which we have not time now to refer, and which perhaps more properly belong to the next chapter of Oriental diplomatic story. The ministerial crisis in England, and Lord Palmerston's popular triumph; the attempt to involve our government in the threatened hostilities; the appointment and despatch of the four special envoys of England, France, Russia, and the United States, — all these can be barely alluded to here. The Earl of Elgin reached China in July, 1857. He at once applied to Mr. Parker to unite with him in a visit to the north; which Mr. Parker declined, not having received any instructions from the new government at Washington, and being naturally unwilling to act without them. Lord Elgin suddenly determined to pay a visit to India, — then in the strong agony of its bloody revolt, — giving as his reason that he was compelled to await the movements of the newly-appointed American and French envoys; and early in August, the news of Mr. Reed's appointment having been received by the previous mail, Mr. Parker returned to the United States. One other incident of his official term deserves a passing notice, if only to show how utterly regardless of all other interests than their own the English are, even when professions of sympathy are most abundant. Towards the end of July, 1857, more than seven months after the factories had been burned and the English forces virtually driven away, Mr. Sturgis and Mr. Cunningham, two leading American merchants, had a conference with Howqua at Whampoa, with the view of effecting a resumption of neutral trade, and communicated the result, which they thought very favorable, to Mr. Parker. The merchants were naturally restless at the interruption of business, and the chronic character which the English hostilities had assumed. The matter was fully discussed, without anything like a decision being reached, when the British Admiral — whispers of the American experiment having no doubt escaped from the conclave at Macao on the 3d of August — put an end to all doubt by declaring from his flag-ship at Hong Kong the river and port of Canton, and all its entrances, in a state of strict and actual blockade. So in point of form it continued until Lord Elgin removed it, in February, 1857; and so in point of fact, — for no really successful trade can be carried on while such a state of things continues as there has been since the taking of Canton, — it has been from that day to the present. And this not only without a declaration of war, but with reiterated declarations that nothing like war exists.

We have now traced the diplomatic history down to the successful action of 1857 – 8, and here we must leave it. Of this strange record we do not care to say a word further, or to attempt to point the moral it suggests. One thing is patent, that the Chinese, from the opening of diplomatic relations with them, have never had reason to complain of harshness or injustice at the hands of the United States or its representatives, and ought to make a very clear distinction between us and others. Whether they do so or not, it is very difficult to say. The reports that have reached us of last year's operations seem to show that they do; for it is believed that the American and Russian plenipotentiaries, when brought into contact with the Chinese authorities, not only received great personal courtesy, which costs nothing, and in China means nothing, but encountered no difficulties in effecting their objects. The stipulation in the treaty of Tientsin, that the United States shall, in time of difficulty with other nations, render their good offices to China, inserted at the instance and almost in the very words of the Chinese; the numerous virtually identical repetitions, in every form, of the "most favored" clause; and the very tangible fact that the Chinese government is actually liquidating the American claims, while the mailed hand of war has not extorted a single dollar yet for England or France, — all these things serve to show that, even with Orientals, in spite of Lords Palmerston and Macaulay, who have proclaimed a far less amiable doctrine, honesty is the best policy. Still, one's judgment may well be suspended till the end is seen. At the very moment when we are writing, the news is on its way, and we shall very soon know in what spirit the imperial court means to carry out what by many — in England at least — are considered the great provisions of the treaties of 1858, especially the visit to Peking. The interests and reputation of our country are in charge of a man of energy and discretion, and we feel entire confidence that, if any one gets to the capital, Mr. Ward will; and equal confidence that, if the counsels of rash and light-headed men should happen to prevail, — if the *coûte qui coûte* programme of access to Peking and residence there is to be carried out, — no drop even of Pagan blood should be shed in asserting it. There have been fruitless Chinese wars enough already. Lord Elgin, in his place in Parliament, has said that he felt it his duty to advise her Majesty's government not to press the right of permanent residence at Peking. Mr. Reed, in his Philadelphia speech, has said the same thing, with emphasis, though he deems the visit essential, if an adequate public necessity requires it. Neither the

Russian nor French treaty provides for it; so that, unless there be great indiscretion on the part of nations who go to war easily, and by mere executive will, the prospect of a resumption of peaceful relations is very fair. The desolation of Canton should be a solemn warning.

ART. IX. — PLUTARCH'S *Lives. The Translation called* DRYDEN'S, *corrected and revised by* A. H. CLOUGH, sometime Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford, and late Professor of the English Language and Literature at University College, London. In five vols. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859.

As there are many more persons capable of appreciating portraits than there are who can understand or enjoy landscape-painting, so are the pupils of biography much more numerous than those of history. And as for the writers and readers of professed history, are not the most popular works from their pens or in their hands virtually biographies? Lands and ages are described mainly by the memoirs of their representative men; and it is not events or institutions, but personages, that sustain interest in the narrative. Dramatic power is no less essential to the historian who shall win the suffrages of the multitude, than to the play-writer whose productions shall obtain an enduring fame in the theatre. Annals are consulted, not read. Constitutional histories are for the student only. Niebuhr and Hallam, the most philosophical historians of any age, are dull simply because their narratives are to so great a degree impersonal; while Macaulay's pages fascinate young and old, the illiterate and the cultured alike, because he makes each individual actor play his part and tell his story in the public eye and ear.

There is reason and right in this. Because it is so profoundly true, it is almost too trite to be repeated, that "the proper study of mankind is man." Consciousness is the recipient and interpreter of history; and consciousness identifies or contrasts itself, not with external facts, nor with combined movements, nor with the phases of national life, but with the emotions and experiences of individuals. Every momentous incident, however multitudinous in its actors or its subjects, impersonates itself to our thought. It is Alexander that conquers the world. It is Napoleon Bonaparte that revolutionizes Europe, and Wellington that overthrows his empire. The subordinate agents, though they be kings or world-renowned generals, seem of little more significance than the prompters or scene-shifters on the stage. We never feel that we comprehend a passage in history, till we have individualized it, so as to stand face to face with its one master-mind. As the nucleus to crystallization, so is the central figure to the orderly arrangement of dates, achievements, and events in the imagination and the memory. Our clear knowledge of particular epochs is designated, when we give them the names of the men who chiefly illustrated, adorned, or controlled them; as when we speak of the age of Pericles, or Augustus, or Luther, or Elizabeth. The epochs which lack such personal names lie partly in shadow. Our chief difficulty in conceiving vividly of the history of our own times consists in the unfinished lives and the rival pretensions of its actors, — in the indeterminateness of the relative influence of minds constantly interacting upon one another in the development of passing events. Posterity alone can pronounce the names around which our annals will group themselves in well-understood history.

Conversely, biography is our most profitable study in history. The man who gives character to his age is shaped by it and by antecedent ages. His mental and moral pedigree reaches back farther than the books of heraldry which we consult for his parentage. He has taken up into his life-circulation currents that have been flowing for countless centuries. He is the exponent, in great part, the resultant, the product, of more generations than have elapsed since his native language began to be spoken. He represents, in his peculiar sphere, what collective humanity has been, done, and attained in that sphere. In knowledge he stands on an eminence formed by the accumulated deposits of buried nations. In his moral culture he is enriched by the experiences of the whole past. His resources have been brought together from the experiments, discoveries, and inventions of all preceding time. A profoundly learned jurist undertook, some fifty years ago, to write the history of the United States, and in dying left several huge manuscript parts of the projected work, which it was found he had commenced in the garden of Eden, and was arrested by his last illness in a narrative of the discovery of America. The life of an individual, to be truly written, must, in like manner, begin with Adam, and epitomize all the intervening ages; not, indeed, in weary introductory volumes, or chapters, or even paragraphs, but in the biographer's clear conception at once of human nature itself, and of the elements brought together by centuries to modify human nature in his particular subject.

As to contemporary history, there is hardly need of the fashionable title, "Life and Times"; for the "Life" cannot be truly written without of necessity including the "Times." Government, religious creed or faction, international relations, art, literature, the collective standard of society, the current tone of thought and speech, — all leave their record in personal experience, — all are reflected from the mental states, the doings and endurings, the opinions and habits, of any and every man whose life is worth writing. The most strictly personal memoir presents a large section of local, national, and general history. No chronicles of contemporary or subsequent authorship will give remote posterity a view of society at the present epoch, which can be compared, in point of vividness and truth, with that which may be derived from a few assorted biographies of the men and women of our day. The recent memoir of Stephenson will transmit a knowledge of the wonderful revolutions wrought by the locomotive agency of steam, with its ramifications extending to every department of life, more accurate and thorough than will be conveyed in all the annals of our times that will be written. The life of Chalmers contains and suggests an amount of ecclesiastical history which, in a more general form, will not and cannot be compiled. Irving's Life of Washington embodies materials for a more comprehensive knowledge of the efficient causes, the progress, the *animus* of the conflict in which our nation had birth, than can be drawn from all the numberless impersonal compends of the incidents and transactions of that eventful period.

In ethics also biography is the only effective teacher. The working power of an ethical system is its sole test, and the sole means of commending it to confidence and adoption. Xenophon did much more than Plato toward perpetuating the influence of Socrates on life and manners. The Socratic Dialogues are for the speculative student; the Memorabilia for the mass of mankind. The Sacred Scriptures are conformed in their whole structure to this same law. The historical books of the Old Testament are, for the most part, a series of biographical sketches; and their efficacy in the moral education of the ages is due almost wholly to their sharply drawn and vividly colored portraits of patriarchs, kings, and prophets, devout men and holy women, apostates, sinners, and miscreants. The New Testament closes the canon, and consummates the work of revelation, not by didactic essays, not by dogmatic exhibitions, but by incarnating all truth and all duty in a life Divine in its source, its powers, and its offices, human in its arena and its experiences.

The highest ethical value can attach itself to biography only under the Christian revelation, and with reference to its perfect and immutable standard of excellence. If astronomical observations of permanent and universal utility are sought, the position of the observatory must first be ascertained; and that position is determined, not alone by its longitude, measured on varying parallels and from an arbitrary meridian, but by its latitude, reckoned on great and equal circles from the unchanging equator. Extra-Christian biography can give us only the longitude of a character as computed by a standard which has no validity of its own. Christian biography, when true to its calling, gives us latitude also, — distance from the eternally fixed equator, measured on arcs of those great circles which pass through both poles of the spiritual universe, and intersect all departments and conditions of human life. From characters thus determined, observations may be safely taken for guidance in duty and for defence against evil. Thus written, biography becomes availing for example, for warning, and for "instruction in righteousness."

Plutarch's Lives, on all the grounds we have specified, — even, paradoxical as the assertion may seem, on the last, — claim still, as they have held for ages, a place second to no formal series of biographies that has ever seen the light. Monographs, indeed, there have been, in which the author has thrown all his power and skill into the portraiture of one individual, and which stand out as equally worthy memorials of the genius of the limner, and the strong or beautiful traits reproduced under his touch; but no instance is there in which, with grace and felicity equal to Plutarch's, the same hand has depicted so large a diversity of character, of unlike races, and of widely distant ages.

In their historical character, these "Lives" certainly, at first sight, seem defective, and often untrustworthy. There is an occasional neglect of the order of time, and a grouping of events according to laws of association in the author's own mind. He sometimes ascribes to one person words or deeds which traditionally belong to another. He read Latin but imperfectly, and in his Roman biographies there can be no doubt that he in some instances misinterpreted his authorities. He had spent but little time in Rome, and lacked minute conversance with the details of public affairs and of social life in the imperial city. But his few and rare mistakes are with relation to utterly unessential and insignificant particulars. He never misconceives a trait of character, or violates intrinsic probability, or departs from the analogy of admitted facts. This keen insight and just apprehension as to the inner life of his subjects imply and result from a clear historical vision, a distinct and adequate conception of the age and community to which his hero belongs. Hence his biography is history, inasmuch as no leading personage or strongly marked character can exist without embodying, or be portrayed without presenting, large, entire, and momentous chapters of history. The following paragraph, by George Long, one of Plutarch's translators and commentators, does no more than simple justice to his fidelity as a biographer.

"There must be some merit in a work which has entertained and instructed so many generations, which is read in so many languages, and by people of all conditions; a work which delighted Montaigne and Rousseau, for it was one of the few books which Rousseau had never read without profit; a work which amuses both young and old, the soldier and the statesman, the philosopher and the man who is busied about the ordinary affairs of life. The reason is, that Plutarch has rightly conceived the business of a biographer, — his biography is true portraiture. Other biography is often a dull, tedious enumeration of facts, in the order of time, with perhaps a summing up of character at the end. Such biography is portraiture also, but it is false portraiture; the dress and the accessories put the face out of countenance. The reflections of Plutarch are neither impertinent nor trifling: his sound good sense is always there; his honest purpose is transparent; his love of humanity warms the whole. His work is, and will remain, in spite of all the fault that can be found with it by plodding collectors of facts and small critics, the book of those who can nobly think, and dare and do. It is the book of all ages, for the same reason that good portraiture is the painting of all time; for the human face and the human character are ever the same. It is a mirror in which all men may look at themselves."

Admirable as Plutarch's Lives are in their historical bearing, this is by no means their highest praise. It is perfectly evident that his primary purpose was the exhibition of conduct and character in their moral aspects, as worthy of approval and imitation, or amenable to censure. His discrimination is exquisitely keen. Fulsome praise and utter condemnation are equally alien from his genius and his plan. The foibles of his favorite heroes are portrayed with judicial impartiality. Crimes are related with their aggravating or palliating circumstances, while noble traits and generous acts are described with a fervor that betrays the warmth of his benevolent sympathies, and the elevation of his own principles and motives. Especially are his comparative views of his Greek and Roman subjects rich in ethical wisdom. Witness the following passage from his comparison of Theseus and Romulus: —

"Both Theseus and Romulus were by nature meant for governors; yet neither lived up to the true character of a king, but fell off and ran, the one into popularity, the other into tyranny, falling both into the same fault out of different passions. For a ruler's first end is to maintain his office, which is done no less by avoiding what is unfit than by observing what is suitable. Whoever is either too remiss or too strict, is no more a king or a governor, but either a demagogue or despot, and so he becomes either odious or contemptible to his subjects. Though certainly the one seems to be the fault of easiness and good-nature, the other of pride and severity.

"If men's calamities, again, are not to be wholly imputed to fortune, but refer themselves to differences of character, who will acquit either Theseus of rash and unreasonable anger against his son, or Romulus against his brother? Looking at motives, we more easily excuse the anger which a stronger cause, like a severer blow, provoked. Romulus, having disagreed with his brother advisedly and deliberately on public matters, one would think could not on a sudden have been put into so great a passion; but love and jealousy, and the complaints of his wife, which few men can avoid being moved by, seduced Theseus to commit that outrage upon his son. And what is more, Romulus, in his anger, committed an action of unfortunate consequence; but that of Theseus ended only in words, some evil speaking, and an old man's curse; the rest of the youth's disasters seem to have proceeded from fortune; so that, so far, one would give his vote on Theseus's part." — Vol. I. pp. 79, 80.

This passage is certainly worthy of a Christian moralist; nor is there in the whole series of Plutarch's Lives a single moral judgment which might not remain unchallenged if brought under review before the high tribunal of Christian ethics. Theodoret enumerates Plutarch among those heathen writers who had heard the Gospel, and transcribed many things from it into their books. His testimony is, indeed, too late to be received as proof of an authentic historical fact, and the Christian fathers were wont to make similar assertions of all philosophers and moralists whose *dicta* seemed to accord with the teachings of the New Testament. But the statement with regard to Plutarch is at least probable. Born at Chæronea in Bœotia, and residing there for the larger part of his lifetime, he was separated by no great distance from several communities of Christian converts in Greece. He studied at Athens at a period when St. Paul's preaching on the Areopagus must have been fresh in the memory of many. He visited Egypt for the sole purpose of study, and can hardly have failed to resort to the famous school of Alexandria, which had already essayed the union of the Christian theology with a modified Platonism. In his essay on Superstition he evinces a thorough and minute acquaintance with the ceremonial part of Judaism, and it is incredible that he should have remained ignorant of that offshoot from Judaism which was spreading its vigorous branches in every part of the Roman empire. His Dialogue on the Delay of the Divine Justice is so eminently Christian in its whole course of reasoning, and in its intense solemnity of thought and style, that there is not one of the Fathers of the Church whose reputation would not have been enhanced by its authorship; and even De Maistre, who has reconstructed it, expresses grave doubts whether his interpolations have rendered it more purely evangelical, — doubts which we are sure, with his judicious reader, will be decided in favor of the Pagan author, as more closely in accordance with the universal Christian belief and consciousness than his Roman Catholic editor. We can easily conceive, that, without the full presentation of the external evidences of Christianity which would lead to a conviction of its specifically divine and miraculous origin, Plutarch may have read the Gospels or other Christian writings, may have imbibed the spirit of their ethical teachings from the affinity of his own nature, and may have unconsciously adopted their standard for his judicial estimate of characters and deeds. However this may be, no Pagan writer before Christ gives evidence of a moral judgment so pure and true, of so profound a sense of the immutable right, and of so uniform a reference to it in the description of character and the narration of events and transactions.

The known facts of Plutarch's life are few. His family was of long standing and high reputation in his native city. He was probably born about the middle of the first century of the Christian era. His teacher at Athens was the philosopher Ammonius. At some period before A. D. 90 he was at Rome on public business, probably engaged in the prosecution of some claim or the advocacy of some petition in behalf of the municipality of which he was a citizen. He delivered, while at Rome, lectures which drew the public attention and interest, and travelled extensively in Italy. Suidas says that he was the tutor of the Emperor Trajan, and was invested by him with the consular dignity; but there is no other evidence of the fact, which is doubted or denied by all competent critics. The only collateral proof cited in behalf of this statement is a Latin epistle from Plutarch to Trajan, which is undoubtedly a forgery, for there is reason to believe that Plutarch was not sufficiently skilled in the Latin tongue to have written it. Moreover, Plutarch, in dedicating his Apophthegms to Trajan, says nothing of any special relation that had subsisted between the Emperor and himself. Plutarch was for a considerable time Archon of Cheronæa, and for many years a priest of Apollo, most probably officiating in that capacity at Delphi. He lived to a good old age. The date of his death is unknown, but it cannot have been far from A. D. 120.

Plutarch was married, and had at least five children, of whom two sons are known to have survived till manhood. A letter addressed to his wife on the occasion of the death of a daughter, — it would seem an only daughter, — while he was absent from his family, presents him in the most amiable aspect as a husband and a father. We quote a portion of this letter, as given in the "Life of Plutarch," in the first of the volumes now under review: —

> "Plutarch to his wife, greeting: The messengers you sent to announce our child's death apparently missed the road to Athens. I was told about my daughter on reaching Tanagra. Everything relating to the funeral I suppose to have been already performed; my desire is that all these arrangements may have been so made as will now, and in the future, be most consoling to yourself. If there is anything which you have wished to do, and have omitted, awaiting my opinion, and think would be a relief to you, it shall be attended to, apart from all excess and superstition, which no one would like less than yourself. Only, my wife, let me hope that you will maintain both me and yourself within the reasonable limits of grief. What our loss really amounts to, I know and estimate for myself. But should I find your distress excessive, my trouble on your account will be greater than on that of our loss. I am not a 'stock or stone,' as you, my partner in the care of our numerous children, every one of whom we have ourselves brought up at home, can testify. And this child, a daughter, born to your wishes after four sons, and affording me the opportunity of recording your name, I am well aware was a special object of affection." — Vol. I. pp. xi, xii.

This epistle closes with expressions of confident belief in immortality, — not in re-absorption into the soul of the universe, but in the continuance after death of individual, self-conscious life. If the writer had, either by books or through the living voice, become conversant with Christian dogmas, it is easy to account for this intelligent faith, in the simple form in which he enunciates it, as contradistinguished from those modes of statement, so prevalent in extra-Christian philosophy both ancient and modern, in which immortality is a mere euphemism for annihilation.

In harmony with the spirit of this extract are all Plutarch's references to his kindred. He speaks with veneration of his father, makes his grandfather take an honored part in his Dialogues, and in his essay on "Affection between Brothers" he says: "For myself, that among the many favors for which I have to thank the kindness of fortune, my brother Timon's affection to me is one, past and present, that may be put in the balance against all the rest, is what every one that has so much as met with us must be aware of, and our friends of course know well." He seems also, as a neighbor, citizen, and office-bearer, to have been signally mindful of those lesser duties and services which make up the daily task-work of a useful life, and which are the surest index of character. It is thus perfectly evident that the moral standard which he applied to remote and historical personages was none other than that habitually present to his consciousness, and supreme over his whole life. We cannot but think of him as an eminently virtuous man, not only for his times, but for any land or age.

As regards his intellectual adaptations, he seems to have been pre-eminently fitted for the description of literary labor which has given him his chief fame. Speculative philosophy was not within his province. He saw truth, not in its abstract formulæ, but as incarnated and verified in actual life. The best of his ethical works present principles in the concrete, and abound in supposed cases or illustrative examples, which he sometimes selects and arranges with exquisite skill, so as to make them consecutive links of a close chain of reasoning. The power of the "Delay of the Divine Justice" consists mainly in the appositeness and impressiveness with which the question is first opened, and then answered in detail, by a series of conspicuous instances in which retribution, because delayed, had been none the less sure, and only the more fearful and weighty. Where he departs from this method, his writings possess a much diminished value. A mind thus constituted, and a taste thus formed, could not but have found their most congenial work and won their highest fame in the department of pure biography.

We must confess a very restricted acquaintance with Plutarch's Greek style, one of his ethical treatises and a few excerpts from his "Lives" being all that we have read in the original. We are able, from this limited reading, to express our entire concurrence with the statement of one of his most erudite critics, that "his style is somewhat difficult to those who are not accustomed to it." His sentences lack simplicity, symmetry, and directness. He is prone to redundency of verbiage, and this seemingly on two grounds, — from a natural proclivity to rhetorical ornament, and from his exceeding earnestness to be thoroughly understood by his reader. His manner was also, no doubt, injuriously affected by the current Greek literature of his day, which lacked both the chasteness and the vigor of earlier times.

The great work which is specially designated as Plutarch's Lives consists of forty-six memoirs arranged in pairs, a Greek and a Roman together. The lives of each pair are generally followed by a comparison of their characters. In five instances this comparison is wanting; and, as there is no apparent reason for the omission, it seems much more probable that these *lacunæ* mark lost portions of the original work, than that they were left unfilled by the author. The Lives of Aratus, Artaxerxes, Mnemon, Galba, and Otho are ordinarily printed with the forty-six, but seem to have been independent compositions. Several memoirs, known to have been written by Plutarch, — some of them perhaps included in the compilation under review, — are lost beyond recovery. There is extant a Life of Homer bearing Plutarch's name; but its genuineness as his work is subject to grave question. Aulus Gellius quotes it as Plutarch's; but the very quotations that he makes would seem to designate the hand of a hair-splitting grammarian and logician, rather than of a liberal and high minded biographer.

The "Lives" have been often translated. Amyot's French version, which appeared in 1559, was the basis of Sir Thomas North's English translation, which was published in 1612, and which, though by no means to be commended for its accuracy, and of course the more liable to error from its double transfusion, has been justly admired for its beauty of style. The English version of John and William Langhorne has been often reprinted, and is to be found in many libraries in this country. The "Translation called Dryden's" — the basis of the edition now before us — is Dryden's only in its title. It is the work of many hands, the great poet having only lent it the sanction of his name, and written the Dedication to the Duke of Ormond, and the Life of Plutarch prefixed to it.

We take great pleasure in commending the edition just issued by the Boston firm, to whose liberal taste and munificent enterprise the American public are so largely indebted. Mr. Clough is well known as a thorough classical scholar, and a painstaking editor. Of the extent of his labors in revision we have not the means of forming an estimate, as we have at hand only the version of the Langhornes with which to make the comparison. But this comparison is very strongly in favor of Clough's Dryden, both on the score of fluency and idiomatic freshness of style, and of manifest fidelity to the turns of expression and the minute shades of thought in the original Greek. This new edition is characterized in its mechanical execution by substantial elegance. Each volume has an appendix, containing the names of the translators of the several lives contained in it, with supplementary notes, in addition to the foot-notes found in connection with the text. To the fifth volume are appended a copious alphabetical index, and a key to the pronunciation of proper names.

We trust that the appearance of this edition will revive an interest — perhaps on the wane with the present generation — in a series of memoirs by far the most noteworthy in the literature of either ancient or modern times. No youth should deem himself liberally educated who is not familiar with Plutarch. As an adept in the concrete philosophy of human nature, he can never be dethroned from his eminence among the great moral teachers of our race. His "Lives" have also an independent value, as making his readers incidentally acquainted with a very large amount of ancient literature. He quotes not far from two hundred and fifty writers, about one third of whom are known only or chiefly by citations in the works of other authors. His labors, extending from the mythical age of Greece and the more than semi-mythical era of the foundation of Rome down to his own generation, furnish collectively a large and almost a connected compend of Greek and Roman history, every leading epoch being brought into the clearest light in the person of its prominent actors.

It would be well if Plutarch were taken, not only as a teacher in history and in morals, but as an example for modern biographers. He had the just sense of proportion, and the regard for the limited receptivity of readers, which are almost wholly wanting in the biographical literature of our own day. His "Lives" are all of a commendable brevity, and confine themselves to the salient traits, the characteristic acts, and the public relations of his heroes. His reticence was indeed necessary with regard to his earlier subjects; but as to the later, he had access to materials that might have quadrupled or increased tenfold the bulk of his labors upon them. He might, by crowding his pages with the paltry gossip of times near his own, have gratified the prurient curiosity of his contemporaries; but this would have so loaded down his work with matter of ephemeral interest, that it would have passed into early neglect, and might have been submerged beneath the rickety arches of the frail bridge on which but a small portion of ancient literature crossed the Dark Ages to reappear with the revival of learning. The great men of our own generation are, many of them, sure to be thrust into oblivion by the very means employed to perpetuate their memory. These memoirs of several massive volumes; these prolix chapters, devoted to the details of pedigree, the pranks and follies and whippings of childhood, the minutiæ of courtship and of housekeeping; these masses of trivial correspondence; these sweepings of desks and commonplace-books, — owe their brief importance, not to any healthy or permanent interest, but to a kind of curiosity which is rife only while a distinguished name is fresh on the lips and memory of the public. In the climax of regret and reverence which ensues upon the death of a distinguished personage, everything that appertained to him is eagerly read by his friends and admirers,—by those who shared his opinions, seconded his measures, or were proud of his fame. But the next generation will have its own cluster of favorites, its own budget of honored memories, and will not afford time or thought for the lengthened memoirs of those whom it never knew in life, and whose places are already more than filled by new claimants for their regard. We are in intense need of Plutarchs for our own dead, if we would have their names held in enduring reverence among those who shall succeed us. It would be a matter of not unworthy inquiry, how large a proportion of biographical volumes remain uncut on the shelves of private and public libraries. Our own observation assures us that the purchasers of such books far outnumber the readers.

A definition logically consists of the generic character and the specific difference. In biography the former may for the most part be left to inference; it is with the latter only that readers are concerned,—it is the latter only that posterity will wish to know. That which constitutes the *e-minence* of the person whose life is written,—that wherein he towered *toto capite* above his contemporaries,—that which constituted the *specific* grounds for his success or his reputation,—is the prime material for a memoir. Every man who achieves distinction holds an official place with reference to his own and succeeding generations; and the public are concerned to know what that place was, and how he filled it. Every good man is, in certain aspects, an example for those around him and for those who come after him; and the interests of virtue demand that those aspects shall be clearly represented by his biographer, and not obscured by a mass of utterly irrelevant and perplexing detail. Every prominent actor in the important affairs of church, state, or society subtends in his life a certain arc of an historical cycle,—constitutes in part, in chief, or in whole a portion of the history of his times; and posterity need access to the history which he created, which he was, and are wronged and defrauded if that history be made illegible by interpolations which never had the slightest significance beyond a restricted clique of kindred and intimates. These prolix biographies, it is often said, are accumulating materials for the future historian; but they are rather rendering the labors of that mythical personage impossible, unless he shall be a Hercules in his working force, and a Methuselah in the years allotted for his life-task.

There are also considerations of delicacy to which a biographer should not be insensible. There are portions of every man's life which he would shrink from laying open to public inspection. Why should death remove the seal with which in life the most obtrusive inquisitiveness would not dare to tamper? There are almost always kindred and friends whose sensibilities are lacerated by such exposure. No man would willingly live in a house of glass. Why should the walls of a great man's dwelling be made transparent as soon as he is translated from it? The portions of the life that are by the common instinct kept from day to day sacred from the public gaze, should remain inviolate. Confidential interviews, communications designed for no third person, should be promulgated only under the demand of some great public necessity. Foibles that were veiled from open view should be doubly veiled when they can no longer give annoyance or excite resentment. Private correspondence, often carelessly worded, interspersed with familiar badinage, betraying transient states of feeling which would not have been committed to writing except for the most friendly eye, is the property of the writer, and is stolen and thrown out to the world only by a dishonesty like that which would rifle a dead man's purse or wardrobe. Papers for personal use, memoranda, unfinished writings,—such materials as, in their owner's keeping, would never have seen the light, or not without extensive revision and modification,—are in no just sense public property after the owner's death; and it is sacrilege to his fair fame to commit them to the press. Sins of this class deface the greater portion of recent biographical literature, and play a traitor's part with the well-earned reputation of their subjects. It is high time for our critical journals to take severe cognizance of such outrages, and to vindicate for the dead the rights which are no less theirs because they can no longer guard their sanctity or avenge their violation.

ART. X. — 1. *The Poetical Works of* WINTHROP MACKWORTH PRAED. New and enlarged Edition. New York: J. S. Redfield. 1859.

2. *The Etonian.* Second Edition. London: H. Colburn & Co., and Knight and Dredge, Windsor. 1822.

3. KNIGHT'S *Quarterly Magazine.* London. 1823 - 25.

EVERY one who has been a boy — a term we may soon attempt to explain — must at times regret the absence of a true picture of his youthful feelings and aspirations. A genuine boy is certainly no bad representative of the common idea of the chivalric hero of romance. The same belief in the supernatural, the same timid and unselfish worship of womanhood, the same dreamy anticipations of possible dangers to be overcome, the same sense — all-untrustworthy though it be — of the possibility of a cause and a moment which shall nerve the frame to deeds transcending ordinary powers, are common to both. And yet, while the Knights of the Round Table and the quest of the Sangreal are immortalized by the poet, who can point out a similar embalmment of the fellowship of youth, or of the simple devotion of a boyish soul in quest of the source of truth? That we can indicate but one or two such chronicles may be our excuse for calling attention to their existence, and for adding our feeble attestation to their fidelity to nature.

But recently we have heard the cheery voice of "Tom Brown," as he related the story of his school life at Rugby; and as we recognized in his simple narrative the spirit of a boy maintaining his youthful fire and freshness untrammelled by the acquired restraints of his later life, we acknowledged therein the strongest evidence of our conviction that boyhood is a state as distinct and remote from ordinary life, as the days of chivalry, or those dim recollections of the past which the poet idealizes as the realm of fancy.

There is an affinity between boys of all ages and countries which disdains local bounds and customs; and hence we trust the picture we shall endeavor to draw of an English community more than thirty years ago will receive the attention of those who can appreciate the scene only by that fine channel of sympathetic communication which we have indicated.

The scene of our story is Eton, that most renowned of English schools, and our hero is the poet Winthrop Mackworth Praed. His name at once challenges our attention, as showing an affiliation to that sturdy Puritan stem which has blossomed and borne so fruitfully on our shores. Born in 1802, of a family of good descent, yet sufficiently awakened by the introduction of new blood, and stimulated by the active cares of a mercantile life, to furnish a fair representative of the vigor yet inherent in the English gentry, Praed was placed by birth in a situation calculated to develop that precise degree of genius which he possessed. At the age of eighteen he was the centre of a circle of incipient poets and essayists, and to him probably belongs the credit of devising a means of satisfying their aspirations for an enlarged reputation. School magazines were not unknown; but the predecessors of the Etonian had failed to achieve the success which it commanded. We take up the volumes now, and the first page reveals at once the capabilities and the immaturity of the writers. Thoroughly boyish, the fun barely covered by an attempted dignity, it reads so like what we recall of our own school days, that we start at the recollection that this was thirty-nine years ago, and that the few survivors are by a long distance our seniors.

With the common impatience of fixed rules which characterizes youth, we find that the contributors occasionally varied from the parts assigned them. The pen of the Secretary, however, suffered no such lapse to appear in his record, and each character stands out in bold proportions. The Club and the Editors' Portfolio preserve the record of the imaginary assembly; and whether the members debate the nature of the spirituous compound which shall be honored with their approving vote, or whether they essay to test their talent by fugitive verses and essays, the guiding hand of their chief restrains all within their proper limits. Through every variation of feeling, and on every subject to which their attention has been called, these boys pursue their investigations. One learnedly discourses on poetry, another on the distinction between politeness and politesse; one pens sonnets, another epigrams; but throughout you feel the mesmeric influence of a hearty nature, and of the enthusiasm of a young mind, flushed with its earliest success. Amusing indeed are the attempts at mystification, and the assumption of a fancied importance; but when his Majesty the King of Clubs indites a friendly letter to his Majesty the King of England, ending with a petition for a holiday, we feel that the boy element is more powerful in the writer than any idea of literary achievement. We laugh at the picture of the petulant debater, whose prematurely learned discussions on morality are interrupted by an outcry against his quotations, which are only justifiable at recitations; while we acknowledge the similarity between this fanciful dispute and the more sober proceedings of our own learned societies.

We see, moreover, in this little republic of letters a truthful picture of the motives which will hereafter influence its members. An unsubdued honesty reveals the prejudices and unreasonable conclusions of the boy; the habits of mature life conceal, but do not alter, the mental processes of the man. When the youthful politician of twenty eulogizes one man because he is a Tory, and condemns another because he is a Whig, how unsatisfactory does the reason appear! Yet wherein does this differ from the controversy produced by that most brilliant History of England by Lord Macaulay?

Happily, in childhood animosities are as fleeting as friendships afterward become; and our Club, in giving us a glimpse of the dispute, affords us the satisfaction of witnessing its amicable termination. The bond of unity continues, and its result is seen in the magazine. Did space allow, we should be glad to cite some of these poems, buried now in forgetfulness, but yet as warm and heart-full as though they were assured of immortality. The beauties whose praises are so fervently sung are now beyond the restoring hand of art; but still the spontaneous gayety of the writer lures us backward, and we behold them as lovely as when he saw in them the realization of his highest conceptions.

Yet, with all this excess of life and gayety, there are not only indications of prospective talent, but those true evidences of genius which win success and fame for mature years. The poems of Praed are as delicately satirical, his sketches of life are as exact and daintily finished, as any of those productions which afterward placed him in a high position among the minor poets of England. As in the case of Chatterton, it seems marvellous that a boy, whose companions were absorbed in the routine of school discipline and studies, whose fittest pleasures were found at the cricket-ground and the bathing-pools, should have had the penetration to discover those specious deceits of polite society which delude even the actors into a belief in their reality. Yet Praed's first poem in the Etonian, in describing the various characters at "The County Ball," gives us a high opinion of his powers of observation. The attentive member of Parliament, with a soft word for each of his constituents, has his mask thus removed. The tender-hearted dame sings his praises: —

> "'For, when he begged me keep my seat,
> He looked so civil and so sweet.'
> 'Ma'am,' says her spouse, in harsher tone,
> 'He only wants to keep his own.'"

Though the youthful satirist could well discern the falsity of the shallow-minded throng, he was not unprepared with an idea of a virtuous and well-ordered life. Many of his lines show his conviction that truth had not entirely vanished from this mundane sphere, and evince that he had not fallen into the boyish conceit that age was incapable of deserving respect.

Poet and moralist though he was thus early, no one who peruses his prose writings as well as his poetry can fail to observe that he fully appreciated and enjoyed the spring-time of youth, and derived a hearty pleasure from the sports and labors fitted to his age. We can well believe that, as he was remarkable for his attainments in the classics, the ordinary school tasks were not irksome; but when we find him writing from Cambridge of the delight of the owner of "The Best Bat in School," we must concede to him something more than a theoretical knowledge of cricket.

This pleasure in the recollection of his Eton days always distinguished him. Long afterward he wrote of "School and School-Fellows": —

"Twelve years ago I made a mock
  Of filthy trades and traffics;
I wondered what they meant by stock,
  I wrote delightful Sapphics;
I knew the streets of Rome and Troy,
  I supped with Fates and Furies;
Twelve years ago I was a boy,
  A happy boy, at Drury's.

. . . . .

I wish that I could run away
  From house and court and levee,
Where bearded men appear to-day
  Just Eton boys grown heavy;

. . . . .

And pray 'Sir Giles' at Datchet Lane,
  And call the milkmaids houris;
That I could be a boy again,
  A happy boy, at Drury's!"

We are obliged to wonder at the facility with which he wrote, and the untiring energy he displayed in conducting the Etonian. Though, as we have said, ranking high in his class as a student, he found time to edit the monthly sheet, to which he was the largest contributor. Coleridge, Moultrie, and Walker, all destined to obtain high positions, were his principal assistants; but that he was the inspiring genius is evident from the fact that the magazine ceased when he left Eton. Years afterward an attempt was made to issue another school magazine there; but this was rebuked by the London Magazine, "with the memory of the Etonian still fresh at Eton,—with its exquisite poetry, its playful wit, its keen satire, its precocious knowledge, living in the public, not the local mind."

With his well-earned honors, Praed commenced a brilliant career at Cambridge, where he obtained an unprecedented number of prizes. In 1823 and 1824 he received the Chancellor's Medal for an English poem; in the former year by offering "Australasia," in the latter, "Athens." His early success was amply sufficient to deter him from idleness at college. In the great Cambridge Debating Society, the "Union," he was the opponent and rival of Macaulay. This exercise—a preparatory training, perhaps, for Parliament—did not suffice for his active mind. Charles Knight, since so well known as a publisher and editor, was induced to commence "Knight's Quarterly Magazine" in June, 1823, and here the debaters met in friendly rivalry. The framework of the imaginary society by which the work was managed seems to have been the production of Praed, and the active editorial duties must have devolved upon him. The contributors were all described, and their meetings in council were very spiritedly reported. Praed's favorite character was Vyvyan Joyeuse; and not only was the Magazine warmly praised by "Christopher North," in "Blackwood," but Joyeuse was introduced as an interlocutor in the famous "Noctes Ambrosianæ," a compliment which was rarely paid. Macaulay here gave some of the earliest proofs of his skill as an essayist and as a poet, and, with his fellow-contributors, Moultrie and Townsend, was for a time unsparing in efforts to maintain the position which they deserved. Time relaxed their ardor, and the publisher decided to discontinue the issue, long before the public had ceased to manifest a strong appreciation of the merit of the Magazine.

Praed, having completed his course at Cambridge, commenced the study of the law, still preserving his taste for literature. Knight having projected, in 1826, a weekly sheet, called "The Brazen Head," he had recourse again to his friend, who cordially joined in the scheme, and, with Barry St. Leger for a coadjutor, essayed the editorial duties. The failure of this enterprise closed his career as an editor, though he long continued to write for the "annuals" and magazines.

In 1830 Praed was returned to Parliament, and at once took his place among the rising men. It seems to us an absurdity to suppose that a prominent orator can be aided professionally by success as a poet. On this side of the Atlantic the prejudice against such learned trifling is too strong to be overcome; and even the political ability of Bulwer Lytton, Disraeli, and Macaulay in England affords no hope of any amelioration in our canon of exclusion. The success of Canning had aroused the attention of the English politicians, and we may be sure that it was no hinderance to our author that he was able to satirize his opponents. His "Lines on Seeing the Speaker Asleep" are still remembered and quoted; and as his talents were certainties, his versatility served to adorn his more sedate qualities. His promotion seemed sure; but after a few busy years spent in Parliament or official station, his failing health compelled him to retire from his employments in 1838, and on the 15th of July, 1839, he died of consumption.

Thus vanished the light of one who had given every promise of a successful career, both in literature and in active life. As with too many who have thus failed to complete the race, his memory has declined, and his reputation has been of that shadowy nature which depends upon the promise of great deeds, rather than on the fulfilment. The noisy march of the aspirants for fame drowns the voice of the fallen, and but rarely is stayed for the erection of a memorial. Those who were regarded as only the equals of Praed have now become the leaders in council, and his claim to his former equality is now, at best, grudgingly conceded.

His old friend, Charles Knight, closed a brief biography of him, some twelve years since, in these words: —

> "The two great speakers of the Cambridge Union, Thomas Babington Macaulay and Winthrop Mackworth Praed, sat on opposite benches when the oratory of sport had become a stern reality. The one has fulfilled all the hopes of his youth; the other — we can only speak of him with unbidden tears.
>
> 'But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
> And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
> Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
> And slits the thin-spun life, — but not the praise.'"

From the man, let us now turn to the works of the poet. His chief reputation has been as a writer of *vers de société* and charades; but this is only a portion of his claim. His longer poems — "Lilian," "Gog," "The Legend of the Drachenfels," and "The Troubadour" — are fine examples of the effect produced by interweaving a tale of "faery land" with the more ordinary narration of the actions of mortals. One of these marvellous romances, "The Red Fisherman," must be placed among the most exquisite poems of modern times.

The Abbot wanders forth to gaze upon the moon, and, intent on his meditations, strays to a place of ill repute, "The Devil's Decoy," where

"The water was as dark and rank
  As ever a Company pumped;
And the perch that was netted and laid on the bank
  Grew rotten while it jumped.

. . . . .

"The Abbot was weary as abbot could be,
And he sat down to rest on the stump of a tree,
When suddenly rose a dismal tone, —
Was it a song, or was it a moan?

. . . . .

"'T was a sight to make the hair uprise,
  And the life-blood colder run:
The startled priest struck both his thighs,
  And the abbey-clock struck one!
All alone, by the side of the pool,
A tall man sat, on a three-legged stool,
Kicking his heels on the dewy sod,
And putting in order his reel and rod.

. . . . .

"The line the Abbot saw him throw
Had been fashioned and formed long ages ago,
And the hands that worked his foreign vest
Long ages ago had gone to their rest:
You would have sworn, as you looked at them,
He had fished in the flood with Ham and Shem!"

The Fisherman disdains ordinary bait, and his first lure is a diadem.

"Cold by this was the midnight air,
  But the Abbot's blood ran colder,
When he saw a gasping knight lie there,
With a gash beneath his clotted hair,
  And a hump upon his shoulder.
And the loyal churchman strove in vain
  To mutter a Pater Noster,
For he who writhed in mortal pain
Was camped that night on Bosworth plain, —
  The cruel Duke of Glo'ster!"

Again the hook is baited and thrown; again success follows the temptation. The third essay has the same result: —

"One jerk, and there a lady lay,
  A lady wondrous fair;
But the rose of her lip had faded away,
And her cheek was as white and as cold as clay,
  And torn was her raven hair.

'Ah, ah!' said the fisher, in merry guise,
'Her gallant was hooked before.'
And the Abbot heaved some piteous sighs,
For oft he had blessed those deep blue eyes,
The eyes of Mistress Shore."

After many ineffectual trials, the Fisherman puts on a bishop's mitre, much to the Abbot's dismay.

"He signed — he knew not why or how —
The sign of the Cross on his clammy brow.

"There was turning of keys and creaking of locks,
As he stalked away with his iron box.

. . . . .

"'Fair luck to the Abbot, fair luck to the shrine!
He hath gnawed in twain my choicest line:
Let him swim to the north, let him swim to the south,
The Abbot will carry my hook in his mouth.'

"The Abbot had preached for many years,
With as clear articulation
As ever was heard in the House of Peers
Against Emancipation;

. . . . .

"But ever from that hour, 't is said,
He stammered and he stuttered,
As if an axe went through his head
With every word he uttered.
He stuttered o'er blessing, he stuttered o'er ban,
He stuttered drunk or dry;
And none but he and the fisherman
Could tell the reason why!"

Brief as our extracts are, we trust we have shown the melody of the verse and the imaginativeness of the idea. "The Legend of the Teufel-haus" is one of those romances of chivalry which convey a great moral. The knight loses his way, approaches a castle inhabited by fiends masquerading as mortals, and refuses to eat unless a blessing is asked. Driven thence, he finds a pavilion, where his whilom lady-love is lying, asleep and unprotected. He resists temptation, and throws his mantle over her couch, as a token that he has been there. The next morning his servants find castle and pavilion vanished, and beneath the mantle lies coiled a venomous serpent. This wild story is told most delicately, but with that curious, half-bantering vein running through it which we notice in so many of his later poems. We should say that his most striking peculiarity is the almost ludicrous comparisons which he introduces everywhere, — comparisons, however, which are always restrained by good taste, so as to give a quaintness to the style, without furnishing food for laughter.

In his early poems there is a buoyancy which afterward is wanting in his lines. His happiest days apparently were spent at Eton; and he never ceased to recall that early time in contrast with his active career in public life. The interesting sketch which we have from Mr. Willis, of the appearance and habits of Praed when in the midst of his Parliamentary course, confirms our belief that the weariness which oppressed him was no idle fantasy, but the result probably of that gradual decline in the physical powers so often attendant upon an undue development of mental capacity in youth. "The shadow of the grave," as it has been well termed, often falls upon the destined victim before any other sign of disease; and we do not wonder that a sensitive mind, thus overcast, should seek a relief in dwelling upon the thoughts of days when everything was bright and hopeful. Hence, too, we may comprehend and account for his fondness for children, and his loving appreciation of their natures. His lines to "My Little Cousins" reveal at once his kindly sympathy with their trivial joys, and his conviction of the impossibility of any renewal for him of as simple happiness as theirs.

"I used to have as glad a face,
As shadowless a brow:
I once could run as blithe a race
As you are running now.
But never mind how I behave, —
Don't interrupt your play;
And though I look so very grave,
Laugh on, laugh on, to-day."

If we turn from his serious pieces to those lighter poems which are now so often quoted, we find a vivacity which may be explained when we know that they were among the first poems he wrote. "The Bachelor," "The Vicar," "Quince," "The Belle of the Ball," and "My Partner," have become as familiar and distinct to his readers as any of the heroes or heroines of more ambitious poets. Nay, as they are portraits of the representatives of existing classes, we often find ourselves describing acquaintances most easily by applying the poetical sketch to them. As the lessons of "The Spectator" still possess a value, since the follies of the day have altered so little within a century and a half, so the existence of ball-room belles as Praed described them affords us a chance to test the accuracy of his description, and compels us to award to him merited praise as a limner.

As a writer of charades, our author has achieved a great success. There is an interest excited by these sportive fancies of the Muse which enables them to maintain their position against those critics who style them puerile follies. One of Praed's charades, "Sir Hilary," has attracted attention ever since its appearance, and is perhaps the poem most frequently associated with his name. On examining the thirty now collected, we are surprised at the skill with which he has embodied an ordinarily prosaic word in a poem of melodious cadence and truly poetic ideas. He stands almost alone in this province, once given up to the most miserable poetasters.

In conclusion we may say, that, while few poets have written purer verse than he, few satirists have done their task with more gentleness. While we laugh at the follies of the day as he portrays them, we feel that the very subject of the picture would read the lines with complacent thoughts, and with admiration at the skill which had individualized him as his own ideal. We will not attempt comparisons with other poets, but we avow our belief, that wherever there shall be found a mind which appreciates the beauty of graceful thoughts and kindly sentiments expressed in flowing lines and melodious cadences, there will be found an admirer of the poetry of Winthrop Mackworth Praed.

Of the present edition we can only say that it contains double the number of poems that had appeared in any previous issue, and has some features which will always render it unique. No collection of Praed's poems has ever been issued by his family, and the warm admiration of the late Dr. Rufus W. Griswold prompted him to attempt to preserve a portion of them. The public has now the result of a similar labor of love, which, we trust, may incite some of the poet's friends to do thoroughly the work to whose performance these efforts have been a necessarily imperfect prelude.

Art. XI. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *The Reminiscences of Geoffry Hamlyn.* By Henry Kingsley. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. pp. 525.

We have here a fresh, strong, living book, full of motion and activity of all sorts. It produces on the mind an impression like that which the Australia it describes makes upon the imagination, and overflows with hopeful energy, like that which brings encouragement to the unsuccessful worker in the crowded places of the Old World, when he thinks of a new country, to which he may carry his willing hands and his ambitious hopes. Rough at times in language and in outline, the book is all the more picturesque on that account; while the roughness sometimes rises into grandeur, and the picturesqueness into eloquence. The interest of the story is spread over a group of characters, who unite and disperse at intervals, and who obtain a nearly equal portion of the author's attention. The loss of intensity consequent on this arrangement is compensated by the naturalness with which the narrative flows on, and the vitality of the characters themselves. Some of them are not quite the persons we would wish to meet in our daily walk; but they seem in harmony with their surroundings. The descriptions of Australian life are quite fascinating, environed as they are with blossoming flowers and tropical fruits, and warming our cold Northern blood with tales of a temperature at one hundred degrees in January. How can the Australian critic read the English poets without entire dislocation of his almanac?

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2. — *Adam Bede.* By George Eliot. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. pp. 496.

The romance of common life has of late years found so many exponents, that it now maintains a fair balance against the attractions of high life and aristocratic emotions. The novelist's field has been much freshened and widened by this accession of territory, and new opportunity for the exercise of his or her talent is afforded by the greater range of character and incident. Of this style of novel "Adam Bede" is one of the best. Thoroughly simple and natural, its truthfulness is full of strength, and its simplicity is that of reality. There is a quiet atmosphere permeating the whole book, as the warm June sunshine fills the air. The rural scenes, the honest daily work, the home-talk of shrewd and hearty men and women, — all are managed with skill, and show the writer's own thorough appreciation of a quiet, country life. The stalwart frame of Adam comes out in strong and bold relief from time to time, and we own him to be a hero by right of suffering worthily borne, and labor uncomplainingly performed. The sweet face and eloquent words of Dinah win positive admiration, and the sententious wisdom of worthy Mrs. Poyser is set forth in proverbs worthy of Sancho Panza. For pretty Hester we feel less sympathy than if she had shown some slight inclination to struggle with her fate, and agree with the author in consigning her to quiet rest after her brief smiles and tears have passed.

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3. — *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Sen., Governor of Connecticut.* By I. W. Stuart. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 1859. 8vo. pp. 700.

Biographers are very slow to learn that the value of their labors is not in direct proportion to the prolixity of their memoirs. The lives of few men require more than a single volume of moderate size for their full and satisfactory elucidation. Yet such is the fondness of writers for reproducing the most trivial details, that it is now difficult to find a biography which does not fill six or eight hundred octavo pages; and if, unfortunately, the subject of it has left a mass of manuscripts, we are regaled with a voluminous collection of his Correspondence and other Unpublished Papers, extending, in many cases, to the most insignificant notes and memoranda. Thus, the recent Life of Jefferson by Dr. Randall covers more than two thousand pages; the Life and Correspondence of the poet Moore filled eight volumes; and the Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey, published by his son, required six volumes, to which must be added four volumes of Letters, since issued. The evil is equally alarming on the Continent, and recent French historians and biographers have rivalled the plethora of German writers. Scarcely anything is taken for granted; and long dissertations are introduced, which, however appropriate in a general history, are obtrusive in a Life of any individual, unless, indeed, he stood at the head of a nation, and must therefore be regarded as a representative man.

Mr. Stuart's Life of Governor Trumbull is open to this criticism. It is too elaborate for the subject; and if the lives of all the heroes of our Revolution were written on the same scale, the number of persons acquainted with only a single book would be fearfully increased. It is true that Governor Trumbull was one of the ablest and most virtuous of the men of that age, — a man of spotless fame, worthy to be held in lasting remembrance. But it was scarcely necessary to write his life at such great length, or to introduce so much of general history. Mr. Stuart has not yet learned to be concise, or to reject a part of his materials in order to give greater prominence to really characteristic incidents. Hence his style is diffuse, and his book is crowded with petty details, which retard the progress of the narrative, and withdraw the attention of the reader from its more important and suggestive statements. Notwithstanding these faults, however, and some unimportant mistakes, he has made a very acceptable and valuable contribution to our historical literature. His materials were very ample, embracing the voluminous collections of Trumbull Papers in the libraries of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Historical Societies, numerous letters in the possession of Governor Trumbull's grandson, and various other trustworthy documents, obtained from public and private sources. His knowledge, too, of subjects incidentally connected with his principal topic appears to have been unusually full, and his work is written with a just admiration of the character and services of Governor Trumbull.

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4. — *The Life and Times of Daniel De Foe: with Remarks Digressive and Discursive.* By WILLIAM CHADWICK. London: John Russell Smith. 1859. 8vo. pp. 464.

ALTHOUGH Daniel De Foe is now chiefly known as the author of that remarkable narrative which may be called "The Boy's Own Book," he was a prominent actor in the political intrigues of the reign of William III., and his life connects itself with much of the public history of the period. Sturdy in principle, active, industrious, and thoroughly devoted to William, he was an efficient supporter of the new monarch, both by his numerous pamphlets and by his personal advice. A thorough, exact, and well-digested account of his life and writings would therefore be an acceptable contribution to historical literature, while it would possess a special attraction in the variety of incidents in De Foe's personal experience. That Mr. Chadwick has failed to present such an account in the volume before us must be evident even upon the most cursory examination. He has written a very heavy and uninteresting book about a very remarkable man; and whatever other qualifications he may possess for his task, he certainly has not an adequate command of the resources of the English language. His style is hard, dry, and inflexible, and much of it is modelled on the worst pages of Carlyle. It is neither dignified, harmonious, nor idiomatic, and is thickly strewn with vituperative epithets. Mr. Chadwick is a strong partisan, always ready to engage in the discussion of side issues, however remotely connected with his immediate subject; and his readers are frequently treated with a tirade aimed at some party or individual of the present day. He never looks at historical events and personages through a colorless medium, but always under the influence of a strong bias. It should, however, be added, that he has studied his theme with much thoroughness. He has burrowed with the zest of an antiquary among the forgotten pamphlets of the age of William, and has given us very copious extracts from them. Indeed, a large part of his volume is composed of these *disjecta membra.* But much more is needed in the biographer of De Foe than the widest acquaintance with this rubbish. He should have the ability to condense into a few rapid and weighty sentences the substance of an entire pamphlet, to seize at a glance the important points in a controversy, and to bring vividly before the imagination of the reader the very men who wrote and struggled, with every accessory of time and place. In a word, he should give us results in clear, compact, and polished narrative and statement; and it is precisely here that Mr. Chadwick fails.

5.—*A Decade of Italian Women.* By T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE, Author of "The Girlhood of Catherine de' Medici." London: Chapman and Hall. 1859. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. xv. and 410, 451.

FROM the Preface to these volumes, we should infer that a principal design in their preparation was to illustrate certain phases of the much-vexed question respecting the education and position of woman, considered with reference to her social and intellectual influence. But with this exception, they contain only the slightest allusion to the subject. The work is to be considered as a contribution to biographical literature exhibiting only that degree of unity which is suggested by the title-page, rather than as a series of Lives written to recommend any special theory. It is true that most of the women whom the author has thus brought under our notice lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but their positions in life were very various, and they had little in common save their birth in Italy and their nearly contemporaneous appearance. The most distinguished of the ten are St. Catherine of Siena, Catherine Sforza, Vittoria Colonna, Olympia Morata, Bianca Cappello, and Olympia Pamfili; and this enumeration is sufficient to show how wide a range of subjects Mr. Trollope has treated. His knowledge of his subject is always minute and comprehensive, though we may not be always ready to accept his conclusions. Intellectual force is certainly not one of his most striking characteristics; and neither in dealing with the general history of the period nor in delineating particular characters does he exhibit a very high degree of skill. His style lacks grace, dignity, and purity, and we frequently meet with words which would have been rejected by any writer who seeks only to clothe his thoughts in clear and forcible language. Still the volumes contain much that will be new even to those most familiar with Italian history and literature. They are well printed, have a tolerably good Index, and are enriched with portraits of Vittoria Colonna and Bianca Cappello.

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6. — *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben, Major-General in the Revolutionary Army.* By FRIEDRICH KAPP. With an Introduction by GEORGE BANCROFT. New York: Mason Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 735.

AMONG the French and German soldiers who rendered important and memorable service in the struggle for American independence, Baron Steuben holds an honorable place. He was one of the first to tender assistance to the oppressed colonists. During the war he was zealous and efficient in his peculiar line of duty; and when the final victory was achieved, he determined to fix his abode here, and to associate his own fortunes with those of the nation he had helped to found. Born at Magdeburg in Prussia, in November, 1730, he entered the army at an early age, and served with credit in the Seven Years' War. At the close of the war he left the Prussian service, and spent some time in travelling, apparently undecided what career to adopt. But in 1777 overtures were made to him with a view of securing his services in the war between the American Colonies and Great Britain, and in the latter part of the year he came to this country. His tender of service was accepted by Congress, and he at once joined the army at Valley Forge. Soon after his arrival in camp, he was appointed Inspector-General, a position which he occasionally exchanged for the more active duties of the field; and he successively served in Rhode Island, and in Virginia, where he held the chief command for a short time. Though he was not a successful general in the field, his services in organizing and disciplining the army were of the greatest value, and his courage was undoubted. He was not, it is true, a popular officer, and while he was at the head of the troops in Virginia he failed to accomplish the results which had been anticipated from his ability and experience. As a disciplinarian he held a very high rank; but as a tactician he was surpassed by Lafayette, and by several of our own countrymen. His last important service was at the siege of Yorktown, where he was among the officers whose conduct was specially commended by Washington. Shortly after peace was concluded, he resigned the Inspector-Generalship, in consequence of the appointment of General Knox as Secretary of War, an office to which he thought his own claims were paramount. The remaining ten years of his life were passed chiefly in the city of New York and on his farm near Utica; but he was occasionally employed in public affairs. His death occurred on the 28th of November, 1794, at his country residence.

A brief and excellent memoir of Steuben by Mr. Bowen, published some years ago in the ninth volume of Mr. Sparks's Library of American Biography, contains everything which was then known of its subject. But Mr. Kapp has brought to light some new materials, and his volume will be generally regarded as a valuable contribution to historical literature. The sources from which the narrative has been compiled are ample and trustworthy; and Mr. Kapp has shown much patience in digesting and arranging his materials. Still his work is open to criticism. Its tone is too uniformly eulogistic, and Mr. Kapp finds it very hard to perceive any faults in the character of Steuben, or to admit the merits of those whose relations with his hero were unfriendly. In his judgment, Steuben fills a position which effectually shuts out of view the services of other men. To Lafayette, in particular, he is throughout unjust, and he loses no opportunity to depreciate the services of that generous and high-spirited man. Of Knox, also, he speaks in depreciatory terms; and in general his manner is that of a partisan rather than that of a calm and dispassionate student of history. His style is simple and perspicuous, and is marked by few foreign idioms.

7.—*Leaders of the Reformation.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D. D., Principal and Primarius Professor of Theology, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons. 1859. 12mo. pp. 324.

THIS volume comprises sketches of Luther, Calvin, Latimer, and Knox, chiefly designed as personal memoirs of four great religious teachers, but also presenting an account of the first struggles of the Reformation in four different regions. The substance of the volume was originally delivered in a course of lectures at Edinburgh, and the style bears some marks of the lecture-room. But considerable additions must have been since made, and in their present form the sketches are a judicious contribution to biographical literature. Principal Tulloch has investigated his subject with thoroughness and judgment, and has stated the results of his inquiries with frankness and precision. His narrative, both in respect to the personal history of the Reformers and in regard to contemporary events, is sufficiently copious for the general reader; and his analyses of the writings and doctrines of the Reformers are carefully made. His tone is, in general, calm, moderate, and impartial. He looks at the bitter controversies of a former generation without prejudice or passion; and while he sympathizes cordially with the spirit and tendency of the Reformation, he does not hesitate to condemn the excesses into which the Reformers sometimes fell.

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8. — 1. *Studies, Stories, and Memoirs.* By MRS. JAMESON, Author of "Characteristics of Women," etc., etc. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 32mo. pp. 408. [Blue and Gold.]

2. *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters.* By MRS. JAMESON. From the Tenth English Edition. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 32mo. pp. 352. [Blue and Gold.]

THE first of these volumes comprises a selection from Mrs. Jameson's miscellaneous writings, and includes several of the best known and most pleasing of her minor productions. Among them are the three essays on The House of Titian, Washington Allston, and Adelaide Kemble, which were first published twelve or fifteen years ago, and were reprinted, with other papers, in one of the volumes of Wiley and Putnam's Library of Choice Reading. There are also in the volume now on our table several short and characteristic tales, showing the versatility of Mrs. Jameson's powers, and a series of brief and suggestive Studies, chiefly on topics connected with German literature, taken from the Journal of her residence in Canada, published in 1838. Though the volume has little unity of design, it everywhere bears the marks of Mrs. Jameson's ripe culture and refined taste, and is an acceptable addition to the series of her collected writings.

The other volume is more homogeneous in its character, and comprises a series of biographical sketches of the Early Italian Painters, from Cimabue to Jacopo Bassano. In this list are embraced between twenty and thirty titles, including the great names of Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, Raphael, and Titian. Several of the sketches are of considerable length, and all are gracefully written, and are marked by an intimate acquaintance with the works of the artists whose lives are narrated. Few persons have written more justly of the great Italian masters, or with keener perception of their various merits.

9. — *A Select Glossary of English Words, used formerly in Senses different from their Present.* By Richard Chenevix Trench, D. D., Dean of Westminster, etc., etc. New York: Redfield. 1859. 12mo. pp. xi. and 218.

Dean Trench has rendered a useful service by his pleasant and instructive contributions to philology, and we cordially recognize the new obligation which he has imposed on his readers. Few men have been able to import more of wit and wisdom into a study which, to the uninitiated, seems dry and barren; and, like his previous treatises on kindred topics, his last volume bears all the marks of having been prepared *con amore.* It has all the freshness, vivacity, and amplitude of illustration noticeable in his previous works; and though it is cast in the form of a glossary, it contains much that is entertaining reading, and some curious extracts from our older writers. We have not counted the articles in the volume; but the author must have enumerated not less than four hundred words, "which, as current with us as they were with our forefathers, yet mean something different on our lips from what they meant upon theirs." These are illustrated by about a thousand different citations, nearly all of which are claimed as the fruits of the Dean's own researches, and many of which would be valuable merely as extracts. Obviously, in such a glossary, accuracy of definition and precision in marking the variations in the meaning of words are the most important requisites. But next in importance to these we must place the appropriateness and intrinsic merit of the illustrative citations. In each of these respects, Dean Trench has been eminently successful.

10. — *Idyls of the King.* By Alfred Tennyson, D. C. L., Poet Laureate. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 16mo. pp. 227.

Few volumes of poetry, within our recollection, have been received with more general favor, or have more richly merited it, than has this latest fruit of Mr. Tennyson's genius. Recurring to a field of literature peculiarly rich in inspiration to the poet, and to a kind of verse in which he has won some of his brightest and most enduring laurels, he has here achieved a new triumph. Relinquishing, or postponing, a design which he probably once entertained, of writing an epic in honor of king Arthur, he has contented himself with narrating four stories from the numerous legends that cluster around the court of "the blameless king." The brave Geraint and the gentle Enid, the wise Merlin and the wily Vivien, Sir Lancelot the chief of knights, the fair Elaine, and the stately Queen Guinevere herself, are the chief characters whom Mr. Tennyson has essayed to reproduce for modern readers in a garb suited to modern taste. Nor do we fail to catch brief and pleasing glimpses of the central figure around which all these lesser personages revolved. Mr. Tennyson's plan left him but little room for invention; but the exquisite play of his fancy and imagination, and the generally harmonious flow of his verse, throw an irresistible charm over the whole volume. There are passages in it which, for beauty and pathos, will not suffer by comparison with any portion of Mr. Tennyson's previous writings. The narrative is picturesque, the characters are admirably painted, and the whole tone of the book is in harmony with the subject. The few prosaic passages only enhance the beauty of the rest by the force of contrast; and the poet appears to have wholly freed himself from the affectations which disfigured his earliest productions, without falling into the dreary platitudes of some of his court-lyrics. The volume will take its well-merited place by the side of The Princess and In Memoriam.

11.—*Notes of a Clerical Furlough, spent chiefly in the Holy Land. With a Sketch of the Voyage out in the Yacht "St. Ursula."* By ROBERT BUCHANAN, D. D. London: Blackie and Son. 1859. 12mo. pp. 445.

MR. BUCHANAN'S Preface, pleading the imperfections of a hasty tour and a limited study, rather disarms criticism. If we say of his book that it adds nothing to our knowledge of the Sacred Land, we say not much more than he has himself said of it. The interest of the subject and the easy flow of the style barely save it from the reproach of dulness. The most readable portion is that introductory chapter which follows the yacht St. Ursula in her perilous and varied voyage from Scotland to Syria. In this narrative there are some pleasant pictures and some novelties of detail, especially in the description of Gibraltar. But in the Palestinian portion there are only repetitions of a tale a hundred times told, with the customary wearisome addition of the Biblical references and historical notices. The track of Mr. Buchanan's travel there was over the beaten path, and over only part of that. He did not go to Hebron, Gaza, or the Land of the Philistines, to Cæsarea, Carmel, Tyre, or Sidon, and his walks about Jerusalem were few and short. Half the objects of interest in the Holy City are left without mention, as they seem to have been unvisited.

Usually Mr. Buchanan adopts the topography of Robinson and the standard authorities. When he differs from this, he seems to us to be wrong, and he certainly gives no good reasons for his opinion. His view of the course of the Tyropœon is hastily assumed, and his theory about the "Tombs of the Kings" is unsatisfactory. The conjecture that Hermon, rather than Tabor, was the scene of the transfiguration, does not the more commend itself to our judgment that this new traveller has again brought it forward. Mr. Buchanan's objections to the traditional site of Gethsemane have less to recommend them than his objections to the Church of the Sepulchre as the site of Calvary, and the mosque on Mount Olivet as the place of the Ascension; though even here his conclusions are vitiated by loose reasoning and evident carelessness, as, for instance, on p. 245, where he writes "east" instead of "west," so overthrowing his argument. His derivation of the Arabic name "Urtâs" from the Latin "Hortus," because it is a *garden*, is simply ludicrous; and we take leave confidently to question his statement, that on the direct road from Bireh to Yebrûd a distinct and complete view of Bethel can be found. To see through the two miles of intervening mountains would require microscopes of stronger power than those suggested by Mr. Weller, Jr. in his celebrated testimony. It is a charming surprise, too, to learn that the Casa Nuova of the convent at Nazareth is "clean." A new labor of Hercules must have been performed there, to warrant such an epithet. On the Lake of Galilee Mr. Buchanan had an original boat-adventure, which enabled him to appreciate the miraculous narratives of the storm and the walking on the waves.

The worst literary blunder in the volume which we have noted is the frequent use of the word "lie" for "lay." He talks about the "*lie* of the land," and about a ship "lying her course."

12.—*Life and Liberty in America; or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada, in* 1857–58. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL. D., F. S. A. With ten Illustrations. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 12mo. pp. 413.

CHARLES MACKAY has not, in his sketches of American travel, like so many of his countrymen who have been lionized and feasted, answered with abuse and ridicule the civilities which he received. He has made a book as good in temper as it is in taste, in which the error is rather on the side of too much praise than of too much blame. He has refrained from the temptation to satirize follies, and has cordially acknowledged all the merit which he could find. At the same time, he does not write as one captivated by our institutions, or in the least degree weaned from his English monarchical prejudices. The author of the lyrics of freedom is no American democrat, and his "good time coming" does not propose to dispense with the Queen and the Lords. He feels a loyal exhilaration when he gets across the border, and he sees in Canada, East and West, what no Yankee is able to see there. Nay, in his ardor of patriotism, he even predicts that New England will wish to be annexed to Canada, and regards it as rather probable that such will be the issue, in the near dissolution of the Union which slavery must bring. His study of the New England character, in supposing the people ready to come again under British sway, is as inaccurate as his observation of New England railways, on which, he says, the "express trains seldom average more than twenty miles an hour." He finds, too, what no American tourist is likely to discover, that the speed on Canadian railways is *greater* than the speed on railways "in the States." He is sadly, however, forced to admit that the Canadian hotels are inferior; and his description of the discomforts of the inn at Prescott wins for him our deep commiseration. His testimony here may be received as just and faithful, whatever we may think of his assertion that a third of the "Thousand Islands" are to be seen on the passage from Prescott to Montreal. The querulous "Job's comforter" from Connecticut certainly told Mr. Mackay the truth, in exposing his blunder about these islands.

As a discussion of American manners or institutions, Mr. Mackay's book is superficial; but it is throughout entertaining, readable, and genial, and one comes to love the author, in spite of his conceit. The last chapter ought to have been left out; yet we could not well spare Holmes's ringing lyric of "Farewell" to the author. We do not need such repeated protests against the Maine Law to show us that Mr. Mackay does not belong to the class of "Temperance fanatics," since a considerable space of the volume is devoted to the subject of "drinks," on which the author discourses with genuine zest. Several chapters are given to the slave question, and the conclusions to which Mr. Mackay arrives will satisfy his English friends, while his admissions will mollify those whom his conclusions might annoy. Mr. Mackay will pass as a moderate abolitionist. Upon the Indian question he is discreetly non-committal; and no one could tell from his book to what religious sect he belongs, or whether he is a Churchman or a Dissenter. Boston and its literati are evidently his favorites, though he prefers the Savannah cemetery of Bonaventura and its ancient evergreen oaks to the more celebrated retreat at Mount Auburn. Chicago alone of the great cities he did not visit. In the chapter on "Americanisms and American Slang" he ventures the remark, which another poet is able to prove most fully, that every one of the flash expressions so common in different parts of our land can be traced to a Saxon root, and be justified by ancient usage.

The wood-cuts of Mr. Mackay's book are not only good, but new; and the verses which he has interspersed, if not great as poetry, help to illustrate the variety and the incidents of his long journey. The work will add to its author's reputation.

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13. — *An Oration delivered before the Municipal Authorities of the City of Boston, July* 4, 1859. By George Sumner. Boston: Geo. C. Rand and Avery. 8vo. pp. 67.

This is an admirable address, — simple in style, large in thought, weighty in matter, and moderate in tone. The most important portion is devoted to a statement of the obligations of the United States to Spain for her services to us during the Revolutionary War; and this is really a positive addition to the history of our country, evincing originality of research and sagacity of combination. Not less interesting to the majority of readers will be the masterly view presented of the progress of liberal ideas in Europe, and the nature of the obstacles which hinder their present realization, but which cannot prevent their ultimate triumph. In this portion of his Oration Mr. Sumner displays an intimate knowledge of the practical maxims which guide the deliberations of European cabinets, combined with a familiar acquaintance with the theoretical ideas of European thinkers; and the felicity with which he seizes the salient points of the great controversy between the principle of authority and the principle of freedom, as illustrated in the history of many states and many centuries, must excite the admiration of all who have waded through any part of the immense mass of confused and often contradictory documents, the comprehensive study of which naturally precedes any intelligent judgment on the subject. In the latter portion of his Oration Mr. Sumner considers the duty which we owe to the friends of constitutional government in Europe, in setting them the example of a constitutional government properly administered; and his observations on the importance of resisting any encroachments of one department of the government on the other will meet the concurrence of all judiciously conservative citizens.

14. — *The Cassique of Kiawah: a Colonial Romance.* By WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS, Esq., Author of "The Yemassee," "The Partisan," etc. New York: Redfield. 1859. pp. 600.

"THE Cassique of Kiawah" is the most recent in the series of novels that Mr. Simms has given to the public, and in artistic skill and vivid narrative is hardly inferior to the best of its predecessors. The series numbers now no less than eighteen; all or nearly all of which we have read, usually as they first appeared, and several of them more than once; and though there are very great differences in their merits, we have read none of them without interest, and most of them with great satisfaction. Indeed, in our own deliberate opinion, since the demise of Cooper there is no one who can be reckoned his superior among American novelists.

The scene of Mr. Simms's novels is laid, uniformly, we believe, at the South, and frequently in South Carolina. The localities are all familiar to him, and his historical researches have informed him of the events, habits, and manners of former times. To singular felicity in the choice of his subjects, Mr. Simms adds many other excellences. He has evidently a thorough mastery of the resources of the English language; yet we do not always approve his selection of words; and, while his sentences are usually well constructed, and often with peculiar skill, they sometimes betray extreme carelessness. In higher qualities, also, we find him irregular; yet we recognize in his writings, in a superlative degree, the power of picturesque description, the imaginative conception of character, the nice delineation of its delicate shades, the ability to deal with subtile and violent passions, and the skilful arrangement and development of intricate plots. The range of the characters he presents to us reaches from the highest to the lowest, including almost every variety; and he seems to be equally at home with them all. They are all genuine flesh and blood; and we become interested in them, as if they had been our friends and neighbors, so natural and living are their movements and speech before us. The graceful and delicate forms of human feeling are treated with entire appropriateness; yet the genius of Mr. Simms leads him rather to sketch the darker and more agitating passions. Revenge, fraternal hatred, and the like, often form the groundwork of his plots, and in most of his works stand out quite prominently on the canvas.

The writings of Mr. Simms are worthy of a more extended notice than we can now give them. We hope to be able, at some time, to present to our readers a careful and adequate review of his merits. We invite them now to the perusal of his novels, with the assurance that they will find themselves amply compensated by the pleasure they cannot fail to find in it. To those who cannot read them all, we scarcely know how to indicate a proper selection. "Charlemont," "Beauchamp," and "Confession" are, in our judgment, of least interest and least worth. To those who are fond of deep excitement, of rapid shifting of scene and interest, and of the tumultuous and wild in human character, we commend "Richard Hurdis," and "The Scout," or, which is its better name, "The Black Rider of the Congaree." "The Yemassee" is full of life and action, and is a touching tale of Indian treachery and fidelity. The half-dozen designed to illustrate the Revolutionary period at the South, namely, "The Partisan," "Mellichampe," "Katharine Walton," "Woodcraft," "The Foragers," and "Eutaw," should all be read in connection, both as illustrating one another, and because in the successive works we have the same characters, in part, continued and developed. Among those characters, too, there is one on which the author seems to pride himself, as being the creation of his own brain. We mean "Captain Porgy," who, like Cooper's Leatherstocking, or Shakespeare's Falstaff, was thought to be too good to kill off in a single book. We cannot but think the development of this character, on the whole, as awkward as his own protuberant person; though we are very little disposed to quarrel with a hero from whose conversation we have gathered so much philosophy, and with and at whom we have so often laughed.

Those readers who are acquainted with the early history of Carolina, and the famous constitution framed for the infant colony by John Locke, will remember the title "Cassique," — derived from the natives, indeed, but appropriated by him to one of the higher orders of his projected aristocracy. The red men of that region gave the name "Kiawah" to the Ashley River, on which the city of Charleston now stands. The romance before us is named from one of its principal characters, who, by virtue of that office, occupied a large tract of land on the river. His brother, the other leading personage of the tale, is introduced to us as the Captain of the Happy-go-Lucky, a buccaneer somewhat of the Drake and Cavendish school, with perhaps a higher order of sentiment and more refinement than they had. The time of the action is 1682, just when privateers had been declared pirates, and much of the plot turns on this change of public policy. Its main interest, however, arises from the fact that the elder brother had wooed and married the maiden to whom the younger had been betrothed. Under the management of an ambitious and unscrupulous mother, she had been induced to transfer her allegiance, though not her affections, from a lover whom she was taught to believe no longer living. It will be seen at once that this contrast in the interests of the brothers, and the likeness and unlikeness of their characters which their common blood and different position would generate, must needs furnish a skilful writer with many scenes of the intensest dramatic interest, and that the proper unravelling of such a skein would call for no slight exertion of genius.

We must say, that, in our opinion, Mr. Simms has achieved this difficult task with remarkable success. The proprieties of characters and position are everywhere preserved, and all the violent contrasts that face us at the outset are perfectly harmonized in the consummation. The scene changes from the deck and cabin of the privateer to the swampy and wooded banks of the Ashley; from the low drinking-houses to the fashionable saloons and masquerades of Charleston; from a naval engagement on the coast to an Indian assault and massacre at the barony of Kiawah. Of course a great many subordinate personages are introduced, all of whom are skilfully drawn and effectively handled. The wife of the Cassique, so deeply loved by both the brothers, though not often presented to the reader, makes on him the impression of a saintly purity and loveliness, which is finely contrasted with the hard and unfeeling selfishness of her false and scheming mother. Zulieme, the child-wife of the rover, is totally unlike them both. She is, indeed, the original character of the book, — a pure creation of the author; yet so naturally conceived, and all her peculiarities so ably sustained, that we seem to have known her well already, and can only wonder that we never before met her in the regions of fiction. She has all the truth and affection of a wife, with the simplicity and wondering ignorance and changeful moods of a spoiled, pouting child. The combination is wrought with great skill, and Zulieme is, of his female characters, on the whole, the author's masterpiece. But there is hardly any character introduced that is not well drawn. The Governor of the Colony, timid and covetous, a confederate with the free-trader; the ambitious and treacherous lieutenant, who would supplant his chief; the two sprigs of nobility from England, conceited, yet brave and manly; the female would-be leader of fashionable society, unprincipled and vain; the coarse, vulgar, desperate, murderous pirate; the Indian boy, Iswattee; — all of these are drawn with a fulness and accuracy of delineation that leave little to be desired for the completeness of the picture. With this skill in portraiture is combined a constant onward movement in the action of the piece, and passions vehement and tender are so blended with changing scenes and interests that he who has once been engaged in its perusal will hardly feel disposed to lay the book aside until he has read it to its close.

15.—*Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.* By GRIFFITH J. McREE. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1857. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 570, 605.

THE people of North Carolina have shown themselves slow to commemorate — shall we conclude slow to appreciate also? — the merits of the great men whose lives have given its brightest lustre to her name. Of the long catalogue of able and distinguished men she has borne and nurtured, to how few has any memorial been erected! In the last volume of Sparks's American Biography is a memoir of General William R. Davie. A little later appeared Carruthers's Life of David Caldwell. We have seen also an almost worthless sketch of the career of Nathaniel Macon. Besides these, we do not remember to have seen a memoir of any of the worthies of North Carolina, beyond such meagre accounts as might befit the columns of a newspaper or a magazine, — saving only the materials for biographies, rather than biographies, that are accumulated in Wheeler's History. Yet the men of that State speak proudly, and may well speak proudly, of such ancestors as Harnett and Johnson and Caswell and Hooper, and the heroes of Mecklenburg, and of Stanly and Gaston of later times; while no one stirs a finger to rescue their memory from the uncertainties of tradition, or from utter oblivion. The few works we have named above, all of which are comparatively recent, may be thought to indicate the awakening of a better feeling; and are, we trust, the first in a series of efforts to do justice to those high-minded and noble men, to whom that State owes so much, and whom it is to her discredit that she has so long neglected or forgotten. The Life of Mr. Justice Iredell, now before us, is another worthy contribution in the same direction.

The life of Mr. Iredell was by no means an eventful one; yet his talents made him a man of mark in his own region, and his active habits and excellences of character gave him great influence over those who came within his sphere. He was born in England in 1751, and, coming to North Carolina while yet a mere lad, found in the unsettled condition of the country during the times of the Revolution, and the gradual progress of society which ensued, the best possible conditions for success and prosperity. He early devoted himself to the profession of the law, and while yet a young man acquired a very enviable reputation for legal skill and learning. As early as 1777, when only twenty-six years old, he was placed on the bench of the Superior Court of North Carolina, a position which, however, he soon resigned. Among the leaders in the Revolutionary movements in that Colony, few were more active than he, and few labored more effectively. Though the youngest of their number, he was the sharer of all their plans, and his blended boldness and caution, and his clear political foresight, rendered his assistance invaluable. He seems never to have been what may be called a popular man. He did not seek to operate directly on the masses of his countrymen, and, we imagine, had little familiarity with the details of political manœuvres. But he certainly had great power over leading minds. In 1779 he was appointed Attorney-General of the State by Governor Caswell, and held that post for several years. In the Convention which first met to deliberate on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, he was the most conspicuous among the debaters, and foremost, in a body which contained many remarkable men, for learning, genius, and eloquence, and for the earnestness with which, though in vain, he advocated its ratification. Yet he devoted his best efforts to his profession. In 1779 was published a work of great labor, which he prepared under a commission from the government of the State, a thorough and complete revisal of the laws of North Carolina. In 1790 his high legal attainments were recognized and rewarded in his appointment, by President Washington, to the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. This office he continued to hold till his death, in 1799, and discharged its high functions with signal ability and universal commendation.

These volumes are, on the whole, edited with great skill. The larger part of them is occupied by the letters of Mr. Iredell and his correspondents, which are of much interest. They run through a period of more than thirty years, the most exciting and important in the history of our nation, and everywhere throw light on the movement of public events, while they give us many glimpses of the state of society, the domestic politics, and the characters of public men, in North Carolina. Many of them, too, are racy, idiomatic, and extremely well written. Most of the men then prominent in that State are thus presented to us, by their own disclosure of themselves, or by the portraiture of their neighbors. To each chapter the editor has prefixed a condensed summary of the important events of the period, and in foot-notes has given all needful statements as to persons and things referred to in the text. With a style rather too ambitious, perhaps, and language of which the good taste may be sometimes doubted, he is always clear and forcible. He is evidently very cautious in regard to his facts, and in general his statements are to be relied on for their accuracy; and this in spite of evident traces, here and there, of local and personal feeling.

16.—*Intermèdes et Poèmes.* Par HENRI BLAZE DE BURY. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1859. 16mo. pp. 371.

THE first and longest of these pieces, "Jenny Plautin," is a story of French literary life, the leading incident of which is the heroine's committing suicide in order to start into activity and spur on to fame her husband's aspiring but unproductive genius. The device issues in making him a *roué*, and in degrading his ambition to the standard of his ability. Of course, anywhere but in France, where suicide is turned into a dramatic art, and life is held at a lower price than the most paltry whim, this plot would be absurd: there it is less strange, less incredible than well-authenticated facts of the same order have sometimes seemed. The characters in this metrical *nouvellette* are drawn with singular clearness of outline, and the heroine, notwithstanding her melodramatic exit from the stage, is a woman of surpassing nobleness of spirit, uniting strength and tenderness as they are seldom seen blended in actual life. The versification is smooth and harmonious, and the entire poem gives us a very high appreciation of the author's wealth of imagination and command of the resources of his language. The other pieces in the volume are of kindred merit, though less unique, or perhaps we should rather say less exclusively French, in the material from which they are elaborated.

17.—*Modern Philology: its Discoveries, History, and Influence. With Maps, Tabular Views, and an Index.* By BENJAMIN W. DWIGHT, Author of "The Higher Christian Education." New York: A. S. Barnes and Burr. 1859. 8vo. pp. 354.

IN this book Mr. Dwight has expanded and elaborated into treatises, that must hold a permanent and honored place in the higher literature of our day, several articles which won distinguished regard in the Bibliotheca Sacra and the New Englander. Besides tabular views of languages in their classes and affiliations, and philological maps of Asia and Europe, drawn and collected with exquisite skill, and condensing a vast amount of erudition, the volume consists of three treatises. The first is an "Historical Sketch of the Indo-European Languages." Among the conclusions drawn by the author from the materials under his hand are the unity of the human race, and the Divine origin of language. For the first of these conclusions we cannot but regard the philological argument as by far the strongest, and, considered by itself alone, as decisive; while there are certain moral considerations as to the mode in which the early families of mankind must have come into being, if they sprang from a single parent stock, which, to say the least, render the opposite theory more consonant with the natural and revealed law of God. The Divine origin of language is ably, and in our judgment satisfactorily maintained, by an exhibition of the difficulties attending the theory of gradual development, and the absurdity of the only remaining alternative, the elaboration of the primitive language by a single human mind. The second treatise is a "History of Modern Philology." The third is on "The Science of Etymology." In this full justice is done to the pervading and penetrating influence of the Sanscrit, as traceable in the classical and the modern European tongues, while the author earnestly protests against the stress laid by forced and fanciful derivations on the far less influential Semitic element. The entire work merits a careful review by some adept in the department to which it belongs. Had it not come into our hands at a very late stage of our labors on the present number, though we might feel inadequate to its thorough criticism, we should not have dismissed it with this cursory notice. We hope to recur to it, in a future issue, for the full consideration of the author's views and reasonings.

18.— *The Life of Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells.* By George L. Duyckinck. New York. 1859. 12mo. pp. 316.

Bishop Ken is known wherever Christian worship finds utterance in the English tongue, by his inimitably beautiful Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns; and, had this volume no other attraction, we should hold it in dear esteem as having made us for the first time acquainted with the entire and genuine originals of those lyrics, which have been necessarily curtailed for use in the churches, and wantonly altered by the depraved taste of compilers. The good Bishop, if in that respect wise, would have suffered his fame as a poet to rest on these hymns. He unfortunately left for posthumous publication a mass of verse, which fills four large duodecimos, and of which the greater part is not worth the paper it covers. It is a noteworthy fact, that some of the finest devotional lyrics in our language have been composed by men who, in their longer metrical productions, were the merest drivellers. For songs of praise an effluent fancy is, perhaps, an unpropitious endowment, mingling too many terrene images and associations with strains that are least inadequate when they simply present the soul's relations to its Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier. But the deficiency, which in this one aspect is a precious gift, is fatal in all other departments of even devotional poetry. Mr. Duyckinck's memoir is a beautiful and loving tribute to as pure a saint, as laborious a minister of the Gospel, as meek a prelate, as upright and fearless a confessor, as has adorned the annals of the Church since the Apostles passed on to their reward. Alone of the nonjuring bishops he remained in hardly challenged and unimpeachable consistency and integrity, and retained the reverence of all parties in his deprivation and penury. This volume gives us numerous extracts from his prose writings, which justify the traditions of his unsurpassed eloquence, as well as of his venerable piety; and, above all, it offers us a vivid picture of the unintermitted labor, the contented sacrifice, the patient suffering, through which he pursued his Christ-marked way to heaven.

19.—*A Compendium of American Literature, Chronologically arranged; with Biographical Sketches of the Authors, and Selections from their Works. On the Plan of the Author's "Compendium of English Literature," and "English Literature of the Nineteenth Century."* By Charles D. Cleveland. Stereotyped Edition. Philadelphia: E. C. and J. Biddle. 1859. 12mo. pp. 784.

A book like this leaves endless room for cavilling; for, in his selection from the legion of writers who might seem entitled to representation, the author's own taste could not be expected to harmonize entirely with that of any other independent critic. But he has done his work with sound discretion and with signal ability. Of the one hundred and sixty-eight authors included in his plan, there are none whom the public favor has not in a good degree sanctioned as representative authors in their several departments; and among those excluded, while there are some whom we are very sorry to miss, we can name none for whom the general suffrage would demand a place. A larger book would have had a much more limited circulation; and within the present limits justice could not have been done to a larger number of writers. The biographical sketches are necessarily brief; but they bear marks of conscientious care and fidelity, and of an integrity of judgment unbiased by any prejudice of sect, clique, or party. The extracts are characteristic extracts, indicating the peculiar vein of each author's thought or genius, and where the same writer has distinguished himself in different departments, giving specimens of his style and ability in each. Forming our estimate by the labor to be wrought and the difficulties to be surmounted or evaded in such an undertaking, we regard the work as eminently successful, and worthy of the gratitude of every lover and friend of American literature.

20. — *A Commentary, Critical, Expository, and Practical, on the Gospel of Luke, for the Use of Ministers, Theological Students, Private Christians, Bible Classes, and Sabbath Schools.* By JOHN J. OWEN, D. D. New York: Leavitt and Allen. 1859. 12mo. pp. 400.

ON the appearance of Dr. Owen's previous volume, we expressed our high appreciation of his learning, skill, and impartiality as a critic. That estimate is fully sustained by the Commentary on Luke. We are particularly pleased with the adaptation of the work equally to the use of the Biblical scholar and the needs of the merely English reader. No important critical question is ignored or slighted; and yet there is not a sentence beyond the comprehension of an intelligent and thoughtful child. Equally admirable is the union of the critical and practical purposes, which a popular commentary should subserve at the same time. There is no formal array of inferences, no admixture of the sermon element; but the whole exposition is so interpenetrated and vitalized by the spirit of the sacred record, that the reader is never suffered to forget that he is on ground for unshod feet. The volume contains some interpretations from which we might express our dissent, but none which seem to us untenable from the author's point of view, or unsupported by grounds which he was at full liberty, as a critic and a theologian, to maintain.

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21. — *Compendium of the Impending Crisis of the South.* By HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina. New York: A. B. Burdick. 1859. 12mo. pp. 214.

WE took up this volume with very great interest, on learning that the author was a native of the South, and a slaveholder's son; for we felt that he, from his peculiar position, might obtain a candid hearing in behalf of human freedom from those who would be deaf to a Northern voice. But we confess ourselves disappointed. The book is self-neutralizing. It embodies strong arguments against slavery with precisely the kind of rhetoric which will render them unavailing where they are needed. The economical bearing and results of slave labor, as compared with free labor, are here exhibited with an amplitude and precision which we have not seen approached elsewhere. In addition to a very able and thorough verbal statement of the whole case at issue, we have a series of tables, in which the numerical statistics of the free and the slave States — bushels, pounds, and dollars — are collated from confessedly authentic, and for the most part official, sources of information. On such a subject, arguments based on figures rightfully hold a second place only to those urged on moral and religious grounds, while practically, we fear, they are paramount to higher considerations. Had Mr. Helper confined himself to these statistical comparisons, his book would have been impregnable in its reasonings, and could hardly have failed of exerting a powerful influence on his own side of the great question. But the effect of his statements is vitiated by the frequent use of terms of opprobrium and contempt for his opponents, and by the suggestion of modes of action impossible in the very nature of things, and, in our view, unjustifiable were they possible. He appeals to the non-slaveholding majority of the white population of the South, and urges upon them a distinct organization, whose watchwords shall be non-intercourse and proscription as to all the supporters of slavery. This plan would be impracticable, inasmuch as the major part of those to whom the appeal is addressed are directly dependent on slaveholders, and would be driven to starvation were they to assume this hostile attitude. But were such a proceeding practicable, we have grave objections to it, as involving a disruption of social ties and obligations among neighbors and fellow-citizens, and creating a condition of things which would be attended with all the rancor and malignity of civil war. If slavery is ever to be abolished, (and we doubt not it will be,) it must be first modified, and then abrogated, by the action of those immediately connected with the institution; and they can be moved in this direction only by their conviction of the impolicy or the wrongfulness of their present position. Whatever can tend to produce such conviction we cordially welcome. Emancipation, as fast and as soon as it can be thus effected, will be an unspeakable blessing to our country and our race. Emancipation forced (were it possible, which it is not) upon an unconvinced and recalcitrant body of slaveholders, would leave the enslaved to all the disabilities and wrongs of serfdom, without the protection now largely extended to them by the sentiments of humanity and the considerations of interest involved in the relation of ownership.

22.—C. Julius Cæsar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War: Elucidated by English Notes, Critical and Explanatory, and Illustrated by Maps, Plans of the Battles, Views, and a Lexicon of all the Words contained in the Text.* By N. C. Brooks, A. M., President of the Baltimore Female College. New York: A. S. Barnes and Burr. 1859. 12mo. pp. 351.

On opening this volume, we were at first inclined to look no farther than the Dedication, which runs as follows: "To Lieut.-General Winfield Scott, of the United States Army, the greatest commander of modern times, these Commentaries of the greatest general of antiquity are respectfully inscribed by the Editor." This is in sufficiently bad taste, it must be confessed, though we are by no means disposed to deny the title of our gallant countryman to stand at the head of his profession. But the book is one of unsurpassed excellence in its kind, and might tempt even the veteran scholar to read Cæsar over again. An admirably written life of Julius Cæsar precedes the text, which is printed without comment, and interspersed freely with illustrative engravings, that present vividly to the eye the principal military positions and movements of the narrative. Then follow the notes, which explain neither too much nor too little, and which, unlike many of the misty and inelegant annotations in our school editions of the classics, actually interpret the passages on which the pupil needs their aid. These notes are descriptive as well as explanatory, are rendered the more valuable by apposite quotations from classical and other writers, and contain a great number of illustrative wood-cuts. The Lexicon serves at once the purpose of a general and special vocabulary, and a classical and biographical dictionary. There are other school editions of the classics which are equally faithful to their plan and purpose; but we are acquainted with none which undertakes so much, and accomplishes it so thoroughly, as this.

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23. — *Hours with the Evangelists.* By I. Nichols, D. D., Late Pastor of the First Church in Portland, Maine. Vol. I. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859.

Dr. Nichols was well known in the diminished ranks of his contemporaries, and to not a few of later generations, not only as an earnest student through life, and a profound scholar, but even more, as unsurpassed for close thought and cogent reasoning in metaphysics, ethics, and theology. The work, which while we write is passing through the press, and of which we have seen the sheets of two or three hundred pages, was left by him completed, but without the final revision which was to precede its publication. This latter task has been undertaken by one who brings to it competency for the delicate duty, and loving reverence for the author. The work is anti-Straussian in its specific purpose, but covers a much larger ground than is involved in the Straussian controversy. It commences with general views and reasonings as regards revelation, miracles, the relation of Christ to the ages, and the primary characteristics and offices of the Christian revelation. It then reviews, in the order of time, the leading events in the evangelic narrative, making each the nucleus for such meditations or discussions as suggested themselves, in connection with it, to the author's own mind. Of course we are unprepared to give a more minute description of the work. On the appearance of the second volume, we shall hope to render to it and its saintly author the grateful recognition due to its lofty intellectual and devotional character, and to his eminent services to the republic of letters and religion. At present we will only say that the sheets which have passed under our inspection confirm the high anticipations based on our long and intimate acquaintance with the mind and heart of the author.

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24. — *A First Lesson in Natural History.* By ACTÆA. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859. 16mo. pp. 82.

"A LESSON for the times," the author might well have added to the title-page; for it is specially adapted to the mood of the present day, in which the *aquarium* is the fresh wonder and delight of young and old; and to the reigning fashion, which makes a summer residence by the sea-side a part of the year's life for so many hundreds of families. The subjects of the Lesson are Sea-Anemones and Corals, Coral Reefs, Hydroids and Jelly-Fishes, Star-Fishes and Sea-Urchins. With the simplicity of one born to teach, with the severe and minute accuracy of an accomplished naturalist, and with the enthusiasm of fervent admiration, the author describes the structure, life, and functions of these long-neglected radiates. Numerous wood-cuts accompany and illustrate the Lesson. The book, we suppose, was designed for children; but no one who is not already an adept in the department to which it relates will read it without profit, while its charming style greatly enhances the interest that belongs of right to the marvels and miracles of creative skill which it so vividly portrays.

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25. — *Popular Tales from the Norse.* By GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D. C. L. *With an Introductory Essay on the Origin and Diffusion of Popular Tales.* New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. lxix., 380.

THESE tales are monstrous, puerile, and often pointless, — nightmare creations of a fancy bewildered in boundless forests and rocked by fierce waves and storms. They have a certain historical importance, as pointing to the origin of some popular superstitions and illustrating the universality of others. The Introductory Essay is able, ingenious, and scholarly, and suffices of itself to give an independent and high value to the volume, even though the tales may seem of little interest or worth.

26. — *Lectures for the People.* By the Rev. HUGH STOWELL BROWN, of Liverpool. First Series, with a Biographical Introduction, by DR. SHELTON MACKENZIE. Philadelphia: G. G. Evans. 1859. 16mo. pp. 414.

MR. BROWN is a young Baptist clergyman of Liverpool. Educated at first as a surveyor and engineer, he became familiarly acquainted with the less cultivated classes, while, by faithful study and self-discipline, he has since qualified himself to become their teacher. Six years ago he commenced a series of Sunday-afternoon lectures at Concert Hall, Liverpool. His audience usually consists of from two to three thousand working persons. Shunning the formalism of a text and a set sermon, which might repel many of his hearers, he announces for his subject the last theme of popular interest, or some familiar proverb capable of being spiritualized, or some false maxim which is stealing the hearts of the people. Thus among the titles in the volume now before us we find such as these: "There's a Good Time Coming"; "Penny Wise and Pound Foolish"; "There's nae Luck about the House"; "Waste Not, Want Not"; and "Tell the Truth, and Shame the Devil." Many of these lectures have been printed and circulated separately; and of one of them, on drunkenness, under the title of "Five Shillings and Costs," no less than forty-five thousand copies have been sold. It is small praise to say that these Lectures are free from the coarseness and irreverence that deface Spurgeon's sermons. They belong to another and an immeasurably higher intellectual plane. Anthropomorphic representations of the Deity and sensuous imagery constitute what is least exceptionable in the glittering rhetoric of the great London preacher; Mr. Brown is made fervent and eloquent by profoundly solemn conceptions of the objects of religious faith, by a piety in which reverence is blended with love, and by an earnest and self-devoting philanthropy. There is in his style of discourse no letting down of himself or his office, but the sedulous aim to throw around common and lowly interests, duties, and pleasures cords of attachment to the spiritual world, and thus to get upon his neglected and unnurtured fellow-citizens a purchase by which they may be drawn out of degradation and evil. We trust that this is but the first of a series of volumes at least equal in number to those which we have from Spurgeon; and there are several of the single discourses which we would strongly commend to our own Tract Societies or Boards of Publication, as admirably adapted to the needs of their beneficiaries, especially to the condition of the masses of the people in our great cities.

27. — *The French Revolution of* 1789, *as viewed in the Light of Republican Institutions.* By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. With one hundred Engravings. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1859. 8vo. pp. 439.

MR. ABBOTT's fidelity, accuracy, skill, and taste in his historical labors are too well known to need our indorsement. The volume before us seems to us by far the best of his works. His sympathies are strongly on the side of the French people in their conflict with the throne. He does not indeed deny or justify the atrocities which have turned the course of English, and with it of American, historical representation in favor of the effete monarchy. But he justly regards them as excesses for which the kings and court minions of preceding generations were chiefly answerable, — as the inevitable reaction of a people suppressed and cramped and pillaged and outraged by weary centuries of despotism. To all who take this point of view, or are not unwilling to be convinced that it is the true point of view, we earnestly recommend Mr. Abbott's book; to those who are inveterate in their adherence to the Anglican versions of French history, the reading of it will be lost labor.

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28. — *The History of* HERODOTUS. *A New English Version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, illustrating the History and Geography of Herodotus, from the most recent Sources of Information; and embodying the chief Results, Historical and Ethnographical, which have been obtained in the Progress of Cuneiform and Hieroglyphical Discovery.* By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A., Late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford. Assisted by Col. Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K. C. B., and Sir J. G. WILKINSON, F. R. S. In Four Volumes. Vol. I. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 563.

THIS volume fulfils entirely the high expectations with which its appearance has been awaited. Of Herodotus it contains only the First Book, in a version which is equally true to the demands of the original and the fitnesses of the English tongue, — equally faithful and elegant. Of general prefatory matter we have a Life of Herodotus, in part conjectural, a discussion of the sources of his history, and a careful analysis of his merits and defects as an historian. The text of the translation is accompanied by numerous and valuable foot-notes. By far the largest portion of the volume is devoted to a series of Essays illustrative of the First Book. These cover and elucidate the entire ground occupied by the Book, entering largely into questions of geography and historical criticism, and presenting copious details of what is known as to the religious history of the great Asiatic nations. The engravings are not numerous, but occur wherever they are needed, and are uniformly executed with a taste, care, and fidelity in harmony with the text of the work.

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29. — *Highways of Travel.* By MARGARET J. M. SWEAT. Boston: Walker, Wise, & Co. 1859.

CROWDED as the book-market is with records of travel, a new claimant to public favor in that department ought to exhibit some special title to regard and interest; and we hesitate not to say, that in the crowd there is rightful room and an assured welcome for the volume whose early sheets now lie before us, and whose appearance will be announced before these pages of ours see the light. Mrs. Sweat has indeed passed over for the most part only the "*highways* of travel"; but she did not, like most American tourists, dash over them as if pursued by some dire Nemesis, depending on guide-books to supply the numberless *lacunæ* of things not seen. She actually *saw* places, lingered where it was pleasant and profitable to linger, and enjoyed all that was attractive in her successive places of sojourn. Especially in Paris she seems to us to have seen more and better than any other recent tourist whose travels have been given to the press. Her descriptions of buildings strike us as peculiarly happy. They are not pseudo-scientific and ostentatiously technical; nor yet are they subjective, — full of what *she* felt under such and such a roof or dome. But they give us just the measurement, estimate, and impression which we should derive from the calm and unexaggerated oral narrative of a person of accurate eye and cultivated taste.

What a tourist or traveller brings home depends on what he carries from home; and Mrs. Sweat has given us in these pages a rich freight from foreign lands, simply because she started on her travels with a familiar knowledge of what could be known without sight as to the countries, cities, and scenery she was going to visit, and with that high and extended general culture which opens the eye and ear, enhances the receptivity, and multiplies to an indefinite degree the results of observation. Then, too, our author brings to this task an experienced pen, the established habit of literary labor, and the prestige of marked success in other departments of literature. Her style is simple, easy, tasteful and elegant, free from offensive egotism, and yet with just enough of subjectiveness — (we do not like the seeming affectation of this word, but has it a synonyme ?) — with just enough of subjectiveness to make us feel that we are in communion with an interesting fellow-traveller, and not reading a wholly impersonal statement of facts in topography and art.

30. — *Shelley Memorials; from Authentic Sources.* Edited by LADY SHELLEY. To which is added *An Essay on Christianity*, by PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY: now first printed. Boston: Ticknor and Fields. 1859. 12mo. pp. 408.

THIS is a touching record, and presents the poet as a man whose gentle, loving, sensitive nature claims only tender sympathy, compassion for his errors, and admiration for a heart whose unperverted loyalty to the right neutralized to a large degree the baneful consequences of a misguided reason. His infidelity, which cannot be too profoundly regretted, was, we sincerely believe, the result of the severity and persecution visited upon honest doubts, which under a different regimen would have had the opposite issue. The fragment of an Essay on Christianity, now first printed, — when written it does not appear, and probably is not known, — is a rich and beautiful commentary on the doctrines and the morality of the New Testament, implying at the same time a recognition of the Divine mission of its Author, and representing the adoption and diffusion of his precepts and spirit as the world's only help and hope. It bears marks neither of the immaturity nor of the fire of youth, but rather of a mind developed by thought, experience, and suffering; and, though we have neither suggestion nor evidence in behalf of such a theory, we would fain believe that it is the record of the recoil of his higher nature from the sad apostasy of his intellect.

NOTE TO ART. VII. OF THE JULY NUMBER.

WE referred, in our article on Chief Justice Parsons, to his agency in the institution of the Professorship of Natural History in Harvard University. A much revered friend has suggested to us that emphatic mention should not be made of services in behalf of that Professorship, without recognizing the fact that the late Judge John Lowell and his son of the same name were successively the most active movers in this enterprise, and its most efficient supporters and advocates with the public.

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

"Christianity — neither Sectarian nor Sectional — the great Remedy for Social and Political Evils." An Address delivered before the Young Men's Christian Associations of Boston and Richmond. By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859.

Luxury and the Fine Arts, — in some of their Moral and Historical Relations. An Address delivered in Aid of the Fund for Ball's Equestrian Statue of Washington, 13 May, 1859. By Robert C. Winthrop. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1859.

Ministerial Union. An Address prepared at the Request of the Ministerial Union of the City and Vicinity of Philadelphia; and delivered at its First Anniversary Meeting, held in the Sansom Street Baptist Church, Friday Morning, May 6, 1859. By T. H. Stockton. Philadelphia: T. H. Stockton. 1859.

The Key of the Kingdom. An Address before the Ministerial Conference in Bedford Street, Boston. By C. A. Bartol. Boston: Leonard C. Bowles. 1859.

Transactions of the New England Methodist Historical Society. No. 1. Introduction of Methodism into Boston. A Discourse delivered at the Formation of the New England Methodist Historical Society, at the Bromfield Street Church, Boston, Monday, February 28, 1859, by Rev. S. W. Coggeshall, of the Providence Annual Conference. Boston. 1859.

The Manifoldness of Man. A Baccalaureate Sermon, delivered at Williamstown, Mass., July 31, 1859. By Mark Hopkins, D. D., President of Williams College. Boston. 1859.

The Suspense of Faith. An Address to the Alumni of the Divinity School of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Given July 19, 1859. By Henry W. Bellows. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1859.

The Great Commission: an Inaugural Sermon preached at Jamaica Plain (West Roxbury), April 24, 1859. By James W. Thompson. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1859.

As Men think of Christ, so will they come to view Christianity. A Discourse, by Alex. M. Averill, A. M., Pastor of the North Cambridge Baptist Church. Boston. 1859.

A Sermon for Midsummer Day. Beauty in the World of Matter, considered as a Revelation of God, by Rev. Theodore Parker, Minister of the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society. Preached at the Music Hall, on Sunday, July 15, 1855. With Prefatory Letter from Mr. Parker at Santa Cruz. Boston. 1859.

A Sermon preached on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Ordination as Pastor of the Second Church in Boston, Mass., Sunday, Dec. 5, 1858. By Chandler Robbins, D. D. With an Appendix. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1858.

Discourse on the Life and Character of Joseph Brown Smith, late Professor of Music in the Kentucky Institution for the Blind. By John H. Heywood, Minister of the Unitarian Church, Louisville, Ky. Louisville. 1859.

The Pulpit and True Freedom; a Sermon, preached before the Rhode Island Baptist State Convention, at Pawtucket, R. I., April 26, 1859. By William C. Richards, Pastor of the Brown Street Baptist Church, Providence, R. I. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1859.

A Tract for the Times, on the Question, Is it right to withhold Fellowship from Churches or from Individuals that tolerate or practise Slavery? Read by Appointment, before the Congregational Ministers' Meeting of New London County, Ct. By Rev. Henry T. Cheever. New York. 1859.

Suggestions for a Revision of the Prayer-Book. With the Opinions of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of St. Asaph, Chester, and Limerick, etc., etc. London: Hamilton Adams & Co. 1859.

Napoleon III. the Man of Prophecy; or, The Revival of the French Emperorship anticipated from the Necessity of Prophecy. By G. S. Faber, B. D., Master of Sherburn Hospital and Prebendary of Salisbury. First American from the Second English Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1859. 12mo. pp. 102.

The Deluge Universal: or, Geology and Genesis Reconciled. Baltimore: James S. Waters. 1859.

Sixth Pastoral Report of Trinity Church, Pottsville, comprising the Ecclesiastical Year from Advent, 1857, to Advent, 1858, by the Rector. Pottsville. 1859.

Eighth Annual Report of the Boston Provident Association. May, 1859. Boston. 1859.

Report of the School Committee of the Town of Groton, for the Year ending April, 1859. Groton. 1859.

Report of the Forty-sixth Annual Examination of the Albany Female Academy; and of the Exercises of the Alumnæ of the Institution, on their Eighteenth Anniversary, June 21, 1859. Albany. 1859.

Eighth Annual Report of the Boston Young Men's Christian Union, presented April 13, 1859. With the Charter and By-Laws, and Lists of Officers, Members, and Donors. Boston. 1859.

Eighth Annual Report of the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, with the By-Laws, List of Officers, Life Members, etc., etc. Boston. 1859.

Report of the Woman's Rights Meeting at Mercantile Hall, May 27, 1859. Boston: S. Urbino. 1859.

The Half-Yearly Abstract of the Medical Sciences: being a Practical and Analytic Digest of the Contents of the Principal British, American, and Continental Medical Works published during the preceding Six Months, together with a Series of Critical Reports on the Progress of Medicine and the collateral Sciences during the same Period. Edited by W. H. Ranking, M. D., Physician to the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital, and C. B. Radcliffe, M. D., Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians of London. No. 29. January to June, 1859. Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston. 1859. 8vo. pp. 304.

Catalogue of the Enosinian Society, Columbian College, District of Columbia. Washington. 1859.

Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors, and Students of Lawrence Academy, Groton, Mass., June, 1859. Boston. 1859.

Harvard University. 1859–60. Medical Department. Announcement of the Medical Course, commencing on the First Wednesday in November, 1859. Boston. 1859.

Circular and Catalogue of the Albany Female Academy. Albany. 1859.

Defence of Col. Timothy Pickering, against Bancroft's History. By S. Swett. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. 1859.

The Rights of Wrong; or, Is Evil Eternal? By C. F. Hudson. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1859.

A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Washington University, (Chartered February 22, 1853,) with the Course of Studies, Terms of Admission, etc , 1859–60. St. Louis. 1859.

Catalogue of the Friends' Academy, New Bedford, April, 1859. New Bedford. 1859.

Catalogue of the Theological Seminary of the Diocese of Ohio, and Kenyon College, 1858–9. Gambier. 1859.

Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Hadley, Massachusetts, at Hadley, June 8, 1859; including the Address by Rev. Prof. F. D. Huntington, D. D., of Harvard College, Poem by Edward C. Porter, A. B., of Hadley, and the other Exercises of the Occasion. Northampton: Bridgman and Childs. 1859.

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